AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

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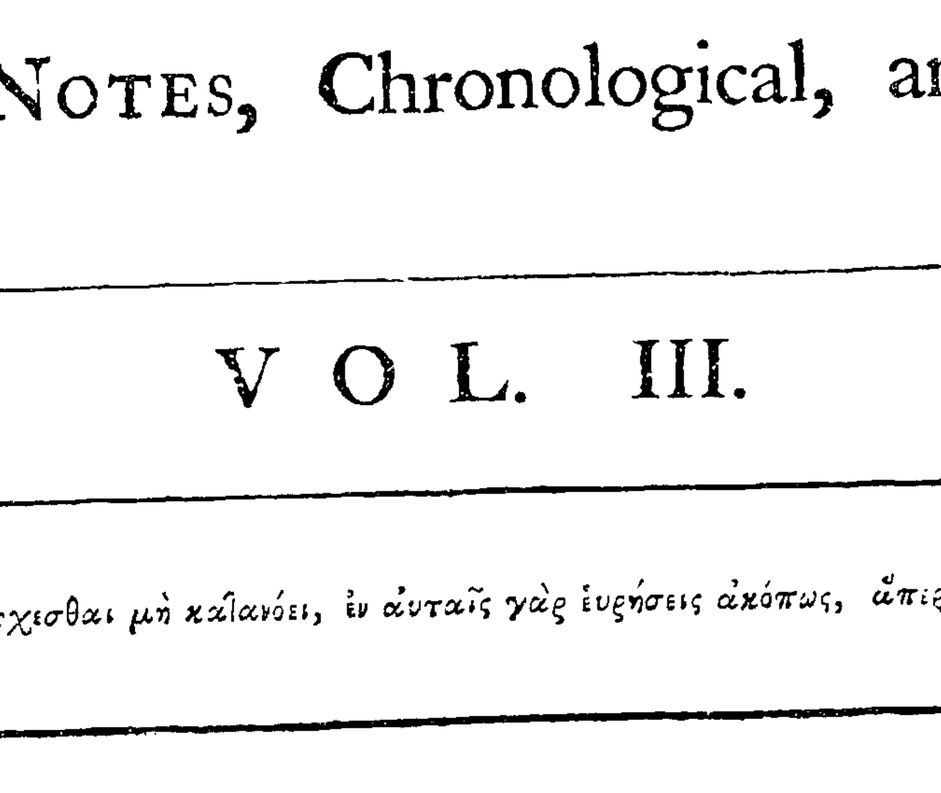
And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and Other TABLES.

VOL. III.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

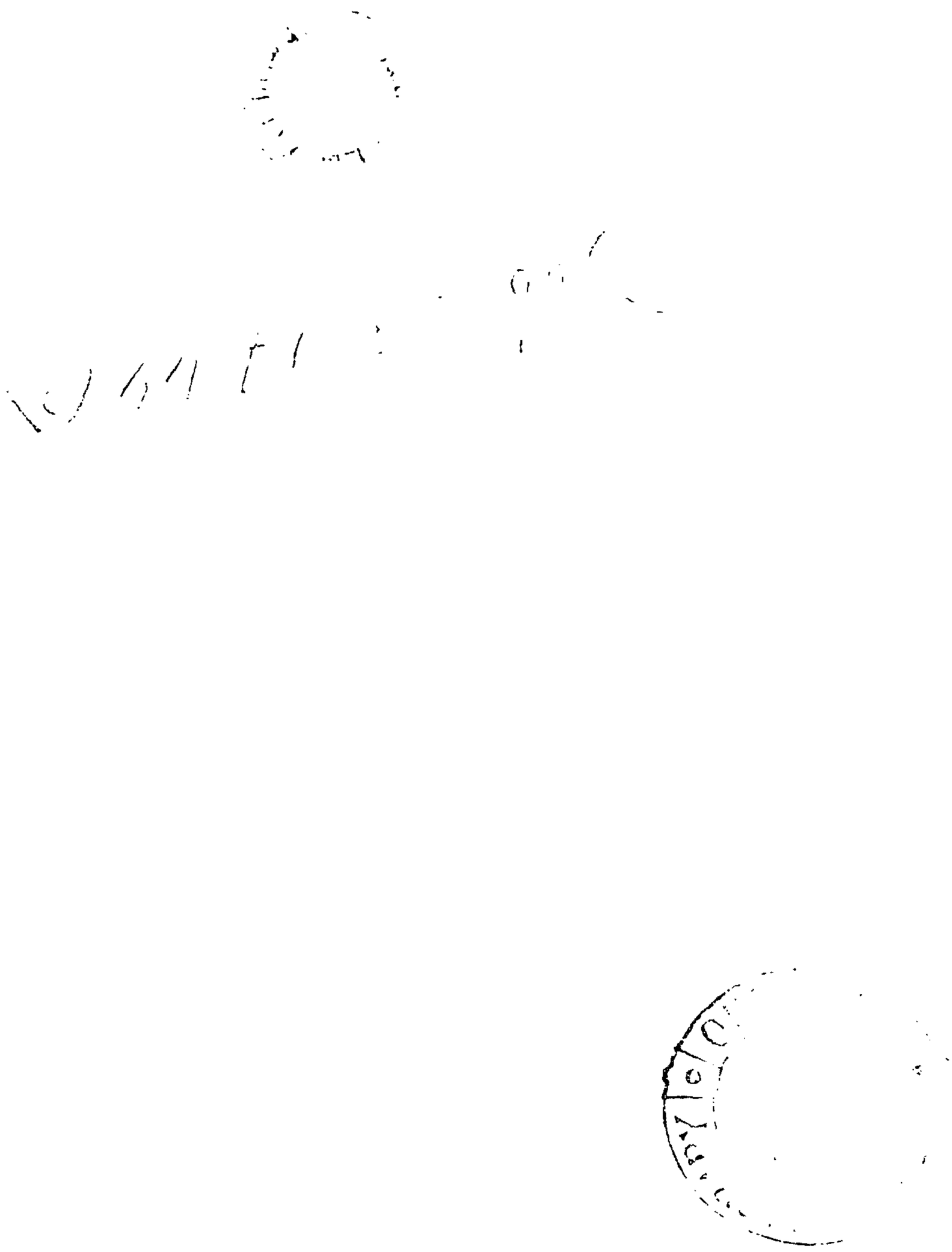
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M.DCC.XLIV.



To the Right Honourable

RICHARD

Earl of *Burlington* and *Corke*, &c. &c.

Hereditary Lord High Treaſurer of *Ireland*, One of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*.

My LORD,

DID not a Work of this uſeful and extenſive Nature give its Authors ſome Kind of Claim to the Protection of the Great and Learned, we could have no Pretence in prefixing Your illuſtrious Title to this Volume. For, the Glory of Your Family, and the Names of BOYLE and BURLINGTON, Your LORDSHIP'S perſonal Merit, and conſummate Skill in the Arts and Sciences, which add new Luſtre to Your high Birth, and hereditary Honours; are univerſally known, far enough beyond thoſe foreign Nations where this Hiſtory is tranſlated, or which, in all Probability, it will ever reach.

But we preſume to apply ourſelves to Your LORDSHIP, as You are an avowed Judge and Patron of Learning, and under whoſe auſpicious Influence we can promiſe ourſelves this Part of our Labours will meet with as kind Reception from the Public as our former Volumes. The Encouragement You have given to thoſe, is a convincing Argument of Your approving

approving our Design; and Your generous Acceptance of this, will satisfy the World, that You think it of equal Use and Benefit to Mankind.

And tho', My LORD, we are conscious that we have spared no Pains nor Cost to make it such, yet we would rather chuse to recommend it to Your LORDSHIP on the Account of the great Advantage Posterity may reap from it, and of that vast Expence of Time and Books which it will save them, by being thus compiled and connected to their Hands. So that the Study of History will now become a Pleasure instead of a Task, and Men of Parts being enabled to acquire a clearer Knowledge of this necessary Science in a much shorter Time, may be the sooner qualified to improve it to the Service of their Country. But, My LORD, this is a Subject that You are so well acquainted with, that we only mention it here as the Motive which determined us in this Address to Your Lordship, rather than a vain Conceit that it is upon any other Account worthy of being offered to a Person of your exquisite Taste; unless You will permit us to add the ambitious Desire of subscribing ourselves,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient,

Most Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME III.

THE History of Sicily — Page 1
The History of Syracuse — 14
The History of Rhodes — 129
The History of Crete — 159
The History of Cyprus — 173
The History of Samos — 186
The History of the Islands of the Propontis, viz. Proconnesus, Besbicus, Tenedos, Lesbos, Chios, Icaria, Cos, Nisyra, Carpathus, &c. — 201
The History of the Islands in the Cretan Sea, viz. Thera, the Cyclades, Delos, Rhenæa, Cyrus, Sciathus, &c. — 214
The History of the Macedonians — 253
The Antiquity, Customs, Laws, Manners, and military Discipline of the Macedonians — 263
The History of the Macedonian Kingdom from its first Foundation to the Reign of Philip the Father of Alexander — 271
The Reign of Alexander the Great — 316
The Division of the Macedonian Empire — 415
The History of the Reign of Antigonus, and his Son Demetrius, in Asia — 437
The History of the Kingdom of Macedon from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Conquest thereof by the Romans — 448
The History of the Seleucidæ in Syria to the Reduction of their Dominions by the Romans — 509
The History of Egypt from the Foundation of that Monarchy by Ptolemy Soter to its being made a Roman Province — 623
The History of the Armenians — 691
Description, Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Learning, Arts, and Trade of Armenia — ibid.
The History of the Kings of Armenia Major — 699
The History of the Kingdom of Pontus — 720
The History of the Kings of Pontus — 724

	Page
The Hiſtory of the Cappadocians	761
Deſcription, Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Arts and Trade of Cappadocia	ibid.
The Hiſtory of the Kings of Cappadocia	764
The Hiſtory of the Kings of Pergamus	769
The Hiſtory of Thrace	786
The Hiſtory of the ancient Kingdom of Epirus	795
The Hiſtory of Bithynia	821
The Hiſtory of the Kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Boſphorous, Media, Bactria, Edeſſa, Emeſa, Adiabene, Characene, Elymais, Comagene, and Chalcidene	832

TABLE to the MAPS.

	Page
A Map of Sicilia	1
A Map of the ancient City of Syracuſe	4
A Map of ancient Greece, with the Iſlands adjoining to it	240
A Map of the Kingdoms of Macedon, Theſſaly and Epirus	253
A Map of the Extent of Alexander's Conqueſts	320
A Map of Syria after the Death of Alexander the Great	509
A Map of Egypt	623
A Map of the Kingdoms of Armenia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Media, &c.	692

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A N

12 13 Septentrio 14 15 16

38 37 36

Occidens Oriens

Meridies

MARE MEDITERRANEUM

SICILIA

Pelorias prom.

Lilybæum prom.

Syracusa

Pachynum prom.

Cercyra Gaulos

Africæ littus

Mercurii prom.

Melite I.

Carthago

Lopadusa

MARE TYRRHENUM

Didyma Hiccesia Strongyle

Phœnicusa Ericusa

Lipara Iusulæ Herculis Insul. Enonymus

Æoliæ Hierasitem Vulcania

Charybdis

Pelorum Promont.

Scylla

ITALIÆ PARS

Fanum Dianæ Fasceliuæ

Naucratis lacus

Messana olim Zancle

Tyndarium & Tyndaris

Abacæna

Noæ

Rhegium

Hieronis Castellum

Herculis promont.

Agennum Promont.

Tauromenium

Ætna Mons

Onobola sive Tauromenius Flu.

Galata

Apollonia

Calacta

Alunt.

Cephalœdium

Halesa

Amastra

Nomæ

Lotis

Parapis

Himera

Hyccara

Parthenicum

Agrigentum

Petra

Herbita

Galaria

Centuripe

Inessa Ætna

Imachara

Adranum

Hybla Major

Catana sive Catine

Symethus Flu.

Agyrium

Assorus

Chrysas Flu.

Hergetium

Sergentium

Enna

Magella

Capitoniana

Palica

Leontium

Mylas fl.

Xiphonia

Pergus-Lac.

Palicorum Lac.

Hybla Galeatis sive Megara

Menæ

Nonymum

Echetla

Erbessus

Tapsus

Cacyrum

Caulonia Callonia

SYRACUSA Ortygia insula

Olympium

Cyane fons

Cacyparis Flu.

Elorus Flu.

Naustathmus

Acræ

Acrillæ

Nectum

Elorum

Phœnicus flu. et portus

Hybla Minor

Camerina

Casmenæ

Pachynum Promont.

Pachyni portus

Odyssea portus

Mutuce

Gela

Geloi Campi

Phalarium

Mactorium

Dædalium

Petiliana

Motyum

Careoniana

Acragas sive

Camicus

Heraclea Minoa

Ancura

Triocala

Thermæ Selinuntiæ

Aquæ Labodæ

Pintia

Elathium

Mazzarum

C. Marsalla

Lilybæum Promont

al Ægusa

Ægusa

Hiera

Ægates Insulæ

Motya

Lilybæum oppid.

Halycus Fl.

Halicya

Entella

Egithallus

Drepanum

Ietas M.

Ietæ

Segesta sive Ægesta

Segestanorum emporium

Eryx

Cetaria

Aquæ Perticianæ

Bathus Fl.

Macella

Scliera

Phorbantia

Gemelli colles

Hebrodes Mons

Mazarus Flu.

Hypsa Flu.

Crimisus Flu.

Halicus Flu.

Himera Flu.

Gratas Mons

Iudicum Mons

Alabus Flu.

Himera Flu.

Acragas Flu.

Gela Flu.

Hipparis fl.

Oanus fl.

Himpisus Flu.

Adhatis Flu.

Tyndaris Flu.

Agathyrnia

Halesinus Flu.

Alæsus Flu.

Cephalœdium

Mondolus fl.

Erycis Flu.

Chrysas Flu.

Symethus Flu.

Cyamathus

Murgantium

Agennum

Tauromenius Flu.

Agis flu.

Alabus Flu.

Hybla

Fretum Siculum

SICULUM MARE

Africa

Sicilia

Italia

Græcia

Ægates Insulæ

Lilybæum Promont

Pachynum Promont.

Pachyni portus

Odyssea portus

Phœnicus flu. et portus

Elorum

Camerina

Casmenæ

Hybla Minor

Mutuce

Gela

Geloi Campi

Phalarium

Mactorium

Dædalium

Careoniana

Acragas sive Agrigentum

Camicus

Heraclea Minoa

Ancura

Triocala

Thermæ Selinuntiæ

Aquæ Labodæ

Pintia

Elathium

Mazzarum

C. Marsalla

Motyum

Petiliana

Lilybæum oppid.

Halycus Fl.

Halicya

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Segestanorum emporium

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Bathus Fl.

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Hebrodes Mons

Mazarus Flu.

Hypsa Flu.

Crimisus Flu.

Halicus Flu.

Himera Flu.

Gratas Mons

Iudicum Mons

Alabus Flu.

Himera Flu.

Acragas Flu.

Gela Flu.

Hipparis fl.

Oanus fl.

Himpisus Flu.

Adhatis Flu.

Tyndaris Flu.

Agathyrnia

Halesinus Flu.

Alæsus Flu.

Cephalœdium

Mondolus fl.

Erycis Flu.

Chrysas Flu.

Symethus Flu.

Cyamathus

Murgantium

Agennum

Tauromenius Flu.

Agis flu.

Alabus Flu.

Hybla

Fretum Siculum

SICULUM MARE

Africa

Sicilia

Italia

Græcia

J. Wheatley Sculp.

A N

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. I.

Of the iſlands of Sicily, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, &c. *to their becoming ſubject to the* Romans.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of SICILY.

a HAVING delivered in the foregoing volume the hiſtory of the *European* and *Aſiatic Greeks* inhabiting the continent, we ſhall now proceed to their various ſettlements in the adjacent iſlands, beginning with *Sicily*, the moſt conſiderable of all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, and in former times the theatre of many great and memorable events.

Name. THIS great and fruitful iſland was anciently known by the names of *Sicania*, *Sicilia*, and *Trinacria* or *Triquetra*; the two former were borrowed from the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, who peopled a conſiderable part of the country, and the latter from its triangular figure, formed by the three famous promontories of *Pelorum*, *Pachynum*, and *Lilybæum* (A). *Cape Pelorum* is now called by the natives *Capo di Faro*, or b *Capo della torre di Faro.* It took its ancient name, if we believe *Valerius Maximus* [a] and *Pomponius Mela* [b], from the pilot *Pelorus*, who was killed by *Hannibal.* The *Carthaginian* ſeeing his ſhip brought into the ſtraits of *Sicily*, and fancying that the pilot deſigned to deliver her up to the *Romans*, put him to death; but being afterwards convinced of his innocence, he erected a ſtatue to him on the promontory, which from that time was called *Pelorum*, *Pelorus*, and *Peloris.* This fact is related by the abovementioned hiſtorians; but their diſagreement in the circumſtances of the ſtory has made ſome writers doubt of the truth of this event. This promontory faces

[a] VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 8. [b] POMP. MELA. l. ii. c. 7.

(A) *Terra tribus ſcopulis vaſtum procurrit in æquor;*
Trinacris a poſitu nomen adepta loci, ſays *Ovid.*

faces *Italy*, from which it is divided by the ſtraits of *Meſſina*, reaching from the tower of the *Faro*, which is the moſt northern point of the iſland, to the *Capo dell' armi* or *Cape of arms*, the moſt ſouthern part of *Calabria*. Theſe ſtraits, called by the *Latins Fretum Siculum*, by the *Italians il Faro di Meſſina*, and by us the *Fare of Meſſina*, are, according to *Pliny* [c], *Strabo* [d], and other geographers, between twelve and fifteen miles over in the broadeſt place, and in the narroweſt about a mile and a half; inſomuch, that when *Meſſina* was taken by the *Carthaginians*, many of the inhabitants are ſaid to have ſaved themſelves by ſwimming to the oppoſite coaſts of *Italy*. This narrowneſs gave riſe to an opinion, which once obtained among the ancients, *viz.* that *Sicily* was originally joined to the continent of *Italy* by an iſthmus, which was in proceſs of time wore away by the fury of the waves and the violence of earthquakes. *Pliny* [e], with his uſual credulity, ſpeaks of this ſeparation as a thing not to be queſtioned. A modern writer of no mean character [f] goes farther, and even pretends to aſcertain the time of this memorable event, telling us, that it happened in the reign of *Acaſtus*, the ſon of *Æolus*, who was raiſed to the throne by the *Siculi*, about the time that the *Iſraelites* were delivered from the *Egyptian* bondage. He owns himſelf indebted for this remarkable diſcovery to *Euſtathius*, in his obſervations on *Dionyſius Periegetes* [g]. But the moſt judicious among the ancients look upon this pretended ſeparation as fabulous, and ſpeak of it as a thing that is only ſaid to have happened [h] (B). The *Fare* of *Meſſina* is famous for the rapidity of its currents, and the flowing and ebbing of the ſea, which is very irregular, and ſometimes ruſhes in with ſuch violence, that the ſhips riding at anchor are in danger. The famous *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, ſo much celebrated by the poets, are at the north entrance into the ſtraits. The former is a rock on the coaſt of *Italy*, the latter a whirl-pool on the ſide of *Sicily*. The paſſage between theſe two was in ancient times reckoned very dangerous [i]. The other two promontories are *Pachynum* facing *Greece*, and *Lilybæum* over-againſt *Afric*; the former is now known by the name of *Capo Paſſaro*, and the latter by that of *Capo di Marſella*, or *Capo di Boeo* (C).

Situation.

This iſland lies between the 35th deg. 40 min. and the 38th 30 min. of north latitude, extending in longitude from 35 to 39 degrees. Its greateſt length from *Pelorum* to *Lilybæum* is two hundred miles, its breadth from *Pachynum* to the city of *Cephalædium*, now *Cefalu*, 180, and the whole circuit of the iſland 600.

Soil and climate.

We need not inlarge on its fertility, it being well known, that *Sicily* was anciently called the granary of *Rome*, and that to this day, whatever deſirable things nature has frugally beſtowed here and there on other countries, are found in this as in their original ſeminary.

Cities.

The moſt remarkable cities on the eaſtern coaſt of *Sicily*, which faces *Greece*, and extends from *Pelorum* to *Pachynum*, are, *Meſſana* on the ſtraits of *Sicily* over-againſt *Rhegium* in *Italy*. This city was formerly called *Zancle*, which appellation ſome derive from the old *Sicilian* word *Zanclos*, ſignifying *a hook*, the ſhore on which it was built being of that ſhape [k]; others think it was ſo called from one *Zanclus*, who reigned in that part of the iſland [l]. But however that be, this city, according to the chronologiſts, was founded five hundred and thirty years before the ſiege of *Troy*, and nine hundred ſixty-four before *Romulus* laid the foundations of *Rome*. The inhabitants of this city, being greatly haraſſed by the pyrates of *Cuma*, had recourſe to the *Meſſenians*, a people of *Greece*, who, haſtening to the aſſiſtance of the

Meſſana *nunc* Meſſina.

[c] Plin. l. iv. c. 6. [d] Strab. l. v. p. 177. [e] Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [f] Tanaquil. Faber. l. i. epiſt. 14. [g] Eustath. in Perieget. ver. 475. [h] Mela. l. i. c. 2. Strab. l. v. [i] Florus, l. i. c. 4. Seneca epiſt. 79. &c. [k] Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. c. ultimo. [l] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 413.

(B) Some of the poets ſpeak of it with the ſame reſerve:

Zancle quoque juncta fuiſſe
Dicitur Italiæ, donec confinia pontus
Abſtulit, & media tellurem reppulit unda (1).

And *Virgil*:

Hæc loca, vi quondam & magna convulſa ruina
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetuſtas)
Diſſiluiſſe ferunt; cum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, & undis
Heſperium Siculo latus abſcidit; arvaque & urbes
Littore diductas anguſto interluit æſtu (2).

(C) *Ælian*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that one, to whom they give the ſurname of *Strabo*, had ſuch an extraordinary ſight, that from a watch-tower on the promontory *Lilybæum* he diſcovered a fleet ſailing out of the port of *Carthage*, and acquainted the *Lilybæans* with their bigneſs and number; and yet *Carthage* is about 180 miles diſtant from the coaſt of *Sicily*.

(1) *Ovid Metam. l.* xv. *v.* 290. (2) *Virg. Æneid. l.* iii. *v.* 414.

the

a the *Zancleans*, cleared their coaſts, entered into an alliance with the citizens, and ſettled in their city, which was from them called by the *Greeks Meſſene*, and by the *Latins Meſſana* [m]. *Pauſanias* [n] tells us, that *Anaxilas*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, having entered into an alliance with the *Meſſenians* of *Greece* againſt the *Zancleans*, overthrew their forces, and with the aſſiſtance of his allies poſſeſſed himſelf of their city, which in compliment to the *Meſſenians*, who had aſſiſted him in this expedition, he called *Meſſene*. This event is mentioned alſo by *Herodotus* [o], who aſcribes all the glory of it to the *Samians*, the allies of *Anaxilas*, or, as he calls him, *Anaxilaus*. This city was afterwards ſeized by the *Mamertini*, as we ſhall relate anon, and made their capital, by which means it became one of the moſt wealthy and powerful cities

b of *Sicily*. It was the firſt town which the *Romans* poſſeſſed in the iſland, being put into their hands by the *Mamertini*. *Taurominium*, built on the ruins of the ancient city of *Naxos*, which was deſtroyed by *Dionyſius* the tyrant, ſtood on the declivity of mount *Taurus*. The river *Taurominius* watered the territory of this city [p]; and its hills were famous for the excellent grapes they produced. It is now called *Taormina*, and is ſtill a place of ſome conſideration. The coaſt on which it ſtood was anciently called *Copria*, that is *dunghill*, becauſe the ſea was ſuppoſed to diſcharge there the wrecks of ſuch ſhips as had been ſwallowed up by the *Charybdis* [q]. The river *Taurominius*, which gave its name to the city, is now called *Cantara*. *Catana* ſtood on a gulf of the *Ionian* ſea called *the gulf of Catana*, and is commended by the ancients

c as one of the richeſt and moſt powerful cities of *Sicily*. It was built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, and continued in great ſplendor for many ages [r]; but at laſt underwent the ſame fate as moſt of the other cities in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, having been in great part conſumed by the eruptions of that mountain, and buried in ruins by the dreadful earthquakes, which have often laid waſte the whole neighbouring country. Its territory was watered by the river *Amenes* or *Amenanus*, now called *the Judicello* [s]. *Murgentium*, or *Morgantia*, was founded, according to *Strabo* [t], by the *Morgetæ*, a people of *Italy*, who croſſed over into *Sicily* with the *Siculi*, and built this city, at a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the *Symæthus*, now *La Jaretta*. *Thucydides* [u], *Scylax*, and *Pliny* [w] place it near the conflux of the *Chry-*

d *ſas*, now the *Dittaino*, and the *Symæthus*. *Fazellus* is therefore miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Morgantia* to have ſtood at the mouth of the river *Terias*, called by the natives *Fiume di San Leonardo*. *Stephanus* confounds this city with another in *Samnium* bearing the ſame name. There are now no footſteps remaining of either of theſe cities. *Leontini* ſtood about five miles diſtance from the coaſt, ten from *Catana*, and twenty from *Syracuſe*. It was built by the *Chalcidians*, under the conduct of *Theocles* the *Athenian*, in the firſt year of the thirteenth olympiad, as *Thucydides* informs us [x]. The territory of *Leontini* was watered by the *Liſſus*, which falls into the *Terias* at the diſtance of eight furlongs from the city [y]. *Leontini* was defended in the time of *Thucydides* [z] by two ſtrong citadels, the one called the citadel of *Phocia*, the other

e the citadel of *Bricinnia*. At a ſmall diſtance from the city was a lake abounding in fiſh, and about twenty miles in compaſs. The vapours ariſing from the marſhes, made by the overflowing of the lake, greatly infected the air, which was there deemed very unwholeſome; but to make amends for this, the fields were ſo fruitful, that, according to *Pliny*, they yielded an hundred-fold [z]; whence the city of *Leontini* was called by *Tully* the grand magazine of *Sicily* [a]. The wines it produced were thought the moſt delicious of the whole iſland; but the inhabitants abuſed this benefit by their intemperance, which gave riſe to the proverb, *The people of* Leontini *are always at their cups* [b]. *Dionyſius* the tyrant, having made himſelf maſter of this city, removed the inhabitants to *Syracuſe*. *Polybius* gives a very exact and

f minute account of *Leontini*, and to him we refer our readers for a more particular deſcription of it [c]. The city of *Hybla* was built by the *Sicani*, who were driven out by a colony from *Megaris* in *Greece*. Theſe new-comers, having enlarged and embelliſhed the place, gave it the name of their native city [d]. The *Hyblæan* honey is, as every one knows, much celebrated by the *Latin* poets. The ancient geographers mention three cities in *Sicily* bearing the name of *Hybla*; the city we are here

Taurominium.

Catana.

Murgentium.

Leontini.

Megaris or Hybla.

ſpeaking

[m] Strab. l. vi. p. 185. Thucyd. l. i. [n] Pausan. in Meſſen. [o] Herodot. l. vi. [p] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. c. 60. & l. xvi. c. 7. [q] Strab. l. vi. p. 185. [r] Thucyd l. iii. [s] Strab. l. v. p. 166. [t] Strab. l. vi. p. 186. [u] Thucyd. l. vi. [w] Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [x] Thucyd. l. vi. [y] Polyb. l. vii. [z] Thucyd. l. v. p. 344. Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [a] Cic. orat. Frumen. c. 18. [b] Erasm. Chiliad. [c] Polyb. l. vii. [d] Strab. l. vi. p. 185.

ſpeaking of ſtood on the eaſtern coaſt, and gave name to the gulf which the preſent a
natives call *the gulf of Auguſta*, from the city of *Auguſta* or *Aouſta* on that bay.
The ſecond city of *Hybla* was ſituate on an eminence in the ſame place where the
ſmall town of *Raguſi* now ſtands, and was called the *Little Hybla*. The third,
which was called the *Great Hybla*, is ſuppoſed to have ſtood between *Catana* and
Hadranum in the territory of the preſent *Paderno*. Some pretend, that there are
ſome traces of it ſtill to be ſeen near the mouth of the *Cataro*, formerly the *Alabon*
or *Alabis* [e].

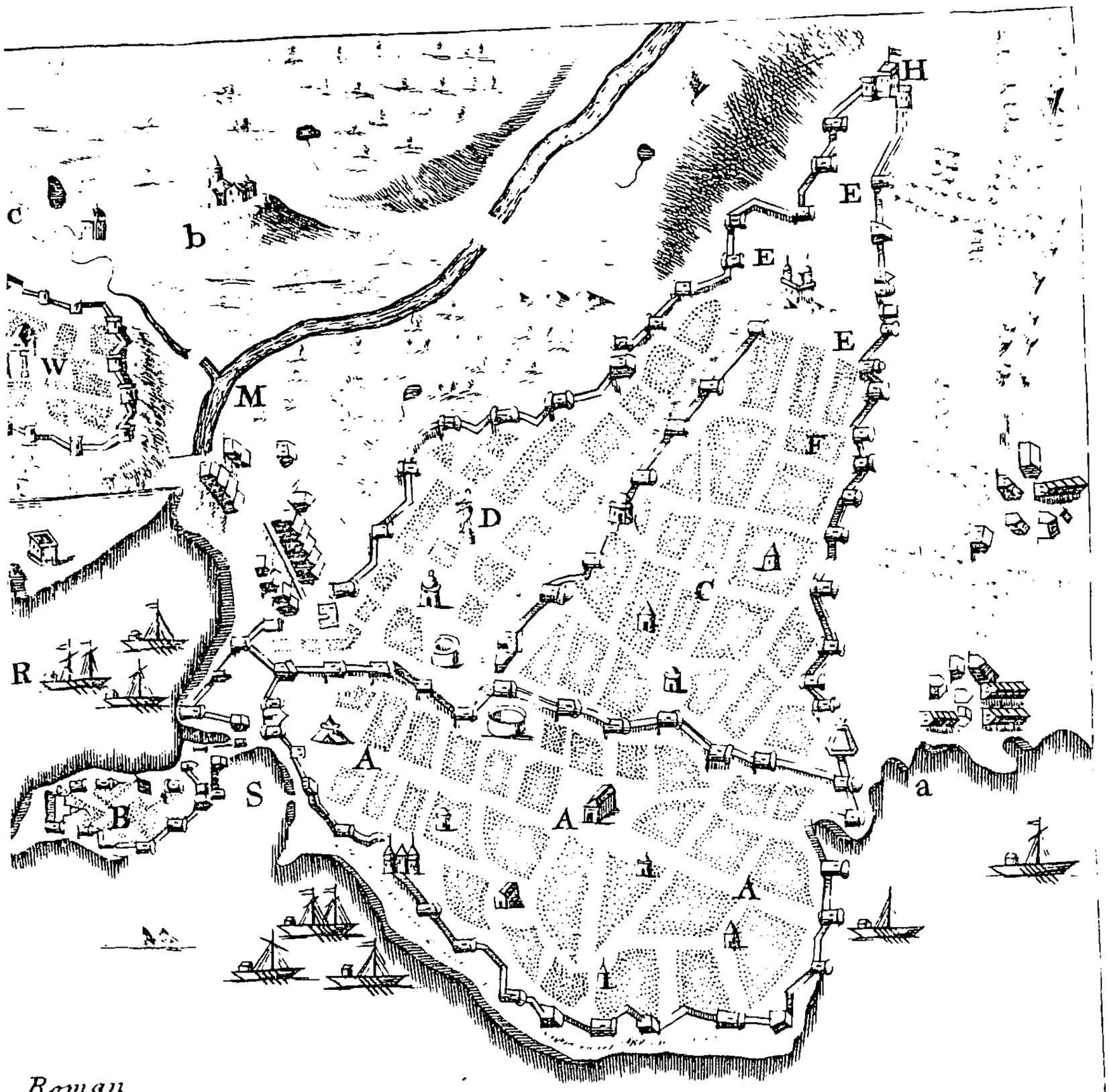
Syracuſe. *Syracuſe*, once the metropolis of all *Sicily* and a moſt flouriſhing commonwealth,
was, according to *Tully* [f], the greateſt and moſt wealthy of all the cities poſſeſſed
by the *Greeks*. *Thucydides* equals it to *Athens* when that city was at the height of b
its glory [g], and *Strabo* calls it one of the moſt famous cities of the world for its ad-
vantagious ſituation, the ſtateline ſs of its buildings, and the immenſe wealth of its
inhabitants [h]. It was built, according to *Thucydides* and *Strabo* [i], by *Archias*, one of
the *Heraclidæ*, who came from *Corinth* into *Sicily*, in the ſecond year of the eleventh
olympiad. The abridger of *Stephanus* and *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* tell us, that it
borrowed the name of *Syracuſe* from a neighbouring marſh called *Syraco*. This
ſtately city contained within its walls, which were eighteen miles in compaſs, four
very conſiderable cities, as *Strabo* calls them, united into one, *viz. Acradina*,
Tyche, *Neapolis*, and *the iſland* or *Ortygia*. In *Acradina*, the largeſt of the four,
there was a vaſt ſquare, ſurrounded with porticoes a magnificent temple dedicated c
to *Jupiter Olympius*, the *Prytaneum*, where the public councils were held, and a
ſpacious palace for the adminiſtration of juſtice ; not to mention ſeveral other build-
ings which were deemed maſter-pieces of architecture [k]. This quarter was ſituated
on the ſea-ſide, and divided from *Neapolis* and *Tyche* by a wall of an extraordinary
thickneſs and height. The ſecond city, called *Tyche*, ſtood between *Acradina* and
the hill *Epipolæ*, having the former on the eaſt, and *Neapolis* on the ſouth. The
chief ornaments of this diviſion were a ſpacious and beautiful gymnaſium, whither
the youth reſorted to learn all ſorts of exerciſes, and ſeveral temples greatly admired
for their inimitable ſtructure, eſpecially that of *fortune*, called by the *Greeks Tyche*,
whence this diviſion borrowed its name [l]. The third quarter, called *the iſland* d
or *Ortygia* was joined to *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis* by a bridge ; the moſt
remarkable buildings in this part were the palace of *Hiero*, which afterwards
became the habitation of the *Roman* prætors, and two magnificent temples, the
one dedicated to *Diana* and the other to *Minerva*, the two tutelary goddeſſes of
Syracuſe [m]. The laſt city was called *Neapolis*, or *the new city*, becauſe built after
the other three ; the chief ornaments of this city was a ſpacious amphitheatre, and
two temples of wonderful architecture, conſecrated to *Ceres* and *Libera*, or *Proſer-
pine*. The ſtatue of *Apollo Temnites*, which was afterwards carried to *Rome*, is cele-
brated by *Tully* as the moſt valuable monument in *Neapolis* [n]. Of theſe four cities
Ortygia alone is now remaining ; there are indeed ſome footſteps ſtill to be ſeen of e
the ancient *Syracuſa* in the ruins of the porticoes, temples, and palaces, which are de-
ſcribed at length by *Fazellus*, to whom we refer the reader [o]. The famous foun-
tain of *Arethuſa* (D) roſe in this iſland, but its ſpring is now dried up. Near the
city ſtood a hill called *Epipolæ*, exceeding ſteep, and of very difficult acceſs.
When the *Athenians* beſieged *Syracuſe*, this hill was not incloſed with a wall as in
after-ages, but defended by a fort called *Labdalon* [p]. On *Epipolæ* was the famous
priſon *Latomiæ*, which word properly ſignifies *a quarry*. *Cicero* gives us a minute
account of this dreadful priſon, which was a cave one hundred and twenty-five
paces

[e] Vide Fazell. in deſcript. Siciliæ. [f] Cic. act. 4 in Verr. [g] Thucyd. l. vii. p. 503.
[h] Strab. l. vi. [i] Thucyd. & Strab. ubi ſupra. [k] Cic. act 4. in Verr. [l] Idem, ibid.
[m] Idem, ibid. [n] Idem, ibid. [o] Fazell. de rebus Sicul. [p] Thucyd. l. vi.

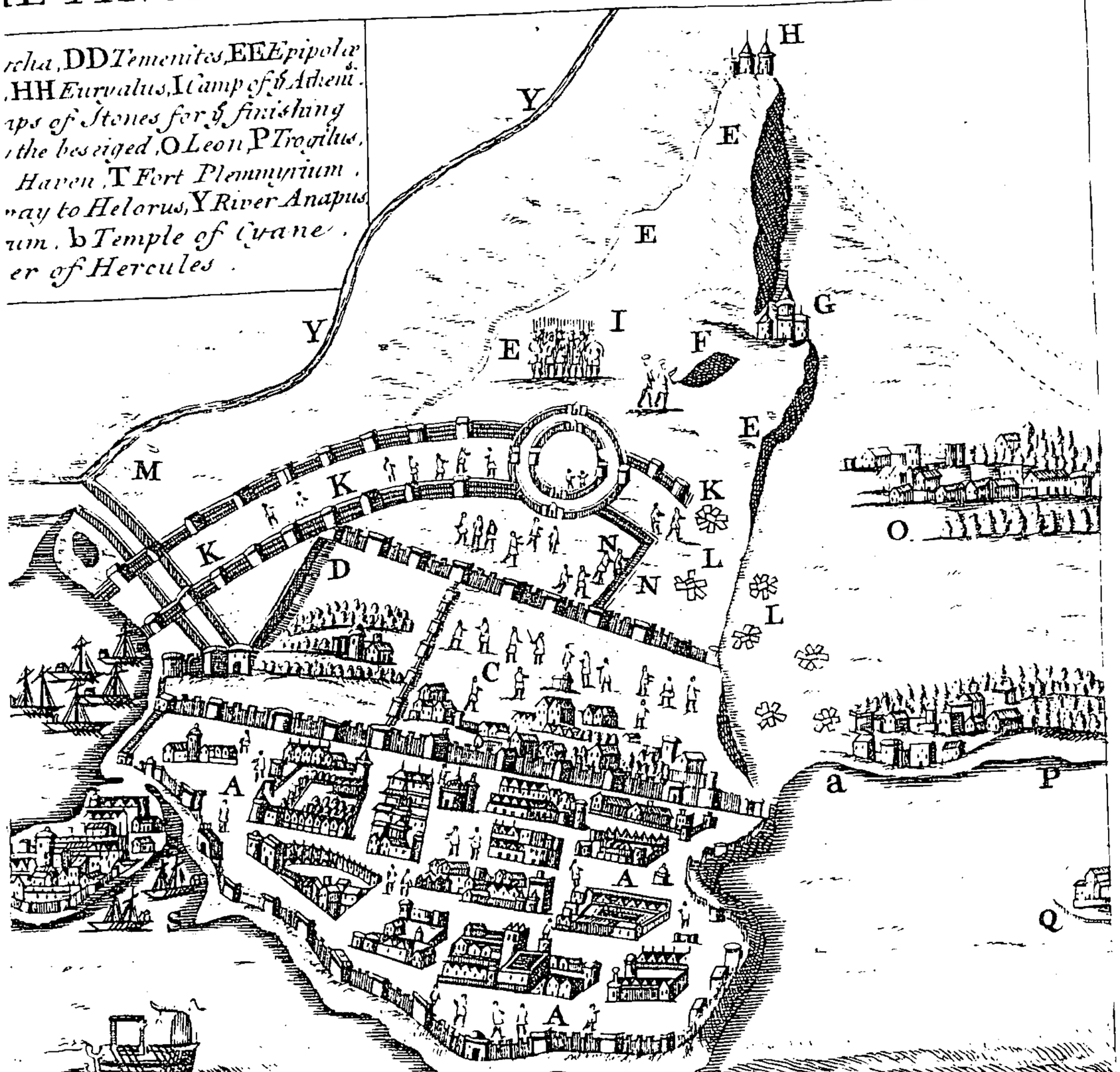
(D) The poets, without the leaſt ſhadow of probability, ſuppoſed, that *Alpheus*, a river of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*, rolled its waters either through, or under, the waves of the ſea, without mixing with them, as far as the fountain of *Arethuſa*, which gave occaſion to the following lines of *Virgil*:

Extremum hunc Arethuſa mihi concede laborem, . .
Sic tibi, cum fluctus ſubter labére Sicanos,
Doris amara ſuam non inter miſceat undam (3)
Thy ſacred ſuccour *Arethuſa* bring,
To crown my labour, 'tis the laſt I ſing ; . . .
So may thy ſilver ſtreams, beneath the tide,
Unmixed with briny ſeas ſecurely glide. *Dryden.*

(3) *Virgil. Eclog.* 10.

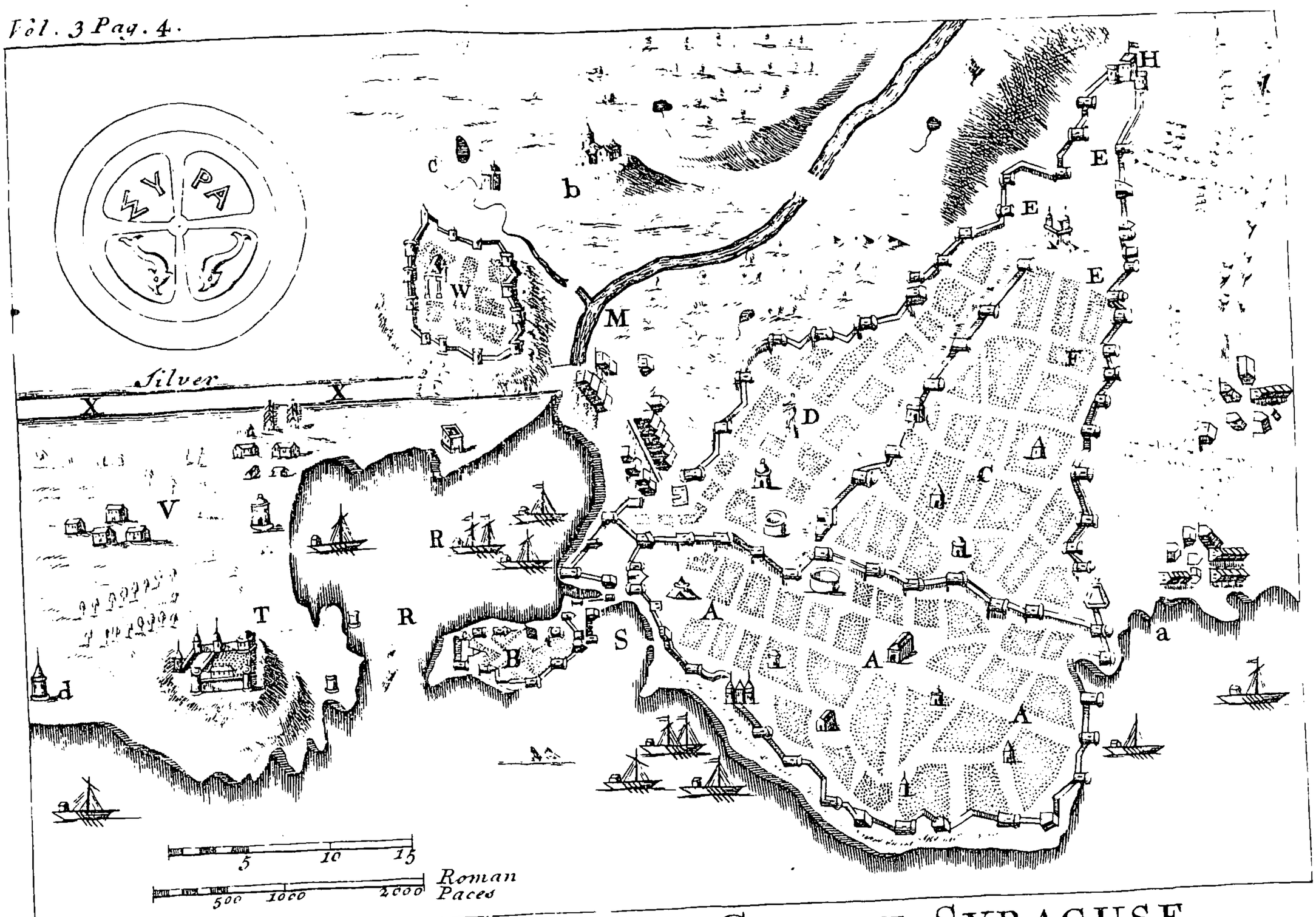


IE ANCIENT CITY OF SYRACUSE.



rcha, DD Temenites, EE Epipolæ
, HH Euryalus, I Camp of ye Athen.
aps of Stones for ye finishing
the besieged, O Leon, P Trogilus,
Haven, T Fort Plemmyrium,
way to Helorus, Y River Anapus
um. b Temple of Cyane.
er of Hercules.

SE BESIEGED BY THE ATHENIANS. *I. Wheatley Sculpt.*



A Map of the Ancient City of Syracuse.

AA *Acradina*, BB *Vasos*, CC *Sycha or Tycha*, DD *Temenites*, EE *Epipolæ*
FF *the Quarry & Prison*, G *Fort of Labdalum*, HH *Euryalus*, I *Camp of ye Athenians*
KK *the Walls made by them for ye Siege*, L *Heaps of Stones for ye finishing*
of ye Walls, MM *Marshes*, N *Wall made by the besieged*, O *Leon*, P *Trogilus*,
Q *Thapsus*, RR *ye Great Haven*, SS *the little Haven*, T *Fort Plemmyrium*,
VV *Dascon*, WW *Olympæum*, XX *high way to Helorus*, Y *River Anapus*,
Z *Lake Lysimelia*, aa *Port of Trogilorum*, b *Temple of Cyane*,
c *the Fountain of Cyane*, dd *Tower of Hercules*.

J. Wheatley Sculpt.

Syracuse besieged by the Athenians.

a paces long, and twenty foot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, who cauſed thoſe to be ſhut up in it who had the misfortune to incur his diſpleaſure [q]. The whole city was environed with a treble wall, ſo flanked with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, that it was deemed impregnable. It had two harbours at a ſmall diſtance from each other, being ſeparated only by the iſland, *viz.* the great harbour and the ſmall one, called otherwiſe *Laccus*; both were ſurrounded with ſtately edifices [r]. The great harbour was above five thouſand paces in circumference, and the entrance of it five hundred paces wide, being formed on one ſide by a point of the iſland *Ortygia*, and on the other by the little iſland and cape *Plemmyrium*, which was defended by a fort of the

b ſame name. Above *Acradina* was a third port, called the harbour of *Trogilus*. The river *Anapis* ran about a mile and half diſtance from the city, and emptied itſelf into the great harbour. Near the mouth of the river, and about five hundred paces from the city, ſtood a caſtle, called *Olympia* from the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, which was the chief ornament of the place. *Thucydides* in his deſcription of the city mentions only theſe three diviſions, *viz. the iſland*, *Acradina*, and *Tyche*; whence it is plain, that *Neapolis* was added after his time [s]. *Syracuſe* underwent ſeveral revolutions before it was taken by the *Romans*, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory; but was always one of the moſt wealthy and powerful cities of thoſe times; for *Gelon*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*

c in the year of *Rome* 260, and the other tyrants his ſucceſſors, were become formidable both to the *Greeks*, *Africans*, and *Aſiatics*. *Dionyſius* the younger, who governed this city, kept in conſtant pay 100000 foot and 10000 horſe, beſides a fleet of 400 ſail. It is ſtill a very conſiderable place, and well peopled, having two harbours, and a great many fine buildings.

Camarina was formerly one of the moſt wealthy cities of *Sicily*. It ſtood between the rivers *Oanus* and *Hipparis*, now the *Fraſcolari* and *Camarana*, near the coaſt. Nothing now remains of this great city but ſome ruins, and the name of *Camarana*, which the natives give to a tower and a neighbouring marſh. *Thucydides* [t] and *Strabo* [u] tell us, that *Camarina* was founded by the *Syracuſians*, who afterwards, upon

d ſome diſpute between the two cities, took it by ſtorm, and levelled it with the ground. It was rebuilt by *Hypocrates*, tyrant of *Gela*, and after many revolutions brought under ſubjection by the *Romans* in the firſt *Punic* war (E). This is the firſt city of note on the ſouthern coaſt of *Sicily*, which lies oppoſite to *Africa*, and extends from cape *Pachynum* to *Lilybæum*. Next to *Camarina* ſtood *Gela*, a city once of great note, and ſaid by *Thucydides* [w] to have been founded by one *Antiphemus*, who had made a deſcent in the iſland, being aſſiſted in the enterprize by a body of two hundred *Rhodians* from the city of *Lyndus*. Theſe gave the name of *Lyndus*, their native city, to their new habitation. Some years after a body of *Cretans*, under the conduct of one *Entimus*, landing in this part of the iſland,

e joined the *Rhodians*, and together with them peopled the city. In proceſs of time the name of *Lyndus* was changed for that of the river *Gela*, called at preſent *Fiume di Terra Nova*, which watered the neighbouring territory [x]. This city is commonly thought to have ſtood at the mouth of the *Gela*, where *Terra Nova* now ſtands; but ſome place it in the neighbourhood of the preſent *Alicate* [y]. *Agrigentum* or *Agragas* was once a city of great note, and no leſs famous for its buildings than *Syracuſe* itſelf. It is ſaid by *Thucydides* [z] to have been founded by the inhabitants of *Gela*, under the conduct of the duumviri *Ariſto* and *Piſtillus*, about the 99th olympiad. It ſtood between the rivers *Agragas* and *Hypſa*, of which the former is now called *Fiume di Gergenti* and *Fiume di San Biaggio*, the latter *Fiume Drago*. We may judge of

Camarina.

Gela.

Agrigentum.

[q] Cic. Act. 6. in Verr. [r] Idem, ibid. [s] Thucyd. l. vi. [t] Thucyd. l. vi. [u] Strab. l. vi. p. 187. [w] Thucyd. ibid. [x] Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [y] Vide Fazell, de rebus Sicul. [z] Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

(E) This city ſtood near a marſh, which infected the air with its peſtilentious exhalations, and occaſioned contagious diſtempers. Hence, though it was a defence to the city, the inhabitants drained it, contrary to the direction of the oracle which they had conſulted. They had ſcarce finiſhed the work, when the *Syracuſians* attacking them on that ſide, took their city by aſſault, and utterly deſtroyed it. Hence the proverb *Camarinam ne moveas*, which was the anſwer of the oracle, and ſignifies that we ought not to expoſe ourſelves to a greater evil in order to avoid a leſs (4). The marſh was the ſame with the preſent *Lago di Camarina*. *Ptolemy* is certainly miſtaken in placing the city of *Camarina* ten miles diſtance from the ſea, and contradicts therein all the ancient geographers.

(4) *Antholog. Græc. & Eraſm. Chiliad.*

of the ſituation and ſplendor of the ancient *Agrigentum* from the deſcription which *Polybius* gives us of it. "It exceeds, ſays he, moſt cities in *Sicily* for its fortifica- "tions, beautiful appearance, and magnificent buildings. It ſtands a hundred and "eighteen furlongs diſtance from the ſea, but can conveniently import by water "all ſorts of proviſions. It is by reaſon of its ſituation and fortifications one of the "ſtrongeſt places in the iſland. Its walls are built upon a rock, which by art is "become inacceſſible. The river, from which it takes its name, covers it to the "ſouth, and the *Hypſa* to the weſt; to the eaſt it is defended by a fortreſs built "on the brink of a precipice which ſerves inſtead of a ditch [a]." Among other remarkable buildings in it there were three temples greatly commended by the ancients, *viz.* the temple of *Minerva*, the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Jupiter Atabyris*, ſo called from a mountain in the iſland of *Rhodes*, where that god was worſhipped: For *Agrigentum*, as we have obſerved above, was built by the inhabitants of *Gela*, who were compoſed of *Rhodians* and *Cretans*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the citadel called *Omphace*, which ſtood at a little diſtance from the mouth of *Agragas*, was much more ancient than the city itſelf [b]. The temple of *Jupiter Olympius* was one of the moſt magnificent in *Sicily*. It was, according to *Diodorus* [c], three hundred and forty foot in length, threeſcore in breadth, and in heighth an hundred and twenty. This writer highly extols the beauty and ſize of the columns which ſupported the building, the admirable ſtructure of the porticoes, and the exquiſite taſte, with which the baſs-reliefs and painting were performed; and adds, that the laſt hand was never put to that ſtately edifice. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of the immenſe and almoſt incredible wealth of the *Agrigentines*.

Heraclea Minoa.

Heraclea Minoa, ſo called, according to *Diodorus* [d], becauſe built by *Minos* king of *Crete*, ſtood on the banks of the *Halycus*, now the *Platani*, not far from the place which the natives call *Caſtel Bianco*. Some writers tell us, that this city was built before the *Cretans* arrived in *Sicily*, and was called *Macara*, which name was by the *Cretans*, who ſeized on the place, changed into that of *Minoa* in honour of their king *Minos*. *Diodorus* is not very coherent with himſelf in the account he gives of it; for in one place [e] he tells us, that it was built by *Minos*, and in another [f] that it was founded by the *Cretans* after their king's death. The *Cretans* were driven out by the *Selinuntii*, and theſe in their turn by a colony of *Lacedæmonians* under the command of one of the *Heraclidæ*, from whom it borrowed the name *Heraclea*. There are ſtill extant ſome medals with the name of this city and the figure of *Hercules*, from whom the leader of the *Lacedæmonians* pretended to be deſcended.

Selinus.

Selinus was formerly a city of great note, and is ranked by the ancients among the chief cities of *Sicily*. *Ptolemy* places it between the river *Mazara* and the promontory *Lilybæum*; but herein he differs from all the ancient hiſtorians and geographers, who ſpeak of it as ſtanding between the *Mazara* and the *Hypſa*. *Strabo* [g] tells us, that it was built by the inhabitants of *Megara* in *Sicily* under the command of one *Pammilus*, about an hundred years after the foundation of their own city. *Thucydides* ſeems to allude to their origin when he calls them *Selinuntians* of *Megara* [h]. They had great quarrels with the inhabitants of *Segeſta* about their frontiers, which kindled a bloody war between the two cities. The *Segeſtani*, being overpowered by their adverſaries, had recourſe to *Hannibal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who was then in *Sicily* at the head of an hundred thouſand men. The *Carthaginian* did not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of puniſhing the *Selinuntians* for the inſults they had offered his father. For *Giſco*, being baniſhed *Carthage*, had taken refuge in *Selinus*, and periſhed there for want, the inhabitants refuſing to afford him any relief while he was in the utmoſt diſtreſs. *Selinus*, not being able to hold out againſt ſo formidable an army, was taken and razed, and moſt of the citizens inhumanly maſſacred, without regard to ſex or age. Some time after *Hermocrates*, the father-in-law of *Dionyſius* the elder, being expelled *Syracuſe*, joined the remains of the *Selinuntii*, who had eſcaped the rage of the *Carthaginians*, and repaired the city, which was ſubſiſting in the ſecond *Punic* war, but in *Strabo*'s time quite deſerted [i]. *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that near *Selinus* was a marſh, which with its peſtilentious vapour infected the whole neighbourhood; to prevent which evil, *Empedocles* turned the ſtreams of the

[a] Polyb. l. vii. [b] Diodor. l. xiii. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Idem, l. xvi. [e] Diodor. l. xvi. [f] Idem, l. iv. [g] Strab. l. vi. [h] Thucyd. l. vii. [i] Strab. ubi ſupra.

a the two rivers *Selinus* and *Hypsa* into the marsh, and by that means carried off the stagnating waters. The same author adds, that the citizens, in gratitude for so great a benefit, ordered divine honours to be paid *Empedocles*, and sacrifices to be offered to *Æsculapius*. The city borrowed its name from the river *Selinus*, and the river from the great quantity of *smallage*, called in *Greek Selinon*, which grew on its banks. The river *Selinus* is supposed to be the present *Madiuni*, and the city the place now called by the natives *Terra delle pulci* [k]. These are the most noted cities on the southern coast, which faces *Africa*. On that which lies over-against *Italy*, and is called by *Ptolomy* the western, but ought to be rather called the northern coast, were the following cities.

b *Lilybæum*, which gave name to the cape, was, according to *Tully* [l], one of the strongest and most considerable cities of *Sicily*. There is nothing now remaining of it but the ruins of some aqueducts and temples, though it was still standing in *Strabo*'s time [m]. The city of *Marsala* or *Marsello*, whence the cape is now called *Capo di Marsella*, is supposed to have been built out of its ruins. *Lilybæum* had a port, which was a safe retreat for ships even in *Julius Cæsar*'s time [n]. The *Romans* indeed attempted several times to stop it up in their wars with *Carthage*; but their attempts proved unsuccessful, the heaps of stones which they threw into it being too weak to resist the violence of the seas and the storms. The *Carthaginians*, as *Diodorus* informs us [o], laid the foundations of *Lilybæum*, after they had been driven from c *Motya* by *Dionysius* the tyrant; and, according to the same writer [p], *Motya* was taken by the tyrant the fourth year of the ninety-fifth olympiad. But *Diodorus* herein contradicts himself, as he has but too often the misfortune to do; for he tells us elsewhere [q], that it was besieged by the *Carthaginians* in the eighty-first olympiad, that is about fifty-two years before. The sepulchre of the sybil of *Cumæ* was formerly to be seen near this city [r]. *Diodorus* [s] speaks of a well near *Lilybæum*, whereof the waters inspired all those who drank them with a prophetic enthusiasm; whence the inhabitants paid a particular worship to *Apollo*. *Drepanum*, now *Trapani*, anciently a famous mart with a safe harbour, was so called from the *Greek* word *Drepanos*, signifying a *sythe*, such being the shape of the shore on which it stood. It was inclosed d with strong walls, and fortified by *Hamilcar*, *Hannibal*'s father, who kept it a considerable time, and made it the seat of war against the *Romans*, till by an order from *Carthage* he concluded a peace with *Lutatius*. Near *Drepanum* was the little island of *Columbaria*, which the inhabitants now call *La Columbara*. In *Drepanum* died *Anchises*, if *Virgil* is to be credited [t]. *Eryx* stood on the top of a hill, bearing the same name, at a small distance from the sea, and the place now called *Trepano del Monte*. The city borrowed its name from the mountain, and the mountain, as is supposed, from *Eryx* the son of *Venus*, who is said to have been killed there by *Hercules*. *Mela* tells us [u], that *Æneas* built a temple on the top of the mountain in honour of his mother *Venus*. It is certain, that the votaries of this goddess came in e crouds from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, to make their offerings to her in this place; whence she was stiled *Venus Erycina*. *Eryx* was the seat of king *Acestes*, who so kindly entertained *Æneas* and his wandering *Trojans*. *Hamilcar* in the first year of the first *Punic* war razed the ancient city of *Eryx*, and repaired *Drepanum* with materials brought from thence. It was soon after rebuilt, for we find it to have been the last city which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*, and delivered up to the *Romans* at the end of the same war. In *Strabo*'s time it was almost quite deserted, few people resorting to the temple, after the *Romans* had built a magnificent one to *Venus Erycina* at a small distance from the gate *Collina* [w].

Segesta, called by the *Greek* writers *Egesta*, and sometimes *Acesta*, stood at a small f distance from mount *Eryx*, and, according to an antient tradition, was built by *Æneas*, when he was by a storm driven on the coast of *Sicily*. Some writers add, that *Egestus*, or, as *Virgil* calls him, *Acestes*, was left in possession of the city by the founder, on his setting sail for *Italy*, and that from him it was called *Egesta* till it became subject to the *Romans*, who out of superstition changed the name of *Egesta* into

Lilybæum

Drepanum.

Eryx.

Segesta.

[k] Fazell. ubi supra. [l] Cic. Act. 5. in Verr. [m] Strab. l. vi. [n] Hirtius de Bell. African. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxii. [p] Idem, l. xiv. [q] Idem, l. xi. [r] Solin. c. 11. Isidor. de origin. l. viii. c. 8. [s] Diodor. ubi supra. [t] Virgil. Æneid. 3, ver. 707. [u] Mela, l. ii. [w] Strab. l. vi. p. 188.

into that of *Segesta* (F). Others say, that it was built by *Egestus* before *Æneas* came into *Italy*, and some are of opinion, that it was founded by one *Elymus* a *Trojan*, whence the inhabitants of this district were called *Elymi* [x]. Their territory was watered by the *Scamander* and the *Simois*, two names given these rivers by the *Trojans*, in memory of those in their native country; the former is now *Il fiume di San Bartolomeo*, and the latter a rivulet without name. This city was taken by *Agathocles* tyrant of *Syracuse*, by whose cruel command all the inhabitants were put to the sword, and even the antient name of the place changed into that of *Dicæpolis*, which it did not long retain. *Tully* tells us, that it was ruined by the *Carthaginians* before the reign of *Agathocles*, if therefore *Diodorus*'s account be true, it must have been rebuilt. According to *Strabo*'s description of it, it stood near the place where the town of *Barbara* was built many ages after, at a small distance from *Castel a Mare*. b

Panormus. *Panormus*, now *Palermo* and the capital of *Sicily*, was built by the *Phœnicians* some time before the arrival of any *Greeks* in the island [y]. Its territory was watered by the *Orethus* and the *Leutherus*, the former is now called *Amiraglio*, and the latter *Baiaria*. In the neighbourhood of this city stood anciently a strong fortress called *Erĉta*, which name was common to it with the hill, which the natives call *Monte Pelegrino*.

Himera. *Himera* was built by the inhabitants of *Zancle* or *Messina*, and utterly ruined by the *Carthaginians* [z]. It was afterwards rebuilt, and called by the *Romans Thermæ Himeræ*, from *the hot baths* in its neighbourhood. *Tully* speaks of this city as one of the most considerable in *Sicily* [a]. *Himera* was the birth-place of the famous poet *Stesichorus*. *Tully* tells us, that among the ruins of the old city two statues were dug up, which were deemed master-pieces of art; the one representing the city itself under the figure of a woman, and the other a stooping old man with a hook in his hand, supposed to be *Stesichorus*. The city borrowed its name from the river *Himera*, now *fiume di Termini*, which washed its walls (G). In the reign of *Augustus* it was made a *Roman* colony, as appears from some medals [b]. c

Alæsa. *Alæsa*, or *Halasa*, was a very antient city of *Sicily*, and stood, as *Fazellus* conjectures, near the place where the city of *Caronia* stands at present, on the river *Alæsus* or *fiume di Casonia*. Near *Alæsa* was a fountain, which, as *Solinus* would make us believe, used at the sound of a flute to bubble up so that it could not be kept within the bason [c].

Agathyrna. *Agathyrna*, which *Strabo* [d] calls *Agathyrsum*, and *Antoninus*'s itinerary *Agatinum*, was according to *Diodorus* founded in the time of the *Trojan* war. Some think, that it stood near the place now called *San Marco*, at a small distance from the promontory, which the *Sicilians* call *Capo d'Orlando*. These are the chief cities we find mentioned by the antient geographers on the coasts of *Sicily*. Among the inland cities, the following are the most remarkable. d

Adranum. *Adranum*, now *Aderno*, at the foot of mount *Ætna*, near a river formerly bearing the same name, as it does at present, being called *Fiume d'Aderno*. This city was built, according to *Diodorus* [e], by *Dionysius* the elder, and was famous for the temple of *Adranus*, the tutelary god of the *Siculi*. Thither the inhabitants of the island and foreigners flocked at stated times of the year, to make their offerings and implore the protection of the deity of the place. *Ælian* tells us, that a thousand large mastiffs were constantly kept here, and that they were endowed with a particular instinct, which led them to fawn upon such as brought presents to the temple, to conduct e

[x] Strabo l. 7. ex Apollodoro, & Cic. Act. 6. in Verr. [y] Thucyd. l. 6. [z] Diodor. l. 13, c. 67. [a] Cic. Act. 2. in Verr. [b] Fazell. de reb. Sicul. [c] Solinus, c. 11. [d] Strabo l. 6. c. 184. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. 14. c. 38.

(F) The *Romans*, says *Pompeius Festus* (5) changed the name of *Egesta*, into that of *Segesta*, by adding to it the letter S. This change was wholly founded on superstition. For the word *Egesta* is the same, all but one letter, as *Egestas*, which signifies in *Latin poverty* or *want*; and such names, as imported any thing that was bad, alarmed the superstitious *Romans*, who thought them omens of the dangers that threatened the person who pronounced them. Upon these groundless prejudices they changed the name of the city, which was first called *Maleventum*, into that of *Beneventum*, as they did that of *Egesta* into *Segesta*.

(G) There were two rivers in *Sicily* bearing this name; one running northward, and this is the river which gave the name to the city; the other runs southward, and falls into the *African* sea. The former is now called *Fiume di Termini*, and the latter *Il Salsi* or *Salso*, which name agrees with what the ancients say of it, *viz.* that its waters had a salt taste, which they contracted by flowing through salt mines.

(5) *Pomp. Fest. in Segesta.*

a conduct drunken persons home in the night, and fall furiously on thieves, and tear them in pieces [f]. *Centuripe*, formerly one of the richest cities in *Sicily*, is now but a small village called by the natives *Centorbe*. It stood, according to *Strabo* [g], at the foot of mount *Ætna*, not far from the river *Symæthus*, now *La Jarcsta*.

Enna stood on an eminence in the middle of *Sicily*, as *Strabo* [h] informs us; whence it was called, according to *Diodorus* [i], the *navel* of *Sicily*. It was one of the strongest places in the island, and remarkable for its beautiful plains, fruitful soil, and the many lakes and springs which watered its territory. A modern writer derives the name of *Enna* from the word *Ennaam*, which in the *Phœnician* language signifies a *fountain of pleasure* [k], the waters of this place being highly commended by the anti- Enna.
b cents for their limpidity and wholesomeness. We are told by *Diodorus* [l], that *Ceres* was born in this district, and that she first taught the inhabitants of *Enna* the art of agriculture. *Diodorus* adds, that the rape of *Proserpine* by *Pluto* happened near *Enna*, while the young goddess was gathering flowers in a neighbouring meadow. This opinion obtained among the *Ennæans*, who shewed a large cavern, which opened of itself, as they believed, to make the god a way to his infernal kingdom. Hence the worship which the *Sicilians* paid these two divinities, the magnificent temple which *Gelo* erected to *Ceres* in this city, and the solemn festival which the *Syracusians* annually celebrated near the fountain *Cyane*, supposed to have sprung up when the earth opened under *Pluto*'s feet. The temple of *Ceres* was resorted to
c from all parts of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Asia*, and was deemed one of the richest in *Sicily*. The antient city of *Enna* is supposed to have stood where *Castro Janni* now stands. *Engyum* or *Enguyum* stood near mount *Maurus*, which the inhabitants call *Mandonia*, near the springs of *Alesus*. *Cicero* [m] speaks of *Engyum* as one of the most considerable cities of *Sicily*. It was founded by the *Cretans*, and was famous for a temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in which it was constantly affirmed that certain goddesses, called *the Mothers*, appeared from time to time. This temple was, according to *Plutarch*, built by the *Cretans*, and dedicated to the goddesses stiled *the Mothers* (H). That writer adds, that in the temple were lodged javelins and brazen helmets, which had been consecrated to the goddesses of the place by *Meriones* and *Ulysses*.
d These were the chief cities of *Sicily* in the ages we are to write of; the others we shall describe in our notes, as we shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel of the history.

Ætna, now *Mount Gibel*, or in one word *Mongibello*, is the highest in *Sicily*, and famous for its frequent and dreadful eruptions, which have often destroyed the whole country to a great distance. It is said to be eight miles in height and seventeen in circumference. The lower parts are very fruitful, the middle shaded with woods, and the top covered with snow great part of the year, notwithstanding the flames and hot cinders it frequently throws up (I). The fire, which is continually burning in the bowels of this mountain, made the poets place here the forges
e of the *Cyclopes* under the direction of *Vulcan*, and the prison of the giants who rebelled against *Jupiter*. These fictions the vulgar soon took for truths, and looked on mount *Ætna* as the residence of *Vulcan* and the seat of his empire. Upon this supposition they erected a temple to him on the hill, in which was kept, as *Ælian* informs us [n], a perpetual fire as in the temple of *Vesta*, this element being a symbol of *Vulcan*. Any extraordinary eruption was looked upon by the *Romans* as ominous, and two very dreadful ones are said to have happened, the one not long before the breaking out of the servile war in *Sicily*, and the other soon after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, both portending the bloody wars that

Mountains. Ætna.

[f] Ælian. de Animal. l. 3. [g] Strabo. l. 6. [h] Strabo. ibid. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 3. [k] Bochart Phal. l. 2. c. 3. [l] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 3. [m] Cic. Act. 3. in Verr. [n] Ælian. l. 11. de Animal.

(H) The *Pagans* gave the name of mothers to the goddesses of the first rank, namely to *Cybele*, *Juno*, and *Vesta*. In the like manner the god, whose protection they implored, was often invoked by the name of father. *Cicero* speaks of a famous temple erected in the city of *Engyum* to *Cybele*, who was stiled *the Great Mother* (6).

(6) *Cic. Act. 3. in Verr.*

(I) This is elegantly expressed by *Silius Italicus*, in the following lines:

Summo cana jugo cohibet (mirabile dictu!)
Vicinam flammis glaciem, æternoque rigore
Ardentes horrent scopuli: stat vertice celsi
Collis hyems, calidaque nivem tegit atra favilla (7).

(7) *Sil. Ital. l. 14. v. 571*

that enſued. The moſt remarkable conflagrations we read of ſince thoſe times were a
in the years of the *Chriſtian æra* 1169, 1329, 1408, 1444, 1447, 1536, 1554, by the laſt of which *Catania* and the neighbouring countries were very near being utterly deſtroyed, as they were alſo in 1699. But we muſt refer the reader for the cauſes of thoſe eruptions, and a particular account of them, to *Fazellus*, *Cluverius*, and *Leontius* in his *Pyrologia Typographica*. Next to *Ætna* in height and compaſs is mount *Eryx*, which we have ſpoke of above.

The principal rivers were the *Terius*, now *La Tavetta*, the *Himera*, riſing on mount *Modenia* and falling into the *African* ſea; it is now called *Salſo* for the reaſons we have hinted above; the *Halycus*, called by the preſent inhabitants, *Il Platani*; it riſes at a little diſtance from the ſmall town *Halce*, anciently *Halyciæ*, and b
diſcharges itſelf into the *Sicilian* ſea, near the ruins of *Heraclea*, about eighteen miles weſt of *Agrigentum*; the *Anapus*, which riſes near *Buſſena*, waters the territory of *Syracuſe*, and empties itſelf into the *Sicilian* ſea, *&c.*

No country has produced men more famed for learning than *Sicily*; but we need not enlarge on this ſubject, it being well known, that *Æſchylus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Empedocles*, *Gorgias*, *Euclide*, *Archimedes*, *Epicharmus*, *Theocritus*, &c. were natives of this iſland.

The Æolian Iſlands.

The *Æolian* iſlands lie off the north coaſt of *Sicily*, in the *Tyrrhenian* or *Tuſcan* ſea. They were ſo called from *Æolus*, who is ſuppoſed to have reigned there. They are alſo known by the name of the *Vulcanian* iſlands, becauſe ſome of them c
vomited out flames like mount *Ætna*, and *Vulcan* was the tutelary god of all ſuch places; for the ſame reaſon they were called by the *Greeks Hepheſtiades*. *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Mela*, and *Pliny* count ſeven of them, *viz. Lipara*, *Hiera*, *Strongylæ*, *Evonymos*, *Didyme*, *Ericuſa*, *Phenicuſa*. *Lipara*, now *Lipari*, is the beſt peopled and the largeſt of all the *Æolian* iſlands, being eighteen miles in compaſs. It is ſaid to have borrowed its name from *Liparus* the ſon of *Auſon*, who reigned in this iſland [o]. The ſoil is very fruitful, and the country furniſhed with great plenty of allom, ſulphur, and bitumen. It has many medicinal baths, which were formerly much frequented; whence it had the name of *Thermeſſa*. *Strongylæ*, now *Strombolo*, is about ten miles in compaſs; and the ſoil no leſs fruitful than that of *Lipari*, but d
the whole country is frequently laid waſte by the flames which a mountain in the iſland throws out. The other iſlands are no-ways conſiderable, moſt of them being uninhabited and mere rocks. *Ptolomy* reckons up fifteen of theſe iſlands; but, it is evident, he includes in that number ſeveral other little iſlands which are too far diſtant from the *Æolian* iſlands to be comprehended under that denomination. They are diſtant about forty miles from the north coaſt of *Sicily*, and fifty from the neareſt part of the farther *Calabria*.

The iſlands Ægates.

The iſlands, called *Ægates* or *Ægades*, lie north of cape *Lilybæum*, and are three in number, *viz. Phorbantia*, or *Buccina* as *Pliny* calls it, *Æguſa* or *Capraria*, and *Hiera*, which is alſo called *Maritima*. The firſt is now called *Levenzo*, the e
ſecond *Favignana*, and the third *Maretano*.

The inhabitants the Cyclopes and Laſtrigones.

The *Cyclopes* and *Laſtrigones* were, according to *Juſtin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Thucydides*, the firſt inhabitants of *Sicily*. They are ſaid to have ſettled in the territory of *Leontium* and the countries in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*; but of their origin we know nothing except what we are told by the poets. That there were formerly *Cyclopes*, or giants, ſome moderns have endeavoured to prove from the remains of ſome dead bodies of a gigantic ſize, which have been found in ſeveral parts of this iſland. They pretend, that theſe giants were deſcended from *Japhet*, and that they came into *Sicily* after the confuſion of languages [p]. Their inhumanity towards ſtrangers, and the flames which mount *Ætna*, a part of their territory, was f
conſtantly vomiting out, gave occaſion to the many fictions of the poets, eſpecially that the *Cyclopes* fed on human fleſh, and that they were employed by *Vulcan* to make thunderbolts for *Jupiter*.

The Sicani.

The moſt ancient inhabitants after the *Cyclopes* were the *Sicani*, who, as *Diodorus* informs us [q], called themſelves the original inhabitants of the iſland. But *Thucydides* [r], *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* [s], *Philiſtus* as quoted by *Diodorus* [t], *Solinus* [u], and the poet *Silius* [w] tell us, that they came from a country in *Spain*, watered by the

[o] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 8. [p] Vide Thom. Fazell. Decad. 1. l. 1. c. 7. & Marian. Valguarnera de primis incolis Siciliæ. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 2. [r] Thucyd. l. 6. [s] Dion. Halic. l. 1. [t] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [u] Solinus, c. 10. [w] Sil. Ital. l. 14.

a the river *Sicanus*, which *Servius* [x], upon very weak conjectures, takes to be the *Segro*. Some writers will have them to have been called *Sicani* from the river *Sicanus*; others from their leader, under whose conduct they settled in *Sicily*, and gave their name to the island, which before was called *Trinacria*. *Diodorus* is of opinion, that the *Sicani* were the original inhabitants of *Sicily*, and supports his assertion with the authority of *Timæus*, who wrote the history of *Sicily* from the earliest ages. According to that ancient writer, the *Sicanians* at first enjoy'd the whole island, and applied themselves to cultivate and improve the ground in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, the most fruitful part of the island: they built several small towns and villages on the hills to secure themselves against thieves and robbers,
b and were governed not by one common prince, but each city and district by its own king. Thus they continued to live till *Ætna* began to throw out flames, and lay waste the whole country; and then they abandoned their ancient habitations, and retired to the western parts of the island, which they still inhabited in the time of *Thucydides* [y]. Some *Trojans*, after the destruction of their city landing in *Sicily*, settled among the *Sicani*, built the cities of *Eryx* and *Egesta*, and became one people with them, taking the general name of *Elymi* or *Elymæi*. They were afterwards joined by some *Phocenses*, who settled here on their return from the siege of *Troy*. The people properly called *Siculi*, or *Sicilians*, came over into *Sicily*, after the *Sicani* had for many ages enjoyed an undisturbed possession of the whole
c island. They were, according to *Hellanicus* of *Lesbos*, the ancient inhabitants of *Ausonia*, properly so called; but being driven from thence by the *Opici*, they took refuge in *Sicily*, and settled in that part of the island, which the *Sicani* had forsaken. As they were not contented with the narrow bounds which the *Sicani* allowed them, they began to encroach upon their neighbours; whereupon a bloody battle ensued, in which the *Sicani* were utterly defeated, and confined to a corner of the island.

The Siculi.

The *Siculi*, now masters of the greater part of the country, changed the ancient name of *Sicania* into that of *Sicily* [z]. *Philistus*, as quoted by *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, tells us, that the *Siculi* were originally *Ligures*, and that they opposed *Hercules*, when, on his return from *Spain*, he attempted to cross the *Alps* out of *Gaul*
d into *Italy*. Notwithstanding their opposition, that great conqueror got safe into *Italy*, subdued the *Ligures*, and, having incorporated them into his army, carried them over into *Sicily*, it being his custom, as the same author acquaints us, to recruit his army with the people he had conquered, and, after they had assisted him in making new conquests, to reward them with new feats [a]. The *Phœnicians* likewise settled on the coast, and in the adjacent islands, for the conveniency of trade; but upon the arrival of the *Grecks* retired into the country of the *Elymi*, in order to be nearer *Carthage* [b].

The Greeks.

About three hundred years after the arrival of the *Siculi*, the island began to be known to the *Grecks*. Of these the first that went thither were the *Chalcidians* of
e *Eubœa*, under the conduct of *Thucles*, who built *Naxus*, and a famous altar of *Apollo*, which, as *Thucydides* tells us, was still standing in his time without the city [c]. The year after, which was, according to *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* [d], the third of the seventeenth olympiad, *Archias* the *Corinthian*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, laid the foundations of *Syracuse*. Seven years after a new colony of *Chalcidians* founded *Leontini* and *Catana*, after having driven out the *Siculi* who inhabited that tract. About the same time *Lamis* with a colony from *Megara*, a city of *Achaia*, settled on the river *Pantacius* at a place called *Trotilum*, where his adventurers lived some time in common with the *Chalcidians* of *Leontini*; but being driven from thence by the *Leontines*, he built the city of *Thapsus*, where he died. Upon his death, the colony
f left *Thapsus*, and, under the conduct of *Hyblon* king of the *Siculi*, founded *Megara Hyblæa*, where they resided two hundred and forty-five years, till they were driven out by *Gelon*, tyrant of *Syracuse*. During their abode at *Megara*, they sent one *Pammilus*, who was come from *Megara* in *Achaia* their original city, to build *Selinus*. This city was founded about a hundred years after the foundation of *Megara*. *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the former a *Rhodian* the other a *Cretan*, led each a colony of their countrymen, and jointly built the city of *Gela* on a river of the same name, establishing in their new settlement the *Doric* customs, about forty-five

[x] Serv. in lib. 8. Æneid. [y] Diodor. & Thucyd. ubi supra. [z] Thucyd. ubi supra. Dion. Halicar. l. i. [a] Philistus apud Dion. Halicar. l. i. [b] Thucyd. ubi supra. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Dion. Halicar. l. ii.

five years after the founding of *Syracuse*. The inhabitants of *Gela* founded *Agri-* a
gentum, an hundred and eight years after their arrival in *Sicily*, and introduced the same customs there. A few years after, *Zancle* was built by the pirates of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, but chiefly peopled by the *Chalcidians*, *Samians*, and *Ionians*, who chose rather to seek new settlements than live under the *Persian* yoke. Some time after, *Anaxiles*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, drove out the ancient proprietors, and, dividing their lands among his followers, called the city *Messana* or *Messene*, which was the name of his native city in *Peloponnesus*. The city of *Himera* was founded by the *Zan-* *cleans* under the direction of *Eucleides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; but peopled by the *Chal-* *cidians*, and some *Syracusian* exiles, who had been driven out by the contrary faction. The *Syracusians* built *Acræ*, *Chasmenæ*, and *Camarina*; the first seventy years, the b
second ninety, and the third one hundred and thirty-five after the foundation of their own city. This is the account which *Thucydides*, a most judicious and exact writer, gives us of the various nations, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who settled in *Sicily* [e]. He takes no notice of a colony from *Crete*, which, if *Diodorus* is to be credited, settled in *Sicily* long before the *Greeks* got any footing in that island. According to this writer, *Minos*, king of *Crete*, having invaded *Sicily* in pursuit of *Dædalus*, was there treacherously put to death by *Cocalus* king of the *Sicani*. The *Cretans*, who had attended him in this expedition, having lost their leader, and likewise their ships which were all burnt by *Cocalus*, resolved to settle in the island, and build a city; which they did accordingly, calling it from the name of their c
king *Minoa*. Some time after, the inhabitants of *Minoa*, possessing themselves of a place strong by nature, in the heart of the country, built there the city of *Engyum*. After the destruction of *Troy*, *Merion* with other *Cretans* being cast away on the coasts of *Sicily*, were kindly entertained by their countrymen there, and admitted to share all the privileges of their city. Their power being thus increased with their numbers, they began to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories, and considerably extended their confines. In process of time they became one of the most wealthy colonies of *Sicily*, and built a most magnificent temple in honour of the *Curetes* or *Corybantes*, called in *Crete* the *Mother Goddesses* [f]. *Strabo* counts among the ancient inhabitants of *Sicily* the *Morgetes*, who, being driven out of *Italy* d
by the *Œnotrians*, settled in that part of the island, where the ancient city of *Morgantium* stood [g]. The *Campani*, who assumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is, *invincible warriors*, and the *Carthaginians*, who settled very early in *Sicily*, ought likewise to be counted among the ancient inhabitants of the island; but of these we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

As the authors, who have wrote the history of *Sicily* from the earliest times, and to whom both *Diodorus* and *Thucydides* refer us for a more full account of what

The History of the Sicani *and* Siculi.

they only hint at, have not, to the irreparable loss of the learned world, reached our times, we cannot pretend to give any satisfactory or connected history of those nations, that inhabited the island, before the arrival of the *Grecks* (K). Of the *Lastrigones*

[e] Thucyd. l. vi. [f] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 13. [g] Strab. l. vi.

(K) The authors who wrote the history of *Sicily* from the earliest ages are *Timæus*, *Philistus*, *Antiochus* of *Syracuse*, *Hipys*, and *Theopompus*. *Timæus* was contemporary with *Plato*, wrote the history of *Sicily*, and is often quoted and followed by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Philistus* flourished under the two *Dionysiuses*, and wrote a complete history of *Sicily* from the earliest ages to his time. He was a native of *Naucratis*, but passed great part of his life at *Syracuse*, where he assisted *Dionysius* in the establishing of his authority. He married the niece of *Dionysius*, unknown to him, and was on that account banished *Sicily*. He is often quoted by *Josephus*, and seems to have been an accurate writer (18). *Antiochus* of *Syracuse* is quoted by *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* as an author of great credit; he flourished about the 90th olympiad, and wrote the history of *Sicily* in nine books, which began with the reign of *Cocalus*, and ended with the fate of *Sicily* in the reign of *Darius Nothus* king of *Persia*. *Pausanias* mentions this author in these words; Antiochus *son of* Xenophanes, *a* Syracusian, *says in his history of* Sicily, *&c.* He is also quoted by *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, who tells us, that he extracted his history from ancient and authentic monuments. *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, and *Festus* seem to pay a great deference to the authority of this writer. *Hipys* flourished either in the reign of *Darius*, or that of *Xerxes*, and was the first who wrote the history of *Sicily*, which history was afterwards abridged by one *Myes*. He is frequently quoted by *Plutarch*, *Suidas*, the scholiast on *Aratus*, and others. *Theopompus*, a native of the isle of *Chios*, flourished in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus* of *Persia*, and *Philip* the father of *Alexander* of *Macedon*. He was the disciple of *Isocrates*, and, in the opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, far excelled his master. *Athenæus* cites and commends him as a lover of truth, and one who spared

(18) *Vid. Plut. in Dio. Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvi.

a *Læstrigones* and *Cyclopes* we know nothing but what we read in the poets, and is beneath the dignity of history to take notice of. We shall only say, that some writers have, not without good grounds, imagined, that the *Læstrigones* and *Sicani* were one and the same people [h]. As to the *Sicani*, they had at first as many kings as cities, but were in process of [i] time brought under subjection to one common prince. Of all their kings we find two only mentioned in history, *viz.* *Cocalus* and *Teutus*; all we know of the latter is, that in his time the *Sicani*, being at variance among themselves, were subdued by *Phalaris* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and *Teutus* himself taken by treachery in *Vessa* his capital [i]. *Cocalus* reigned long before him, and was, according to *Diodorus*, contemporary with *Minos* king of *Crete*, who, being highly incensed against *Dædalus*
b for helping his queen *Pasiphae* to satisfy her unnatural lust, equipt a powerful fleet, and pursued him into *Sicily*, where *Cocalus* then reigned. Upon his arrival he sent messengers to *Cocalus*, requiring him to deliver up *Dædalus*. The *Sicanian* shewed himself disposed to comply with his request, entertained him very splendidly, and invited him to his palace, where he caused him to be privately stifled in a hot bath. The *Cretans*, who had attended him into *Sicily*, raised a stately monument to their deceased king, whose bones were many ages after dug up in laying the foundations of *Agrigentum*, and sent into *Crete* by *Thero* sovereign of that district [k]. In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, the *Sicani* sided with the *Lacedæmonians*; and afterwards with *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Syracuse*, against the *Carthaginians*; but were at last entirely
c subdued by the latter, and held in subjection till the *Romans* in the first *Punic* war rescued them from that bondage [l].

The *Siculi* were in like manner first subject to many, and afterwards to one common prince. *Æolus*, according to *Diodorus* [m] and *Justin* [n], was their first king, and succeeded by *Butes*, as *Butes* was by *Eryx*. But the most renowned among their princes was *Ducetius*, who governed the *Siculi* with great wisdom, built the city of *Palicon* (L), and removed that of *Neas*, the place of his birth, from the hills to the champain country [o]. He engaged in a war with the *Syracusans*, by whom he was routed, and surrendering himself to them, was set at liberty, upon condition that he should leave *Sicily*, and lead a private life at *Corinth* (M). The *Syracusans*, having thus

[h] Vid. Reinecc. hist. Jul. Vol. II. p. 381. [i] Polyæn. l. v. [k] Diodor. l. iv. c. 13. Pausan. l. vii. Euseb. in Chron. [l] Diodor. l. xiii. & xvi. [m] Idem, l. xiii. [n] Justin. l. iv. [o] Diodor. l. xi.

spared no pains in the search of it. Besides many other excellent performances, he wrote the history of *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, in three books; in one of which he gave an account of the affairs of *Sicily* from the beginning of the reign of *Dionysius* the elder, to the expulsion of *Dionysius* the younger (19). As the works of these authors have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark as to some of the most material points in the history of *Sicily*.

(L) The city was so called from a neighbouring temple dedicated to the gods *Palici*, who were supposed to be two twin-brothers, and sons of *Jupiter* by the nymph *Thalia*. The temple was very famous for the wonders that were related of it; but far more for the sacredness of the oaths that were taken there, the violation of which was said to be always attended with sudden and exemplary punishment. This sacred place was a secure asylum for all persons, who were oppressed by a superior power; and especially for slaves, who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their masters. They continued safe in the temple till such time as they had made their peace by the interposition of mediators chosen by both parties; and there was not a single instance of a master's having forfeited the promise he had made to pardon his slaves; so greatly revered were the gods who presided in the temple for the severe vengeance they were believed to take on those who violated their oaths (20).

(M) *Ducetius*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, united all the *Siculi*, the inhabitants of *Hybla* excepted, into one body; by which means he became very powerful, and gained several considerable victories over the *Syracusans*, who began to give no small umbrage to the inhabitants of *Sicily*. But after many glorious successes, *Ducetius* was defeated in a pitched battle, and abandoned by the greatest part of his forces, The consternation, into which so sudden and general a desertion threw him, prompted him to take a resolution, which nothing but the utmost despair could suggest. He withdrew in the night to *Syracuse*, advanced as far as the great square in the middle of the city, and there falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the *Syracusans* his professed enemies. Such a sight drew the whole city into the square, and the orators endeavoured to inflame the people thus assembled against the suppliant, whom providence had put into their hands, that they might revenge and punish by his death all the injuries he had done the republic. Such speeches incensed the multitude, who were ready to fall upon him even at the foot of the altar; but, an assembly being convened, the wisest of the senators represented, that they were not to consider what punishment *Ducetius* might deserve, but how it behoved the *Syracusans* to behave on that occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a suppliant, by which character his person was become sacred and inviolable; that it was worthy the goodness natural to the *Syracusans* to exert their clemency even towards those who least deserved it, &c. The people was greatly affected with this speech,

(19) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvi.

(20) *Diodor. Sicul. ibid. c.* 22.

thus got rid of a powerful rival, reduced the whole country of the *Siculi*, except the a
city of *Trinacria* alone, which refused to admit the *Syracusans* within the walls. This
city was at that time the metropolis of the *Siculi*, and its inhabitants were accounted
the best warriors of the whole nation. The *Syracusans* therefore, having drawn toge-
ther all their troops, marched out against the *Trinacrians*, who met them at some
distance from their city, and offered them battle. Both armies engaged with the
utmost fury, and the victory was long doubtful. But at last the *Trinacrians* were
overpowered with numbers, and thinking it beneath them either to beg quarter or to
fly, were all to a man killed on the spot. Such of them as were wounded, preferring
death to captivity, dispatched themselves. The *Syracusans*, having gained so com-
pleat a victory over a people never before subdued, levelled the city with the ground, b
sold all the women and children for slaves, and sent the spoils by way of thanksgiving
to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*[p]. Thus were the *Siculi* reduced by the *Syracusans*;
but they did not long continue subject to them; for in the war which not long after
broke out between the *Syracusans* and *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Nicias*, we
find the former soliciting the *Siculi* to join them against a foreign enemy, and espouse
the cause of *Syracuse* as their own. But the *Siculi* were so far from complying with
their request, that they sent powerful succours to the *Athenians*, and cut in pieces a
body of *Spartans* that was marching to the relief of *Syracuse*[q]. In the war which was
soon after kindled between *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, they assisted the *Carthaginians*
with an army of twenty thousand men[r]. But in the war which *Dionysius* the elder c
made upon the *Carthaginians* with a design to drive them out of the island, they
assisted the *Syracusans* to the utmost of their power. The *Carthaginians* prevailed in
this war, and the *Siculi*, notwithstanding the assistance they had lent *Dionysius*, were
by him abandoned, and given up to the *Carthaginians*, whose yoke they bore till the
time of *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, who restored most of the cities belonging to the
Siculi to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties[s], as we shall have occasion to
relate at length in the sequel of this history. This is what we have been able to
gather relating to the first inhabitants of *Sicily*, from the few fragments that are still
remaining of the authors, who have wrote at length on that subject. We shall now
proceed to the history of the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily*, beginning with that of *Syracuse*, d
the most powerful state and eminent city in the whole island.

[p] Idem, l. xii. [q] Idem, ibid. [r] Idem, l. xiii. [s] Idem, l. xiv.

speech, and all to a man voted for sparing *Ducetius*'s life. However, he was banished *Sicily*, and ordered to reside at *Corinth*, the original city of the *Syracusans*, who took upon them to furnish the exile with all things necessary to support himself suitable to his dignity. *Ducetius*, however, returned some years after into *Sicily*, under pretence of founding a new colony, and endeavoured to deliver his countrymen from the oppression they groaned under, but was prevented by death from accomplishing his design (21).

(21) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. *&* xii.

SECT. II.

The history of Syracuse.

WHAT kind of government first prevailed in the city of *Syracuse* is not well known. We find one *Polis*, mentioned by *Athenæus*[t] and *Ælian*[u], as reigning there in the earliest times; whence some have concluded, that the city was first governed by kings. It is certain, that monarchical government, if first introduced, was not of long continuance, being soon changed into a democracy, as is manifest from *Aristotle*[w], *Diodorus Siculus*[x], and *Justin*[y]. But as the history of that republick is for the space of two hundred years overcast with an impenetrable mist for want of records, we shall begin with the reign of *Gelon*, in whose time *Syracuse* began to make a very considerable figure, and thenceforward furnishes many great and

[t] Athen. l. iii. c. 28. [u] Ælian. V. H. l. xii, c. 31. [w] Aristot. l. v. Polit. c. 4.
[x] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. [y] Justin. l. xxii.

and memorable events for the ſpace of above two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of ſlavery under tyrants, and liberty under a popular government, till it was at length reduced by the *Romans*, and made part of their empire.

Gelon was born in the city of *Gela*, whence he probably took his name (N). He ſignalized himſelf in the wars, which *Hippocrates*, tyrant of *Gela*, carried on againſt the neighbouring ſtates, moſt of which he reduced, and was very near making himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, after having defeated the *Syracuſans* in a battle fought on the banks of the *Florus*; however, he obliged them to deliver up to *Hippocrates* the city of *Camarina*, which they had ever poſſeſſed to that time. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon*, under pretence of defending the rights of the tyrant's children, his wards, took up arms againſt his own citizens, and, having overcome them in a battle, ſeized on the ſovereignty for himſelf. After this ſucceſs, he undertook to reſtore ſome *Syracuſans*, who had been expelled the city by the contrary faction. With theſe exiles he marched from *Caſmene* to *Syracuſe*, where he was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and put in poſſeſſion of the city. Being now maſter of ſo wealthy a place, he gave the government of *Gela* to his brother *Hiero*, and bent all his thoughts on the embelliſhing of *Syracuſe*, and extending the limits of that ſtate. His firſt care was to people it well, and therefore, having deſtroyed the city of *Camarina*, he transferred the inhabitants to *Syracuſe*. He had ſoon after ſome diſputes with the *Megareans*, who were ſupported by all the *Eubœans* that inhabited *Sicily*. But their joint forces were not able to cope with *Gelon*, who drove them out of the field, took and razed their cities, and tranſplanted the moſt wealthy among the inhabitants to his favourite city, allowing them to enjoy the ſame rights and privileges as the natives. The common people, though they had no part in promoting the war againſt him, he ſold for ſlaves, obliging thoſe who purchaſed them to tranſport them out of *Sicily*, ſaying, that it was more eaſy to govern a thouſand men of ſubſtance, than one who had nothing to loſe [a]. By this means the power of *Syracuſe* roſe in a ſhort time to a very great height, and the friendſhip of *Gelon* was courted, not only by the neighbouring ſtates, but by thoſe of *Greece*, namely of *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, who jointly ſent embaſſadors into *Sicily*, inviting him to enter into an alliance with them againſt *Xerxes* king of *Perſia*, who was ready to invade *Greece* with a formidable army. *Gelon*, it ſeems, had been, before this time, engaged in a war with the *Carthaginians*, and on that occaſion had implored in vain the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, for he upbraided the embaſſadors with the contempt *Athens* and *Lacedæmon* had ſhewn him, when he ſolicited ſuccours from them againſt the *Carthaginians*. However, he declared at the ſame time, that he was ſo far from retaliating ſuch an ungenerous treatment, that, on the contrary, he was ready to ſupply them with two hundred gallies, twenty thouſand men compleatly armed, two thouſand horſe, two thouſand bow-men, two thouſand ſlingers, two thouſand light-horſe, and beſides to furniſh the whole *Greek* army with corn during all the time of the war, upon condition they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces. This propoſal was rejected by the embaſſadors with indignation, who told him, that if he was willing to ſuccour *Greece* under the conduct of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, they would willingly enter into a confederacy with him againſt the common enemy, but, if he diſdained to obey their orders, they did not care for his aſſiſtance. *Gelon* replied with a great deal of temper, that he could not help thinking he had a better claim to the ſupreme command, than either the *Lacedæmonians* or *Athenians*, ſince he had a far greater number both of ſea and land forces; but, however,

Gelon. *Year of the flood* 2514. *Before Chriſt* 485.

[a] Herodot. l. vii.

(N) The firſt of *Gelon*'s anceſtors we find mentioned in his hiſtory was one *Oecetor*, who was born in the iſland of *Telus*, but went to ſettle at *Gela*, whence he was driven with the other inhabitants by *Antiophemes* and the *Lyndians* of *Rhodes*, when they poſſeſſed themſelves of that city. In proceſs of time, one of his deſcendants by name *Telines* was created by the inhabitants of *Gela* high-prieſt of the infernal gods. At what time the family returned to *Gela* is not known. *Herodotus* (22) informs us, that *Telines* was the firſt of the deſcendants of *Oecetor*, who made any figure, and that ſome of the inhabitants of *Gela* being expelled in a ſedition, he by the authority of his function brought them back to their native country, for which good office the prieſthood was continued in his family.

(22) *Herodot. l.* vii.

ever, he would abate something of his first pretensions, and be satisfied with the a
command either of the fleet or the army, and allow them to chuse which of the two
they liked best. The embassadors, notwithstanding the straits their respective coun-
tries were in, would hearken to no such proposals; whereupon they were com-
manded by *Gelon* to depart forthwith his dominions [b].

In the mean time *Gelon* being informed, that *Xerxes* had already crossed the *Helles-*
pont, and apprehending that the *Greeks* would not be able to resist so formidable a
power, dispatched to *Delphos* one *Cadmus*, a person whom he could confide in (O),
with rich presents, enjoining him to wait the event of a battle, and in case *Xerxes*
should conquer to present him with the treasure, and pay him homage in his name;
but if the *Greeks* should get the better of the *Barbarian*, to bring back the presents b
to *Sicily* (P) [c]. *Gelon*, it seems, was at this time quite ignorant of the alliance
which *Xerxes* had concluded with the *Carthaginians* before he undertook his expe-
dition into *Greece*. By that treaty it was agreed, that while the *Persians* invaded
Greece, the *Carthaginians* should fall on those who were of the *Greek* name in *Sicily*
and *Italy*, that they might be diverted from assisting one another. Pursuant to this
agreement, the *Carthaginians* made vast preparations with a view to recover the
places which they had formerly possessed in *Sicily*. It is not exactly known, at what
time the *Carthaginians* first carried their arms into *Sicily*; all we are certain of is,
that they were possessed of some part of it as early as the first year after the ex-
pulsion of king *Tarquin* at *Rome*; for in the time of the first consuls *Brutus* and c
Valerius the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to
navigation and commerce, whereby it was expresly stipulated among other things,
that the *Romans*, who should touch at *Sardinia*, or that part of *Sicily* which be-
longed to the *Carthaginians*, should be received there in the same manner as the
Carthaginians themselves [d]. Hence it is manifest, that the *Carthaginians* were al-
ready masters of *Sardinia* and part of *Sicily*. This treaty was concluded about
twenty-eight years before *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*; but at the time of that expedition
the *Carthaginians* had not a foot of ground in *Sicily*, having been driven out by *Gelon*,
as appears from that prince's speech to the *Athenian* and *Spartan* embassadors related
at length by *Herodotus* [e]. No wonder then, that the *Carthaginians* readily embraced d
so favourable an opportunity of recovering their dominions in *Sicily*, and joined in
alliance with *Xerxes*, who was an irreconcileable enemy to the whole *Greek* nation.
The preparations for this war are said to have been continued for three years,
during which time *Hamilcar* the son of *Hanno*, who was charged with the ma-
nagement of it, not only raised what forces he could in *Africa*, but also with the
money sent him by *Xerxes* hired a great number of mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and
Italy; so that his army amounted to three hundred thousand men, and his fleet to
two thousand ships of war and three thousand transports. With this formidable
army *Hamilcar* sailed from *Carthage*, and landing without opposition at *Panormus*,
laid siege to *Himera* a maritime city in that neighbourhood. *Theron*, tyrant of e
Agrigentum, whose daughter *Gelon* had married, was then in possession of *Himera*,
having

[b] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Aristot. l. viii. Polit. c. 12. [c] Herodot. ibid.
[d] Polyb. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24. [e] Herodot. ubi supra.

(O) *Cadmus* had been formerly lord of *Cos*, the dominion of which island he had received by inheritance from his ancestors; but because they had usurped that sovereignty, and unjustly deprived the inhabitants of their liberty, *Cadmus* voluntarily resigned his authority, restored the *Coans* to their ancient rights and privileges, and retired to the city of *Zancle* in *Sicily*, where he lived a private life. *Gelon*, who was well acquainted with his character, sent him to *Delphos* on this occasion, entrusting him with presents of an immense value. Neither was he deceived in the opinion which he had conceived of his integrity; for *Cadmus* no sooner heard that the *Persians* had been defeated, and that *Xerxes* was retiring with his forces, than he returned to *Sicily*, and delivered up to *Gelon* the treasures he had entrusted him with, though he might with impunity have appropriated them to himself (23).

(23) *Herodot. ibid.*

(P) The *Sicilian* writers, as *Herodotus* informs us, vary in some particulars of this account, and say, that *Gelon*, having at last prevailed with himself to serve under the *Lacedæmonians*, would have assisted *Greece* in her distress, if his own dominions had not been invaded by the *Carthaginians*. These authors make no mention of any alliance concluded between the *Persians* and *Carthaginians*; but tell us, that the *Carthaginians* were invited into *Sicily* by *Terillus*, who had been tyrant of *Himera*, but dispossessed of his government by *Theron* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, to revenge which injury, at the instigation of *Anaxilas* tyrant of *Rhegium*, who had married his daughter, he had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, not doubting but they would gladly embrace so favourable an opportunity of invading *Sicily* (24).

(24) *Idem, ibid.*

a having driven from thence *Terillus* to whom that city of right belonged. The tyrant ſeeing his city all on a ſudden inveſted with ſo numerous an army, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to his ſon-in-law, imploring a ſpeedy ſuccour. *Gelon*, upon the firſt notice he had of the ſtraits *Theron* was in, drew together an army of fifty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and marched with all poſſible expedition to his relief. *Hamilcar* on his ſitting down before *Himera*, which was a town of great ſtrength, had cauſed two large camps to be well fortified; in one of which he lodged his land-army; and his ſhips, which he had cauſed to be drawn aſhore, in the other, placing there all his marines for their defence. *Gelon*, on his arrival at *Himera*, intercepted a courier, carrying letters from the inhabitants of b *Selinus*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*, whereby he underſtood, that *Hamilcar* was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Neptune*, and that he had appointed the *Selinuntine* cavalry to join him the ſame day in the ſaid camp. *Gelon*, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horſe, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the *Selinuntines*. His orders were put in execution, and the body of cavalry admitted without the leaſt ſuſpicion into the camp. *Hamilcar* was then buſy in ſacrificing, and the greater part of the ſoldiery attending him without arms. The *Syracuſans* therefore, without the leaſt oppoſition, making up to *Hamilcar*, killed him, purſuant to their general's orders, c cut in pieces moſt of his marines, and ſet fire to the ſhips. In this critical juncture, *Gelon*, who had notice of the ſucceſs by a ſignal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army and attacked the other camp. The *Carthaginians* at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the ſame time ſeeing all their fleet in a blaze, they had no longer courage to ſtand their ground, but betook themſelves to a precipitous flight; and then the ſlaughter was dreadful. We are told, that no fewer than an hundred and fifty thouſand were killed in the purſuit; the reſt retired to an eminence, where they made head againſt the enemy; but being ſurrounded on all ſides without any hopes of relief, they were obliged, for want of proviſions, to ſurrender at diſcretion; ſo that of this mighty army, the greateſt that had ever been raiſed d in thoſe weſtern parts, not one ſingle man made his eſcape [f]. *Herodotus* tells us, that this battle was fought the ſame day as that of *Salamis*, but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the *Carthaginians* to have been defeated the ſame day that *Leonidas* was killed at *Thermopylæ*. After the battle *Gelon* amply rewarded all thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves in the action, eſpecially the body of horſe, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory. The greateſt part of the ſpoils, which were of an immenſe value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of *Syracuſe* and *Himera*. The captives he ſhared with his allies, who employed them in public works for the common good; and ſo many were taken, that all *Africa*, as our author ſays, ſeemed to have been tranſplanted into *Sicily*. Some of the private citizens of *Agrigentum*, e who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, had five hundred a-piece. They were all put in irons, and ſet apart for the public ſervice; and on this occaſion it was, that the *Agrigentines* built their famous temple, and made thoſe conduits, which were ſo much admired by the ancients, and called *Pheaces* from one *Pheax*, who was the overſeer of the work [g].

Of the two thouſand ſhips of war and three thouſand tranſports, of which the *Carthaginian* fleet conſiſted, eight ſhips only, which happened to be out at ſea when the camp of the marines was taken, made their eſcape, and ſailed for *Carthage*; but before they reached that place they were all caſt away, a few men only being ſaved in a ſmall boat. Theſe arriving at *Carthage* brought the diſmal news of the f entire defeat of their army and the loſs of their fleet. The grief, conſternation, and deſpair, which ſuch an unexpected diſaſter occaſioned in the city, is not to be expreſſed. As the *Carthaginians* in all great reverſes of fortune ever loſt their courage, and ſunk into deſpair, they looked upon themſelves as utterly ruined, expecting every moment to ſee the victorious army land at *Carthage*. In this fright they immediately diſpatched embaſſadors into *Sicily*, enjoining them to ſtrike up a peace with *Gelon* upon any terms. The embaſſadors without delay put to ſea, and landing at *Syracuſe* threw themſelves at the conqueror's feet, and with many tears

[f] Herodot. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

[g] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon a what conditions he ſhould think fit to preſcribe. *Gelon* heard them with great humanity, and, being touched with compaſſion, granted them a peace upon the following conditions; *viz.* that they ſhould pay two thouſand talents of ſilver to defray the expences they had put him to, build two temples, where the articles of the treaty ſhould be lodged and kept as ſacred, and for the future abſtain from offering human ſacrifices. This laſt article ſhews the humanity of *Gelon*'s temper; and indeed no prince ever gave more inſtances of good nature, than he after his authority was once eſtabliſhed. Some acts of ſeverity, which he is ſaid to have practiſed before he was firmly ſeated on the throne, are generally aſcribed to his counſellors, who prompted him to them againſt the natural bent of his humane b temper. The *Carthaginians* did not think this a dear purchaſe of a peace, which was abſolutely neceſſary for their affairs, and which they hardly durſt hope for. They ſhewed their gratitude to *Damarata*, *Gelon*'s wife, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in procuring them ſo favourable a peace, by ſending her a crown of gold, which was valued at an hundred talents of gold. This crown *Gelon* turned into money, and coined pieces called from his wife's name *Damaretia*, each of them being worth ten *Attic* drachmas [h].

Gelon, after the concluſion of the peace, having nothing to fear from *Africa*, reſolved to embark his troops, and paſſing over into *Greece*, join his countrymen there againſt the *Perſians*. Upon ſecond thoughts he had changed his mind, and c reſolved rather to ſerve under the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, than ſuffer the barbarians to inſult over thoſe of the *Greek* name. But while all things were in a readineſs for this expedition, a meſſenger from *Corinth* brought him the joyful news of the victory, which the *Greeks* had gained at *Salamis*, and at the ſame time acquainted him, that *Xerxes* with a great part of his army had left *Europe*. Hereupon he diſbanded his army, after having commended his ſoldiers and officers for the forwardneſs they had ſhewn to aſſiſt their countrymen in *Greece*, and given each of them ſome token of his favour. He commanded the allies to return to their reſpective homes, and the mercenaries he quartered in places at a great diſtance from *Syracuſe* his metropolis. And now having no troops within, or near, the d city, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of all the inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, commanding them to come armed, as if they were to encounter an enemy. When they were met, he himſelf repaired to the aſſembly without arms or guards, and there gave them an account of his whole conduct, ſhewing to what uſes he had applyed the ſeveral ſums with which he had been entruſted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that he had never any thing elſe in view but the public welfare; but, however, if he had through ignorance done any thing amiſs, they were at full liberty to inflict upon him what puniſhment they thought fit, ſince they were all well-armed, and he without arms or guards to ſcreen himſelf from their vengeance. The numerous aſſembly ſtruck with ſo e unexpected a ſpeech, and ſtill more with the unuſual confidence he repoſed in them, anſwered with loud acclamations, calling him their great benefactor, their deliverer, their king. This laſt title *Gelon* had ever declined, ſtiling himſelf only prætor of *Syracuſe*; but the *Syracuſans* obliged him, before he left the aſſembly, to accept of it, and with one conſent inveſted him with the ſupreme authority [i]. Their gratitude did not ſtop here; a decree was paſſed, without oppoſition, ſettling the crown, after his death, on his two brothers, *Hiero* and *Thraſybulus*. And becauſe he had, by coming without arms or guards into the aſſembly, put his life into their hands, the aſſembly commanded a ſtatue to be erected repreſenting him ſimply in the habit of a citizen, hoping thereby to tranſmit the memory of ſo re- f markable an action to the lateſt poſterity (Q) [k].

The

[h] Idem, ibid. [i] Idem, ibid. [k] Idem, ibid. & Plut. in Timol.

(Q) This ſtatue met afterwards with a very ſingular fate. About a hundred and thirty years after it had been ſet up, *Timoleon*, having reſtored the *Syracuſans* to their ancient liberty, thought it adviſeable to ſell all the ſtatues of the princes, who had governed till that time, in order to eraze the leaſt footſteps of tyranny, and at the ſame time to relieve the wants of the people. But firſt he brought them to a trial as ſo many criminals, hearing the depoſitions and witneſſes againſt them. They were all condemned with one voice, the ſtatue of *Gelon* excepted, which found an eloquent advocate in the ſincere gratitude the citizens ſtill retained for ſo beneficent a prince (25).

(25) *Ælian. l.* 13. *c.* 37.

a THE *Syracusans* had no cause to repent their having entrusted him with the sovereign power; for he employed the short time he reigned in the truly royal care of making his people happy. He was the first man, as our author observes [l], who became more virtuous by being raised to the throne. Before his power was established, he was, contrary to his natural disposition, obliged to use some severity; but when the supreme authority was by the common consent of the citizens put into his hands, he made it his only study to oblige all, and serve the public to the utmost of his power, without any regard to his private ease or advantage. The first thing he did, after his accession to the throne, was, to bestow on ten thousand foreigners, who had served under him, all the rights and privileges of the *Syracusan* citizens. This he did with
b a view to people his capital, to encrease the power of the state, and reward the services of so many brave men, who had exposed their lives for the defence of the city [m]. He was, as *Plutarch* informs us [n], particularly famous for his honesty, truth, and sincerity; for he is said never to have wilfully wronged the meanest of his subjects, and never to have promised a thing which he did not perform. Happening once to be in great want of money for the carrying on of an expedition, and, on the other side, not caring to load his subjects with extraordinary taxes, he convened the people, laid before them the state of his finances, and desired them to contribute voluntarily what every one could afford, and should think proper. The *Syracusans*, who were not yet well acquainted with *Gelon*'s character, for this happened before his victory over
c the *Carthaginians*, seemed unwilling to be at any expence on account of the expedition, for which the money was designed. He therefore entreated them to lend him the necessary sum, assuring them, that though it was to be employed for the public good, they should be reimbursed assoon as the war was ended. He was then furnished with the money he wanted, which he not only repaid at the time agreed on, but divided great part of the booty, which he got in that expedition, among those who had lent him it [o].

ONE of the chief objects of his attention was the encouraging of agriculture, which he took great pains to make his subjects look upon as an honourable employment. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and took delight in employ-
d ing his spare hours in working with them in the fields. His design in so doing was not, says *Plutarch* [p], merely to render the country rich and fruitful, but to inure his subjects to toils, and by that means preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably accompany a soft and indolent life. He was a professed enemy to all luxury, pomp, and ostentation; and ever used his utmost endeavours to banish from his dominions all such callings as had a natural tendency to debauch the manners, and enervate the courage of his subjects. From his infancy he shewed a great disinclination to music, which was at that time in great request among the *Greeks*; whence, while he was one day at an entertainment, a lyre being presented, according to a custom that then prevailed, to each of the guests, when it was *Gelon*'s turn to play,
e he, instead of sounding the instrument as the rest had done, caused his horse to be brought, and mounting him with wonderful agility and grace, shewed that he had learnt a more noble and manly exercise, than that of playing on the lyre [q].

EVER since the defeat of the *Carthaginians* the several cities of *Sicily* enjoyed a profound peace; such as had sided with the enemy were, upon their first application, generously pardoned by the conqueror, and suffered quietly to enjoy their ancient liberties. The *Syracusans*, above all others, were happy under the auspicious government of so good and beneficent a prince. Their republic, indeed, was changed into a monarchy; but the laws, and not the monarch, bore the whole sway. Their properties were as safe, their liberties as extensive, as when they
f were their own masters, and their city in a far more flourishing condition than ever. Their king assumed no part of the kingly office, but the toils and cares of it, and the satisfaction of procuring happiness to others, which of all satisfactions is the greatest. He was often heard to say, that the *Syracusans* in placing the crown upon his head could have no other view than to engage him, by so signal a favour, to defend the state, to preserve order in all things, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit, by his simple, modest, frugal, and regular life, a pattern

[l] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. [m] Idem, ibid. [n] PLUT. in Apophth. [o] Idem, ibid.
[p] Idem, ibid. [q] Idem, ibid.

tern of all civil vertues to his subjects. And this design he answered above any prince a
that ever had swayed a sceptre before him; his whole life being taken up in promoting the worship of the gods, the observance of the laws, and the welfare of his subjects. But his reign was short, heaven having only shewn, we may say, to the world, that those, who in after-ages were to be set over others, might in him have a perfect pattern of all the virtues that are becoming so eminent a station. He died of a dropsy, in the seventh year of his reign, and the grief of his subjects for the loss of their common father, and best friend, as they not undeservedly stiled him, was equal to the love and esteem they had always bore him. Even on his death-bead he gave an instance of his respect for the laws; the *Syracusans* had enacted one against the extravagant pomp of funerals, and *Gelon*, always willing to confirm with his example b
what the people agreed on, begged his brother *Hiero*, who was to succeed him, to take care that this law was strictly observed in this funeral. The whole city accompanied the body of their beloved king to the place where it was to be interred, though it was above twenty miles distant from *Syracuse*. The people, in token of their gratitude and affection for so loving a prince, erected in the place, where he was buried, a magnificent mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers, of a suprizing height and exquisite structure, and decreed him those honours, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The *Carthaginians* afterwards demolished the mausoleum, and *Agathocles* the towers; but says our historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all other things, could efface the glory of his name, or abolish the c
memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of his subjects[r] (R).

Hiero. *Year of the flood 2527. Before Christ 472.*

After *Gelon*'s death, the sceptre continued near twelve years in his family. He was succeeded by *Hiero* his eldest brother, who is commended by some of the ancients as an excellent prince, and by others represented as a covetous, headstrong, and cruel tyrant. To reconcile these writers we must distinguish the periods. In the beginning of his reign he behaved more like an unjust tyrant, than a lawful prince; he thought himself above the laws, despised his subjects, and, led by his covetous temper, impoverished the people to enrich himself. His conduct, so unlike that of his predecessor, soon made him the object of the public hatred; but d
the *Syracusans* bore with his vices, out of the great veneration they had for his brother's memory, which was the only thing that restrained them from rising in open rebellion. He was extreamly jealous of his brother *Polyzelus*, whose great interest and credit among the citizens made him suspect, that he designed to drive him from the throne. He therefore employed only foreigners and mercenaries about him, suffering no *Syracusan* to set foot in his palace. In order to get rid of *Polyzelus*, he resolved to put him at the head of a great army, which he was going to send to the assistance of the *Sybarites* against the *Crotoniates*, hoping he might lose his life in that expedition. But *Polyzelus*, being well apprized of his design, refused the command, which so exasperated the tyrant, that he would have caused him to e
be put to death, had he not by a timely flight saved himself in the territories of *Theron*, king of *Agrigentum*, who had married his daughter. *Hiero* demanded him, but *Theron* could not by any threats be prevailed upon to deliver up his father-in-law, who had taken sanctuary in his dominions. This gave rise to a war, which lasted many years, between the kings of *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum*, and was at last ended in the following manner. The inhabitants of *Himera*, being grievously oppressed by their governor *Thrasyleus* the son of *Theron*, and not daring to complain to his father, sent embassadors to *Hiero*, offering to deliver up to him their city, and join him against his rival *Theron*. But *Hiero*, detesting their treachery, discovered the whole plot to *Theron*, who out of gratitude offered to conclude a peace f
upon terms that were highly advantagious to *Hiero*. The conditions were accordingly agreed to by the contending parties, and the two kings reconciled. On this occasion

[r] Diodor. Sicul. l. 11. Ælian. de Animal. l. 1. c. 3. Scholiast. Pindari. p. 164. Plut. in Dion.

(R) *Pliny* tells us out of *Philistus*, that when his body was burnt according to the ancient custom, a favourite dog of his followed the body of his deceased master to the funeral pile, and, throwing himself into the flame, was with it reduced to ashes (26).

(26) *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 4.

a occasion *Theron*, interposing his good offices in behalf of *Polyzelus*, prevailed upon *Hiero* to receive him again into favour. To make the reconciliation between the two kings more lasting, they cemented it with a new alliance, *Hiero* marrying *Theron*'s sister, after which there was during *Theron*'s reign a perfect harmony between the states of *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum* [t].

Hiero, having thus concluded a peace with the king of *Agrigentum*, turned his arms against the inhabitants of *Catana* and *Naxus*, whom he drove from their country, and in their room settled a colony of *Syracusans* and *Peloponnesians*. This he did with a view to be honoured after his death as the founder of those cities, for all cities paid their founders such honours as were bestowed on heroes. The
b *Cataneans* and *Naxians* he transplanted to the city of *Leontini*, incorporating them with the ancient inhabitants. The same year he obtained a signal victory over the *Hetruscans* of *Tyrrhenia*, who infested the neighbouring coasts, sunk most of their ships, burnt others, and cleared the seas of those pirates [u]. He found himself soon after engaged in a war with the *Agrigentines* under the conduct of *Thrasydeus*, who had succeeded his father *Theron*, but was very unlike that good and generous prince; for, going astray from the path which *Theron* had pointed out to him, he no sooner ascended the throne, but, throwing aside all restraint of the laws, he began to oppress his subjects in a most tyrannical manner. *Hiero*, out of the respect he bore to his father's memory, advised him to use his subjects with more
c humanity, lest they should conspire against him, and drive him from the throne as one not fit to be entrusted with their lives and fortunes. This wholesome advice so provoked *Thrasydeus*, who was of a violent temper, that he entered the *Syracusan* territories in an hostile manner, laid waste the country, and even threatened the metropolis with a siege, having under his standards above twenty thousand men. *Hiero* seeing himself insulted at the very gates of his metropolis, raised an equal number of forces, and marched out against the unjust aggressor. *Thrasydeus* did not decline the engagement, which was very bloody, most of the troops on both sides being killed on the spot. But the *Syracusans* carried the day, and *Thrasydeus*, out of despair abdicating the government, fled to the city of *Megara*, where he
d laid violent hands on himself. Upon his abdication the *Agrigentines* recoverd their liberty, and entered into an alliance with *Hiero* [w].

Hiero, a little before his death, invited into *Sicily* the sons of *Anaxilas* formerly tyrant of *Rhegium*, and a great friend of his brother *Gelon*, and advised them, as they were come to years of maturity, to take the sovereign power into their own hands, and call to an account *Micythus*, who had been left their guardian. *Hiero*, who had contracted a bad state of health, was mighty desirous to see the children of his brother's friend in possession of their dominions before he left the world. The two young men loaded with rich presents set out from the court of *Syracuse*, and arriving at *Rhegium* commanded *Micythus* to give an account of his admi-
e nistration, which he did in the presence of their friends and relations, no one finding any thing to object to him, but, on the contrary, all admiring and extolling his prudence, his integrity, and justice, for it appeared, says our author, that no man had ever discharged a trust with more honesty and disinterestedness. The young princes, repenting the steps they had taken, earnestly pressed him to resume the government, promising to respect him as if he were their father, and pay him a filial obedience till the hour of his death. But *Micythus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offer, and was equally pressing with them to take the reins of the government into their own hands; which they no sooner consented to do, but *Micythus* took his leave of them, and embarked for
f *Greece*, his native country, being attended to the shore by the whole city in the utmost grief for so great a loss. He afterwards led a private life at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, where he was no less esteemed and loved, than he had been at *Rhegium* [x]. Soon after *Hiero* died at *Catana*, which city he had repeopled, and was there buried with great pomp and magnificence. *Diodorus* tells us in one place, that he reigned only eleven years, and in another, that he reigned twelve years and eight months [y]. But *Aristotle* will have him to have swayed the sceptre only ten years [z].

THERE

[t] Diodor. Sicul. l. 11. [u] Idem, ibid. [w] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Schol. in Pindar.
[x] Idem, ibid. [y] Idem, ibid. & l. 12. [z] Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12.

THERE is a ſtrange diſagreement among authors with relation to *Hicro*'s character. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was of a covetous, cruel, and tyrannical temper, and an utter ſtranger to the candor and ſincerity of his brother *Gelon*; that out of jealouſy he attempted to make away with his brother *Polyzelus*, and that he oppreſſed his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that they would have depoſed him had they not been reſtrained by the remembrance of *Gelon*'s generoſity and general kindneſs to all his ſubjects [a]. On the other hand, *Ælian* [b] commends him as a juſt, generous, and good-natured prince, and adds, that the moſt needy were not more ready to crave than he was to give, that his generoſity knew no bounds, that he was a great admirer of learning, and a bountiful encourager of the learned, that he was a prince of great candour and ſincerity, and that he lived in perfect harmony with his brothers, without ever entertaining any ſort of jealouſy againſt them. This account is, ſeemingly, in each particular a direct contradiction to the former. However, ſome writers have endeavoured to reconcile both teſtimonies, as we have hinted above. For *Hiero*, as the ſame *Ælian* informs us elſewhere [c], in the beginning of his reign betrayed a fierce, ſavage, and untractable temper; but falling afterwards into a lingering diſtemper, which confined him to his palace, and thereby gave him an opportunity of reflecting ſeriouſly on the conduct of his life, he ſeemed, as it were, to have changed his nature. During his illneſs, his only delight was to converſe with men of learning, whom he invited to his court from all parts, amply rewarding them for the relief their entertaining converſation afforded him. Among theſe were *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Æſchylus*, *Bacchylides*, and *Epicharmus*. The converſation of theſe great men did not a little contribute to the ſoftening of *Hiero*'s inhuman temper; for they were not only excellent poets, but alſo poſſeſſed of a great fund of learning, and conſulted as the ſages of their age. *Simonides* in particular had a great aſcendant over the king's mind, and the only uſe he made of it was, to inſpire him with ſentiments worthy of a prince. He frequently converſed with him on philoſophical ſubjects, and in one of theſe converſations it was, that *Hiero*, as we read in *Tully* [d], aſked him his opinion of the nature and attributes of the deity; to which queſtion *Simonides* anſwered, that he muſt have one day to conſider on it; the next day he aſked two, and went on increaſing in the ſame proportion; when *Hiero* preſſed him to give the reaſon of theſe delays, he confeſſed, that the ſubject was above his comprehenſion, and that the more he dived into it, the more obſcure it appeared to him. Several of the ſayings of *Hiero*, related by *Plutarch* [e] and *Athenæus* [f], ſhew, that he profited greatly by the inſtructions of *Simonides*. Among others they tell us, that he uſed often to ſay, that a king's palace and ears ought to be always open to every man, who would ſpeak truth without diſguiſe. It is well known, that *Pindar* in his odes beſtows the higheſt encomiums on *Hiero*, not only for the victory he won in the *Olympic* games, but alſo for his eminent virtues, calling him a prince, in whom centered all the great and truly princely qualities. We will not take upon us to ſay, how far we may depend on the praiſes which *Pindar* gives *Hiero*, ſince poets are not always ſincere in the elogiums they beſtow upon princes. However, it is certain, that *Hiero*'s court was a place of reſort for all men of wit and learning, and that he invited them to it by his affability, courteous treatment, and much more by his liberality. He was paſſionately fond of the *Olympic* games, and did not diſdain to enter the liſts with perſons of the loweſt rank; on which account he is cenſured by *Xenophon* in the inimitable treatiſe he has left us on the art of governing well, which is intitled *Hiero*, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and *Simonides*. It is ſaid, that *Themiſtocles*, ſeeing *Hiero* arrive at *Olympia* with a ſplendid equipage in order to aſſiſt at the games, was for excluding him from that diverſion, for not having ſuccoured the *Greeks* againſt the common enemy [g]. This motion was commended by all, but ſeconded by none. *Hiero* was a powerful and reſolute prince, and would not have eaſily put up ſuch an affront.

Thraſybulus. *Hiero* was ſucceeded by his brother *Thraſybulus*, a moſt cruel and bloody tyrant. He practiſed all ſorts of cruelty on his ſubjects, fancying, ſays our author, that he was of a different nature from them, and that he had been ſet over them, only that he might with ſafety trample them under his feet. All thoſe who gave him the

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. [b] ÆLIAN. var. Hiſt. l. ix. c. 1. [c] Idem, var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 15. [d] CIC. de nat. Deor. [e] PLUTARCH. in Apoph. [f] ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c. 4 [g] *Ælian* var. Hiſt. l. ix. c. 5.

a the leaſt umbrage were barbarouſly murdered; the moſt wealthy, upon frivolous pretences, either put to death or condemned to perpetual baniſhment; and, in ſhort, the city turned into a ſhambles. Such inhuman proceedings grew ſoon inſupportable to the *Syracuſans*, who entering into an aſſociation took up arms, and declared *Thraſybulus* an enemy to his country. The tyrant, ſeeing the whole city in arms, though he kept always in his pay above fifteen thouſand mercenaries, attempted at firſt to appeaſe the tumult with fair words, but finding that the incenſed citizens were not to be impoſed upon, he poſſeſſed himſelf of that part of the city which was called *Acradina*, and of the iſland, and thence made frequent ſallies on the enemy, who were maſters of the quarter called *Tyche*. The *Syracuſans* ſent embaſſadors to
b *Gela*, *Agrigentum*, *Selinus*, *Himera*, and the other cities, deſiring them to join in the common cauſe, and ſend ſpeedy ſuccours to the relief of *Syracuſe*, ſince on the fate of the metropolis depended that of the other cities. Upon this embaſſy they all ran to arms, and joining the *Syracuſans*, put them in a condition to venture a general engagement, which was attended with the deſired ſucceſs; for the tyrant was entirely defeated, and cloſely beſieged in *Acradina*, whence he ſent deputies to capitulate with the people. The only terms he could obtain were, that his life ſhould be ſpared, on condition he reſigned his authority and retired out of *Sicily*. Theſe he was obliged to comply with, and accordingly, after having diveſted himſelf of all power, he withdrew to the city of *Locros* in *Italy*, where he led a private life after a ſhort
c reign of ten months [h]. Upon his reſignation, *Syracuſe*, and the other cities that had been ſubject to him, were declared free, and the popular government every-where re-eſtabliſhed, and maintained till the reign of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, that is for the ſpace of threeſcore years.

Thraſybulus driven out, and a popular government introduced at Syracuſe.

THE *Syracuſans*, being thus reſtored to their former liberty, called a general aſ-
ſembly, where it was unanimouſly decreed, that a ſtatue ſhould be erected to *Jupi-*
ter the deliverer, of the ſize of a coloſſus, and that on the anniverſary of the happy day they had regained their liberty ſolemn games ſhould be exhibited, and four hundred and fifty bulls ſacrificed, by way of thankſgiving, to the gods, and all the people therewith entertained and feaſted, as on a day of general rejoycing [i]. It was
d at the ſame time decreed, that all the magiſtrates, according to ancient cuſtom, ſhould be choſen from among the chief citizens, and that none of the ſtrangers, who had been made denizens by *Gelon*, ſhould be admitted to any employment of truſt. This decree incenſed the foreigners, who could not brook ſuch an odious diſtinction, after they had been by *Gelon* put upon the ſame foot with the beſt of the citizens. Having therefore complained in vain of ſuch a hardſhip, they at laſt joined together to the number of ſeven thouſand, and ſeizing on *Acradina* and the iſland, annoyed from thence the other quarters of the town, reſolved to obtain by force of arms what they could not get by any other means. They fortified themſelves ſo ſtrongly in their poſts, that the *Syracuſans*, though far ſuperior to them in number, could
e not diſlodge them. Wherefore they determined to ſhut them up ſo cloſe on all ſides that no proviſions could be carried in, and thus force them by famine either to ſurrender, or venture an engagement; the beſieged choſe the latter, and were moſt of them cut in pieces after having made a great ſlaughter of the *Syracuſans*. After the example of *Syracuſe* all the other *Greek* cities in *Sicily* entered into an alliance againſt the mercenaries and foreigners, who had been enriched with lands and houſes by *Gelon* and *Hiero*, drove them from their poſſeſſions, and reſtored the ancient proprietors to their eſtates and former habitations. Thus were all the cities of the iſland freed from foreigners, and reſtored to that form of popular government which had prevailed before the reign of *Gelon* [k].

Year of the flood 2539. *Before Chriſt* 460.

New tumults in Syracuſe.

f THOUGH the tyrants, and thoſe who were ſuſpected to be their abettors, were thus every-where driven out, yet there lay concealed in the minds of many a ſecret leaven, as we may call it, of tyranny, which frequently diſturbed the harmony of the public peace and tranquility, and occaſioned ſeveral tumults and commotions. In *Syracuſe* one *Tyndarides*, having gained by his largeſſes a conſiderable party among the populace, attempted to aſſume the ſovereign power; but both he and his accomplices were ſeized and put to death. Their puniſhment did not deter others from the like attempt; for no ſooner had any citizen acquired a conſiderable fortune, but he began

[h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. ARISTOT. l. v. Polit. c. 10. [i] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. [k] Idem, ibid. c. 21.

began to entertain thoughts of wearing a diadem, and, with that view, to court the a
Petalism introduced at Syracuse. favour of the people. To prevent therefore the many evils daily arising from thence, and to bring down the aspiring minds of the wealthy citizens, the *Syracusans* were at length forced to make a law not unlike that of the *Athenian* ostracism; for as at *Athens* every citizen was to write on a shell the name of the person, whom they conceived to be the most capable, on account of his wealth and adherents, of aspiring to the crown; so at *Syracuse* they were to write on a leaf the names of such as they apprehended powerful enough to usurp the sovereignty. When the leaves were counted, he, who had most suffrages against him, was, without any further enquiry, banished for five years. This new-contrived method of impairing the estates, and weakening the interest of the overgrown citizens, was called *Petalism* from the *Greek* b
word *Petalon*, which signifies *a leaf*. This law was attended with many evil consequences; for those, who were most capable of governing the commonwealth, were driven out, and the administration of public affairs committed to the meanest of the people; nay, many of the chief citizens, who were able to do their country great service, fearing to fall under the lash of this law, withdrew from the city, and lived private in the country, not concerning themselves with public affairs. Whence all the employments being filled with men of no merit or experience, the republic was on the brink of ruin, and ready to fall into a state of anarchy and confusion. The law therefore of petalism, upon more mature deliberation, was repealed, soon after it had been first enacted, and the reins of the government again put into the hands of c
men, who knew how to manage them[l].

War between the Syracusans *and the* Siculi. In the mean time *Ducetius*, prince of the *Siculi*, who inhabited the inland parts of the island, having raised a powerful army, laid siege to *Enna*, which he took by storm, and advanced to *Agrigentum* with a design to drive the *Greeks* from all the cities, which had been formerly possessed by his countrymen. The *Agrigentines* went out to meet him, but their army was overthrown, and the city threatened with a siege. Hereupon they had recourse to the *Syracusans*, who sent them a strong reinforcement under the command of one *Bilco*. *Ducetius*, who was then besieging *Motyum*, a strong-hold belonging to the *Agrigentines*, leaving part of his forces before the place, led the rest against the united troops of the *Syracusans* and *Agrigen-* d
tines, put them to flight, and returning before *Motyum*, made himself master of that city. The *Syracusan* general upon his return was tried for the loss of his army, for most of the *Syracusans* were cut in pieces in the engagement, and being convicted of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy was put to death, and a worthy citizen, whom the historians do not name, invested with the command. This new general was attended with all the success they could wish, for he entirely defeated the *Siculi*, reduced all their cities, and brought *Ducetius* to such straits, that he was obliged to submit to the *Syracusans*, and throw himself upon their mercy, as we have related above[m].

After the reduction of the *Siculi*, the *Syracusans* became so powerful, that they gave, in some degree, law to the whole island. The *Greek* cities indeed enjoyed a e
perfect liberty, but at the same time acknowledged *Syracuse* as their metropolis. If that wealthy city had been contented with the respect, which all the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* willingly paid her, as the most able to protect them against any foreign invasion, the island would have enjoyed a lasting tranquility; but she began by degrees to assume the authority of a sovereign over cities that were no less free than herself, which gave rise to the wars which we are now to relate. She began with the
War between the Syracusans *and* Leontines. *Leontines*, and invading, on what pretence we know not, their territory, laid waste that fruitful country, and reduced the city of *Leontini* to great straits. The inhabitants, not being able to make head against the superior forces of the *Syracusans*, had recourse to the *Athenians*, from whom they were originally descended; for f
the *Leontines* came from *Chalcis*, which was an *Athenian* colony. On this occasion they employed one *Gorgias*, the most famous orator of his time, and who is said to have been the first that taught the rules of rhetoric. *Gorgias* arriving at *Athens* made an oration to the people on the grievances their countrymen suffered from the *Syracusans*, and the advantages that would accrue to them from sending a powerful army into *Sicily*, in which he displayed so much eloquence, and such an eloquent diction, that the *Athenians*, though themselves men of great learning, were struck with admiration,

[l] Idem, ibid. c. 26. [m] Idem, ibid.

a miration, and greatly affected with the beauties and charms of his speech. But there needed no great eloquence to persuade the *Athenians* to concern themselves with the affairs of *Sicily*. Ever since the time of *Pericles* they had meditated the conquest of that island. *Pericles* indeed had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project, remonstrating that by living in peace, and contenting themselves with the conquests they had already made, without engaging in hazardous enterprizes, they would raise their city to a flourishing condition. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading *Sicily*, yet could not suppress the desire they had to conquer it. At the time we are now speaking of they were masters at sea, and every-where successful, they had many confederates, a b numerous army, experienced commanders, and in ready money above ten thousand talents. With these advantages they did not doubt but they should be able to overcome the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were then at war, and at the same time reduce the island of *Sicily*. This, and not the gingling oratory of *Gorgias*, was what induced them to espouse the cause of the oppressed *Leontines*. Accordingly they sent without delay an hundred sail of ships well manned, under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*, enjoining them to make a descent on the territories of *Syracuse*. These arriving at *Rhegium* were there joined by a hundred more from the *Athenian* colonies. With this reinforcement they ravaged the *Æolian* islands, at that time in confederacy with *Syracuse*, defeated the *Myleans* as they were marching to join the c *Syracusans*, took their city, and committed great devastations in the enemy's country. However, the *Athenians*, not satisfied with the progress their arms made in *Sicily*, sent forty ships more to reinforce their squadron, which now consisted of two hundred and fifty sail. But in the mean time the *Leontines*, being sensible that the *Athenians* aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty of the whole island, concluded a separate peace with the *Syracusans*, and were all made free of *Syracuse*. The *Athenians*, being by this agreement disappointed in their hopes of conquering *Sicily*, vented their rage, according to the custom of popular governments, upon those who had commanded in that unsuccessful expedition. *Pythodorus* and *Sophocles* were banished, and *Eurymedon* sentenced to pay a heavy fine. The *Athenians* were d at that time, which was the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, so blinded by their prosperity, that they believed no power was able to resist them [n].

War between the Syracusans and Athenians.

About ten years after broke out the most memorable war that had ever to that time been waged in *Sicily*. It was occasioned by a dispute arising between the inhabitants of *Egesta* and *Selinus* concerning their borders. The territories of the two cities were divided by a river, which the *Selinuntines* crossed, and possessed themselves of the lands lying next to it, pretending, that they had formerly belonged to them. This provoked the *Egestines*, who, after having endeavoured in vain to recover their property by fair means, took up arms, and drove out the intruders by force. The *Selinuntines*, on the other hand, unwilling to part with those lands, though they could e not make good their claim to them, raised an army, entered the territories of the *Egestines* in a hostile manner, and laid waste the whole country. The *Egestines* took up arms in their own defence, but were entirely defeated, and forced to shelter themselves within their walls. In this condition they sent embassadors to solicit succours from *Agrigentum*, *Syracuse*, and even from *Carthage*; but none of these states would concern themselves with their disputes. It was therefore at last resolved in their general assembly, that embassadors should be sent to *Athens* to implore the assistance of that republic, and withal to promise, that they in their turn would help the *Athenians* to the utmost of their power, whenever they should stand in need of their assistance. Their embassadors, arriving at *Athens*, represented among other things, that f should they be abandoned, the *Syracusans*, who under-hand supported the *Selinuntines*, would not fail to possess themselves of their city, and by degrees become masters of the whole island; in which case they would be able to send powerful succours to the *Lacedæmonians*, who were their founders. The *Athenians* were overjoyed to have a new opportunity of meddling with the affairs of *Sicily*. However, they thought it advisable first to send deputies into *Sicily* to inquire into the state of the island, and particularly of the *Egestines*; for they had promised to pay all the troops that should be sent to their assistance. Upon the arrival of the embassadors, the *Egestines*, having borrowed from the neighbouring nations a great many gold and silver vessels,

[n] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. c. 7.

veſſels, made a vain ſhew of them to the *Athenians*, telling them, that they had gold and ſilver enough to defray the whole charges of the war. When the embaſſadors were returned to *Athens*, and the great wealth of the *Egeſtines* noiſed abroad, an aſſembly of the people was called to deliberate on the war which was to be waged in *Sicily*. *Nicias*, a man of no ſmall authority among the people, argued with great prudence againſt the war, ſhewing, that it was impoſſible to contend with the *Lacedæmonians*, and at the ſame time ſend ſo great a force, as they muſt needs do, into *Sicily*; that it was a kind of madneſs to entertain thoughts of ſubduing ſo powerful an iſland, when they had not yet been able to reduce *Greece*; that they ought firſt to humble the enemies they had at their doors, before they went in ſearch of others at a diſtance, *&c.* Many other things he ſaid, which were well ſuited to the occaſion, and are related at length by *Thucydides* [o] and *Diodorus* [p]; but the contrary opinion, which was ſupported by *Alcibiades*, the moſt eloquent ſpeaker at that time in *Athens*, prevailed by a great majority. It being now determined to purſue this wild enterprize at all events, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus* were appointed to command the fleet, with full power not only to ſuccour *Egeſta*, but to regulate the affairs in *Sicily* in ſuch a manner as they judged beſt for the intereſt of the republic. This commiſſion *Nicias* accepted much againſt his will, being firmly perſuaded, that it could not be attended with ſucceſs, and dreading to have *Alcibiades* for his collegue. But the *Athenians* could not be prevailed upon to commit the whole management of the war to *Alcibiades*, judging wiſely, that his ardor and intrepidity wanted to be tempered with the warineſs and prudence of *Nicias* [q],

The Athenians reſolve to invade Sicily. Year of the Flood 2588. Before Chriſt 416 *.

Nicias, not daring to oppoſe any longer openly an expedition, on which all *Athens* was ſo violently bent, endeavoured to do it indirectly by ſtarting a great many difficulties, drawn from the vaſt charges the republic muſt be at in carrying it on. But all he could alledge, inſtead of cooling the ardour of the people, ſerved only to inflame it the more. Nay, an *Athenian* ſtanding up in the aſſembly and addreſſing *Nicias*, deſired him not to ſhift off or delay the buſineſs any longer, but declare there before them all what forces he would have the *Athenians* decree him. *Nicias* anſwered, that he could not exactly tell before he adviſed with his fellow-commanders, but as far as he could judge, an hundred gallies and five thouſand land-forces, at leaſt, would be requiſite. Hereupon full power was unanimouſly granted him to raiſe what forces and fit out what ſhips he thought neceſſary; and accordingly the levies were carried on in *Athens* and the confederate cities, with ſuch ſucceſs and expedition, that in a few days the number of troops he had required was raiſed, and the gallies manned and equipt. When all things were ready for their departure, the officers, before they went on board, had a private conference with the ſenate concerning the adminiſtration of affairs in *Sicily*, for they did not at all doubt but they ſhould reduce the iſland. In this conference it was determined, that the *Syracuſans*, and the *Selinuntines* their allies, ſhould be carried away and ſold for ſlaves, and the reſt obliged to pay an annual tribute, and live according to the laws of *Athens* [r]. The next day the army, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand choſen men, marched from the city to the *Pyræeus*, where the fleet lay, and there taking leave of their friends and relations went on board the tranſports amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of an immenſe multitude that had attended them from the city. When the troops were imbarqued, and the fleet ready to put off, the trumpet ſounded, and ſolemn prayers were offered up for the ſucceſs of the expedition, gold and ſilver cups filled with wine were carried about to the whole army, both ſoldiers and officers drinking, according to cuſtom, ſucceſs to the undertaking (S). The uſual libations being poured out, and the ceremonies appointed by law for ſuch occaſions duly performed, the ſhips began to ſail out of the harbour one after another, the people, who lined the ſhore, ſhouting at the ſame time, and lifting up their hands to heaven to wiſh their fellow-citizens a good voyage and a ſafe return. They firſt ſailed to the iſland of *Ægina*, and from thence to *Corcyra*, which they had appointed the place of rendezvous for their allies and the tranſports. Upon the arrival of their confederates

[o] Thucyd. l. vi. [p] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [q] Thucyd. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [r] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

(S) It was a cuſtom among the *Greeks*, and ſome other nations, before great enterprizes to wiſh good ſucceſs, and at the making of leagues and treaties, to ratify what they did, by drinking to one another.

* *The authors, following their new computation, make the beginning of the* Syracuſan *war five years later after the flood than in the* Athenian *hiſtory, vol* I. *p.* 516. *and this variation runs through this whole hiſtory of* Syracuſe.

a federates at *Corcyra* they put to sea again, and made for *Tarentum*; but meeting there with a very indifferent reception, they sailed along the coast of *Italy* till they came to *Rhegium*, where they made some stay with a view to prevail upon the inhabitants to succour the *Leontines*, who were originally *Chalcideans*, as well as themselves. But the *Rhegians* answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the other *Greek* states in *Italy*. During their stay here they sent some ships to cruise off the coast of *Sicily* in order to find out some proper and convenient place for landing the troops, and at the same time to know what treasure the *Egestines* could contribute towards carrying on the war, which had been undertaken for their sake. These on their return acquainted the
b generals, that the *Egestines* had imposed upon them, and abused their credulity, since they were a poor indigent people, and had only thirty talents in the public treasury. Hereupon a council of war being called, *Nicias* was of opinion that they should sail to *Selinus*, which had been the first occasion of this expedition, and then, if the *Egestines* performed their promise, and supplied the army with a month's pay, to oblige the *Selinuntines* and *Egestines* to come to an agreement, and so return to *Athens* without engaging their country in so expensive a war. By this means *Athens*, said he, will shew her readiness to assist her friends, and at the same time save her men and treasure for some more promising enterprize. *Alcibiades*, on the other hand, thinking it highly dishonourable to return home without making any conquests, after
c they had set out with such a parade, was of opinion, that they should solicit the cities of *Sicily* to a confederacy against the *Syracusans* and *Selinuntines*; and in case they found them disposed to come into their measures, to attack either *Syracuse* or *Selinus*, the former, if they refused to restore the inhabitants of *Leontini* to their city, and the latter, if they did not conclude a peace with the *Egestines*. *Lamachus* offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent; he was for sailing directly to *Syracuse*, and laying siege to the city before the inhabitants had time to prepare for their defence. But the opinion of *Alcibiades* prevailing, they set sail for *Sicily*[s].

Advice of this expedition coming to *Syracuse* from all quarters, it was thought so improbable there, that no one would give credit to it. But as it was daily more
d and more confirmed, the *Syracusans* began seriously to think in what manner they should oppose so great a power. They sent deputies to every part of the island asking succours against an enemy, who, as was evident from so great preparations, could have nothing less in view than the subjecting of the whole island; they garisoned all the forts and castles in the country, reviewed their troops, made ready their arms and engines, and in short prepared all things, as though the enemy had been already in the heart of their country[t].

In the mean time, the *Athenian* fleet arriving in *Sicily*, the land-forces were put ashore near *Catana*, which city they took by surprize, *Naxus* opened its gates to them, *Hyccara*, a small town belonging to the *Sicanians*, was taken by storm, and
e all the inhabitants sold for slaves. These were the only exploits of this campaign, which being ended and the winter now drawing on, the *Athenian* generals thought it advisable to take up their quarters in some place near *Syracuse*, that they might be in a readiness to undertake the siege of that place early in the spring. But in the mean time *Alcibiades*, as we have already related[u], being called home to take his trial, the command of the army was left to *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These advancing towards *Syracuse* possessed themselves of an advantagious post by the following stra-
tagem. They sent a person, on whose fidelity they could depend, to *Syracuse*, enjoining him to acquaint the *Syracusans*, as if he had been dispatched from their friends in *Catana*, that the *Catanæans* had conspired to fall upon the *Athenians*, who were
f quartered within the city, in the night; and that if the *Syracusans* would advance to the *Athenian* camp with all their forces, they might easily possess themselves of it in that confusion. The *Syracusans*, not suspecting any deceit, appointed a night, and at the time agreed on marched out with the flower of their troops to join the *Catanæans*. But the *Athenians*, in the mean time, having imbarqued their forces and ammunition, set sail for *Syracuse*, and without any opposition landed near *Olympicum*, where they fortified their camp with strong intrenchments, before the *Syracusan* forces returned from *Catana*. The *Syracusans*, finding themselves thus shamefully imposed upon, marched back to *Syracuse* with great expedition, and the

[s] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut. in Nic. Thucyd. l. vi. [t] Idem. ibid. [u] Vol. II. p. 517.

the very next day drew up their army in battle-array before the enemy's camp. a
Nicias marched out of his trenches to give them battle, which was fought with incredible bravery on both sides. Victory was a long time doubtful; but a very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightening, falling unexpectly, so terrified the *Syracusans*, the greatest part of whom had never before carried arms, that they began to retire. The *Athenians* durst not pursue them, because their horse, who were still in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. They therefore withdrew in good order, after having thrown a detachment into the temple of *Olympicum* to prevent its being plundered [w].

After this battle, the *Athenians*, who were not yet in a condition to attack *Syra-* b
cuse, retired with their fleet to *Naxus* and *Catana* to winter there, and in the mean time procure new supplies both from *Athens* and their confederates in *Sicily*. The messengers they sent to *Athens* soon returned with three hundred talents and some troops of horse; the *Egestines* likewise and the *Siculi* sent them a reinforcement of cavalry, and furnished their army with all sorts of provisions. On the other hand, the *Syracusans* dispatched embassadors to *Corinth*, whence they originally came, and also to *Lacedæmon*, to implore their assistance against an enemy, who aimed not only at the sovereignty of *Sicily*, but of all *Greece*. The embassadors were kindly received in both places, especially at *Lacedæmon*, where *Alcibiades*, who had taken sanctuary in that city, enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence. At his persuasion *Gylippus*, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command c
the reinforcement, which was designed for *Sicily*, and troops raised with a design to invade the territories of *Athens*, and thereby make a powerful diversion. But before any supplies arrived in *Sicily*, *Nicias* leaving his winter quarters set sail for *Syracuse*, and arriving there in the night before the *Syracusans* had any notice of his departure from *Catana*, possessed himself of the important post of *Epipolæ* (T). The *Syracusans* attempted to dislodge him, but after a sharp engagement were driven back into the city, with the loss of three hundred men. *Nicias* encouraged with this success began to build a wall round the city, in order to cut off from the besieged all communication with the neighbouring country. This work was carried on with such d
vigor and expedition as quite terrified the *Syracusans*, who indeed made frequent sallies, but were always repulsed with great loss. The wall was at last finished, and the city blocked up on all sides. However, the besieged were not so far disheartened as not to annoy the enemy with vigorous sallies, in one of which they put the *Athenians* to flight, demolished great part of their works, and made a great slaughter of those who defended them; among the rest *Lamachus*, one of their chief and best commanders, was slain, and several other officers of distinction. Notwithstanding this advantage gained by the *Syracusans*, *Nicias*, who was now the sole general, pursued the siege, and after repairing his works began a wall of circumvallation, in order to prevent any succours from being thrown into the place. He caused also the canals to be cut by which water was conveyed into the place, which soon e
brought the *Syracusans* to the utmost distress. Seeing themselves therefore on the brink of ruin, and without any hopes of relief, they began to think of capitulating; and accordingly an assembly was held to settle the articles in order to send them to *Nicias*. But before they came to any determination, an officer, by name *Gongylus*, arriving from *Corinth* on board a galley, brought them the joyful news of the approach of *Gylippus*, with a force sufficient to dispel all their fears, and oblige the enemy to raise the siege. The joy, which this news so unexpected occasioned in the city, is not to be expressed. They passed from one extreme to the other, and instead of capitulating began to prepare themselves for new sallies, in order to facilitate *Gylippus*'s entrance into the city. While they were making these preparations, f
Gylippus appeared at the head of three thousand foot and two hundred horse, and making directly for *Epipolæ*, where *Nicias* had fortified himself in a castle called *Labdalon*,

Syracuse besieged.

Gylippus arrives in Sicily.

[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. p. 137, 138. Thucyd. l. vi p. 453, 454.

(T) *Epipolæ* was a hill which stood without the city, and commanded it. It was exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. At the time of the siege we are speaking of, it was not surrounded with walls, as in after-ages. The pass leading to it was called *Euryelus*. On the top of the hill was a fort called *Labdalon* (27).

(27) *Thucyd. l.* vi.

a *Labdalon*, drew up his ſmall army under the walls, and then ſent a herald to *Nicias* to let him know, that he would allow him only five days to leave *Sicily*. *Nicias* did not condeſcend to return any anſwer to this propoſal; whereupon *Gylippus* attacking the fort, carried it by ſtorm, and put all the *Athenians*, who were in it, to the ſword. This opened him a way into the city, where he was received with loud acclamations, and honoured as the deliverer of the city. Having allowed his troops a few days reſt, he marched out with his own and the *Syracuſan* forces to demoliſh the enemy's works; whereupon a ſharp engagement enſued, in which many were killed on both ſides: But at length the *Athenians* carried the day. Their victory was chiefly owing to the narrowneſs of the place, which made the *Syracuſan* cavalry b and bow-men quite unſerviceable. *Gylippus*, to encourage his ſoldiers, reproached himſelf with the ill ſucceſs they had met with, and publickly declared, that he, not they, had occaſioned the late defeat. However, he promiſed to give them very ſoon an opportunity of retrieving both their honour and his, and accordingly the very next day he led them againſt the enemy, and gained a very conſiderable victory [x].

Gylippus *enters* Syracuſe

AFTER this ſucceſs thirteen gallies arrived from *Corinth*, with conſiderable ſupplies both of men and money for the *Syracuſans*; and *Gylippus*, not content to ſend embaſſadors to the cities of *Sicily*, went himſelf from town to town, ſoliciting them to join him. By this means he raiſed above three thouſand men, and with theſe c freſh ſupplies returned to *Syracuſe*. *Nicias*, on the other hand, finding his troops leſſen daily in proportion as thoſe of the enemy's increaſed, began to be diſheartened, and wrote to the *Athenians* in the ſtrongeſt terms, ſhewing, that, without powerful ſupplies both by ſea and land, the enterprize would prove abortive, and the ſmall army remaining be loſt. His letter made a great impreſſion on the minds of the *Athenians*, who immediately nominated two officers, who ſerved under him, *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, to aſſiſt him till other generals ſhould be ſent; for he had deſired, on account of his bad ſtate of health, a collegue to bear part of the burden and care of the war. *Eurymedon* and *Demoſthenes* were choſen to ſucceed *Lamachus* and *Alcibiades*. The former ſet out immediately, with ten gallies and a conſiderable d ſum of money, to aſſure *Nicias*, that a ſpeedy ſuccour ſhould be ſent him; the latter was employed in raiſing troops and equipping ſhips in order, to ſet ſail the following ſpring.

ON the other ſide, the *Lacedæmonians*, having at the inſtigation of *Alcibiades* broke the truce they had made with the *Athenians*, invaded *Attica* under the conduct of *Agis* and *Alcibiades*, in order to divert them from ſending any ſupplies into *Sicily*. But they were ſo infatuated with the *Sicilian* expedition, that, notwithſtanding the ſtraits they were in at home, they decreed fourſcore gallies and five thouſand land-forces to be ſent into that iſland. The *Syracuſans*, hearing that the enemy was ſoon to be reinforced with ſuch powerful ſupplies, fitted out a fleet with all c poſſible expedition, in order to venture a ſea-engagement, and deſtroy the *Athenian* ſhips that blocked up the city by ſea, before they were joined by the ſquadron, which *Demoſthenes* was bringing over into *Sicily*. With this view they ſailed out with a fleet of fourſcore ſail well manned, and being met by the *Athenian* fleet, conſiſting of ſixty ſail, a ſharp engagement enſued, which drew the *Athenians* from their poſts to the ſea-ſide. But while they were ſtanding on the ſhore idle ſpectators of the combat, *Gylippus*, who foreſaw this, attacked the forts unexpectedly, and as great part of the gariſons had flocked to the ſhore, he poſſeſſed himſelf of them without great oppoſition, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of thoſe who haſtened from the ſhore to the aſſiſtance of their companions. Hereupon a great noiſe and f tumult ariſing in the camp, the *Athenians* engaged at ſea were ſtruck with terror, and made what haſte they could to gain the ſhore, and there aſſiſt their land-forces in the defence of the forts. But finding, as they drew near, that *Gylippus* was already in poſſeſſion of the poſts they were coming to defend, they tacked about, and with their whole fleet in line of battle fell upon the *Syracuſans*, who were purſuing them in diſorder, ſunk eleven of their veſſels, killed great numbers of their marines, and made ample amends for the battle they had loſt by land, with a compleat victory by ſea. After the fight both parties ſet up trophies; the *Athenians* for their victory by ſea, and the *Syracuſans* for their ſucceſs by land. The *Athenians* loſt

A ſea-fight between the Athenians *and* Syracuſians.

[x] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. p. 138. THUCYD. l. vi. p. 471. PLUT. in Nic. p. 534

loſt in the forts that were taken all their treaſure, and great part of their proviſions a and military ſtores.

The *Syracuſans*, notwithſtanding the loſs they had ſuſtained by ſea, were determined to attempt a ſecond engagement both by ſea and land, before the ſuccours, which *Demoſthenes* was bringing, ſhould arrive. In order therefore to provoke them to a fight, they daily drew up their fleet in line of battle before the great harbour, where the *Athenian* fleet was anchored, and, with biting jokes and rallery, put their patience to the utmoſt trial. *Nicias* was averſe from venturing a ſecond battle; ſaying, that as he expected a freſh fleet every moment and a great reinforcement, it would betray the greateſt want of judgment, ſhould he hazard a battle without being forced to it, when his troops were inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, b and already fatigued. On the other hand, *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, who had been appointed to ſhare the command with him till the arrival of *Demoſthenes*, wanting to perform ſome mighty exploit before they reſigned their commiſſion, repreſented to *Nicias*, that, ſhould they ſhun a battle, the reputation of the *Athenian* arms would be forfeited, and they forſaken by all their allies in *Sicily*. They were ſo preſſing with *Nicias* that they forced him at laſt to compliance, and accordingly the fleet conſiſting of ſeventy-five gallies ſailed out of the harbour. The firſt day the two fleets continued in ſight of each other without engaging; the ſecond ſome veſſels engaged, but neither ſide gained any conſiderable advantage; the third day, the c *Syracuſans* drew up their navy earlier than uſual, and having continued ſo till the day was far ſpent, they withdrew as they had done the day before. The *Athenians* ſuppoſed they were not to return that day, and therefore began to retire without obſerving any order, when all on a ſudden the enemy's fleet, ſailing out of the little harbour, fell upon the *Athenians* before they had time to draw up in line of battle. Victory did not long continue in ſuſpence; the *Athenians* were put to flight, after having loſt ſeven gallies and a great many men, ſome being killed, and others taken priſoners *y*.

Another ſea-fight.

This loſs threw *Nicias* into the utmoſt conſternation, and renewed the memory of all the misfortunes he had met with ſince his firſt coming into *Sicily*. But while d he was revolving in his mind theſe gloomy ideas, *Demoſthenes*'s fleet appeared advancing to the great haven with ſuch pomp and aſſurance of victory as filled the enemy with dread. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-three gallies, having on board eight thouſand men, beſides mariners, and great ſtore of proviſions and warlike engines to be employ'd in the ſiege. All the gallies were richly trimmed, and their prows adorned with coſtly ſtreamers: They were manned with choſen rowers, commanded by experienced officers, and furniſhed at a vaſt expence with all ſorts of warlike machines uſed then in ſea-engagements. As they approached the ſhore the ſound of the trumpets, mixed with repeated ſhouts and loud acclamations, both from the fleet and the camp, made all the city reſound. This air of pomp and triumph e *Demoſthenes* affected purpoſely to ſtrike terror into the enemy. And truly the beſieged, notwithſtanding their late advantages, began now to be quite diſheartned, finding they had to do with an enemy, who could ſend ſuch powerful ſuccours abroad, while they had ſo troubleſome a war on their hands at home. The common people were for putting an end to their calamities by capitulating, before the city was reduced to the laſt extremity, and while they could hope for tolerable terms. But *Demoſthenes* did not give them time to come to any reſolution; thinking it adviſeable to take advantage of the general conſternation, which his arrival had occaſioned, he prepared to attack the city the ſame day he arrived, being determined either to put a ſpeedy end to the war, or raiſe the ſiege, and return to f the relief of *Athens*, which was in a manner blocked up by the *Lacedæmonians*. *Nicias*, terrified at this bold and precipitate reſolution, conjured him not to be overhaſty, but to take time to weigh things maturely, that he might have no cauſe to repent when it would be too late. He obſerved to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays, that they were in great want both of money and proviſions, that their allies were ready to abandon them, and that they would be ſoon forced to ſurrender, as they had before reſolved to do. This *Nicias* ſaid, becauſe he had certain advice ſent him daily of whatever was tranſacted in the city. But his remonſtrances were conſtrued an effect of the dilatorineſs, with which he had always been

Demoſthenes arrives from Athens *with new ſupplies.*

y Diodor. Sicul. Thucyd. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

a been reproached. And indeed it was peculiar to him to ſtart difficulties on all occaſions, and deaden the vivacity of the troops by delays, diſtruſts, and timorous precautions. All the officers therefore came over to the opinion of *Demoſthenes*, and *Nicias* himſelf was forced to acquieſce in it [z].

The Athenians defeated before Syracuſe.

A GENERAL aſſault being reſolved on, *Demoſthenes* marched in the dead of the night to attack the important poſt of *Epipolæ*, and was at firſt attended with ſucceſs, having made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, and cut the gariſon in pieces. *Gylippus* at the firſt alarm haſtened to the relief of the place; but his troops, being ſeized with a panic, which was increaſed by the darkneſs of the night, were eaſily repulſed and put to flight. But as the *Athenians* advanced in diſorder to prevent their rally-
b ing, they met with a body of *Bœotians* under the command of *Hermocrates*, an offi-
cer of great courage and experience, and were by them ſtopt till the *Syracuſans*, who had fled, had time to recover from their ſurprize. Then *Gylippus* encouraging his men, brought them back to the charge, and the fight was renewed. The *Athenians*, though in diſorder, ſtood their ground for ſome time, but at laſt, freſh troops continually arriving from the city, they were forced to give way, and not knowing the roads many of them either fell from the tops of the rocks, and were daſhed in pieces, or were ſlain the next day, as they were ſtraggling from one another up and down the fields and woods. Two thouſand *Athenians* were killed on this occaſion, and a great many arms and warlike engines taken.

c AFTER this overthrow *Demoſthenes* was for returning to *Athens*, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was not too far advanced for croſſing the ſea, and they had ſhips enow to force their paſſage, in caſe the enemy ſhould diſpute it. He declared, that in his opinion it would be of far greater advantage to oblige the *Lacedæmonians* to raiſe the blockade of *Athens*, than to continue that of *Syracuſe*, in which they ſpent their ſtrength to no purpoſe. But *Nicias* had ſtill hopes of becoming maſter of the city, which he knew to be in great want of all things, and beſides was under great apprehenſions of the people of *Athens*, who had baniſhed two generals in former times for returning from *Sicily*, though they had acted a very prudent part in ſo doing. He ſaid, that as thoſe who were to judge him had not been eye-witneſſes of the
d ſtate of affairs, they would be of a different opinion; and that thoſe very men, who then exclaimed againſt the difficulties they laboured under, would perhaps change their note, and accuſe them of having been bribed to raiſe the ſiege. He concluded by declaring, that as for himſelf he choſe rather to fall gloriouſly by the enemy's ſword, than be ignominiouſly condemned by the ſuffrages of the populace. Theſe reaſons were not able to convince *Demoſthenes*, who was ſtill of opinion, that the only way left to ſave themſelves was to quit the country. However, as he had been unſucceſsful in his former advice, he was afraid of inſiſting upon this, and yielded to *Nicias* [a].

e IN the mean time, the *Syracuſans* were reinforced with powerful ſupplies from the *Siculi*, *Selinuntines*, *Geleans*, and *Camarineans*; which encouraged them as much as it diſheartened the *Athenians*, in whoſe army a violent plague broke out, occaſioned by the unwholſome air of the fens and marſhes, near which they were encamped. This calamity, added to many others, made *Nicias* alter his opinion, and orders were privately iſſued enjoining the officers of the fleet to be in a readineſs to ſet ſail at a minute's warning. The ſoldiers were commanded to ſhip all their baggage, and be ready to go on board upon a ſignal that ſhould be given. But when all things were ready, and moſt part of the ſoldiers embarked, without the *Syracuſans* having the leaſt ſuſpicion of their deſign, the moon was ſuddenly eclipſed, which ſo terrified *Nicias*, who was naturally ſuperſtitious, that he would needs conſult the ſoothſayers
f before he ſuffered the reſt of the ſoldiers to go on board. It was cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions to ſuſpend the enterprize, that was in hand, for three days. But the ſoothſayers, whom *Nicias* conſulted, pronounced, that he muſt not ſet ſail, till three times nine days were paſt; which, without all doubt, was a myſterious number in the opinion of the people [b].

THE *Syracuſans*, in the mean time, receiving notice of the intended departure of the *Athenians*, took freſh courage, and reſolved to attack them both by ſea and land. Purſuant to this reſolution, they ſailed out with threeſcore gallies againſt the *Athenian*

[z] THUCYD. l. 7. p. 513, 518. PLUT. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [a] THUCYD. l. 7. p. 518, 522. PLUT. in Nic. p. 538, 542. DIODOR. SICUL. p. 142. [b] Idem, ibid.

Athenian fleet consisting of fourscore and six. *Eurymedon*, who commanded the a
right of the *Athenian* fleet, extended his line, as he had more ships, in order to surround the opposite wing of the enemy. But being in this attempt separated from the rest of the fleet, he was driven by *Agatharcus*, the *Syracusan* admiral, into the gulf called *Dasion*, and there killed with great part of his men. The death of the admiral disheartened both the soldiers and officers, who now every-where gave way, and being chased by the enemy sheltered themselves within the haven; which, as we shall see anon, proved fatal to them. In this engagement the *Athenians* lost eighteen ships and two thousand men. *Gylippus*, who commanded the land-army, seeing the enemy's gallies forced ashore, advanced with part of his troops to fall upon such as landed, but was repulsed by the *Tuscans*, who guarded that quarter, b
and driven into the marsh called *Lysimelia*, where many of his men were killed by the *Tuscans* and *Athenians*, who flew to their assistance. Each party erected trophies, the *Syracusans* for their victory by sea, and the *Athenians* for the advantage they had gained by land. But the minds of the two nations were differently disposed. The *Syracusans*, who had been so terrified at the arrival of *Demosthenes*, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, took fresh courage. On the contrary, the *Athenians*, overcome by sea contrary to their expectation, lost all hopes, and only thought of retiring.

The enemy, to prevent their escaping by sea, blocked up the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with ships and gallies, c
joined and fastened together with anchors and iron chains. The *Athenians*, seeing themselves thus penned up on all sides, held a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved, that they should attempt, at all adventures, to break through the fleet, that shut up the harbour, and retire with all their forces on
Another sea-engagement. board to *Catana*; but if they should not succeed in this bold undertaking, to set fire to their ships, and march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies. Pursuant to this resolution the flower of the troops, and the most experienced among the officers were put on board an hundred and fifteen gallies, and the rest of the army drawn up in battalia on the shore. On the other side the *Syracusans* fitted out seventy-four gallies, which they placed with many other vessels behind d
those that stopped up the harbour, to the end, that if any of the latter were sunk, or the chains, which joined them, broken, the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time stoped and entangled. As this engagement was to determine the fate of *Syracuse*, the walls of the harbour, and every eminence within the city, was filled with crouds of spectators. The commanders on both sides employed all their eloquence to animate their men. *Nicias*, leaving his post on the shore, went on board a vessel, and, sailing round the *Athenian* fleet, exhorted the commander of each galley in particular to behave like an *Athenian*, putting them in mind, that on their valour, in the fight now approaching, depended the safety and preservation of their wives, their children, and their country, as well as their own. e
Nicias was scarce returned to his post, when the trumpets sounded the charge, and the *Athenian* fleet advanced with great violence, to break the blockade at the mouth of the harbour. But the *Syracusan* gallies, which had been left within the vessels chained together, on purpose to stop the course and fury of the enemy, rowed up against them with such impetuosity, that they put both their own and the enemy's fleet in the utmost confusion. In this disorder the lines on both sides being broken, and the vessels dispersed, they engaged here and there in small squadrons. However, the fight was obstinate on both sides. The *Athenians*, seeing they were utterly lost, unless with an invincible resolution they forced their passage, despised all dangers, and fought like men in a desperate condition. On the other f
side, the *Syracusans*, knowing that they were observed by their parents and children, exerted their utmost efforts in defence of their country. The fight was no less dreadful than the confusion, and the slaughter great on both sides: The lamentable outcries of the wounded, and those who were perishing in the water, the noise of the oars, and the loud shouts from the ramparts and the shore, where both armies were drawn up, prevented any orders from being heard or attended to. As the battle was fought under the very walls of the city, parents were eye-witnesses of the death of their children, wives of the miserable end of their husbands, and one friend beheld another wallowing in his blood, without being able to lend him any relief. After the battle had lasted many hours, and both parties were quite

a quite tired out, and no more able to manage either their arms or their oars, yet if any of them offered to fly to the ſhore, they were driven back with bitter reproaches by their countrymen under whoſe eyes they fought. The *Athenians* aſked thoſe who made to the ſhore, whether they intended to ſail to *Athens* by land, and obliged them, though covered over with wounds, to return to the charge. The *Syracuſans* met with no better treatment from their countrymen, who prevented even thoſe from landing, whoſe ſhips were quite diſabled and ready to ſink, bidding them ſave their lives by boarding the enemy's ſhips, or die an honourable death in defence of their country. Thus the battle was continued the whole day, and it was by far the moſt bloody and obſtinate which had ever been fought in thoſe ſeas. At length the *Athe-* *The* Athenians *defeated.*
b *nians* were, in ſpite of their utmoſt endeavours, driven aſhore, and the city immediately acquainted with the victory by an univerſal ſhout from the fleet, which was anſwered by loud acclamations of joy from the army on the ſhore and the ſpectators on the walls. The *Athenians*, who eſcaped, leapt out of the broken and ſhattered ſhips, and fled to the land army. The *Syracuſans* loſt on this occaſion eight ſhips, and had eleven diſabled; the *Athenians* loſt threeſcore, and moſt of the reſt were rendered quite unſerviceable [c].

In this deſperate condition the *Athenian* officers met to conſider what meaſures they ſhould take in ſo critical a conjuncture. *Demoſthenes* was for manning with freſh ſoldiers the few gallies that remained, and while the *Syracuſans* were under no
c apprehenſions on account of their late victory, to fall upon them again, and force their way out of the harbour. This was no ill advice, but *Nicias* oppoſed it; others ſay, that the ſoldiers refuſed to obey, alledging, that it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain a ſecond engagement. It was thereupon determined to abandon the ſhips, and retire that very night by land to the cities of their confederates. But *Hermocrates*, commander in chief of the *Syracuſan* forces, ſuſpecting their deſign, ordered all his troops to be immediately drawn out with a deſign to ſtop all the paſſes and prevent their retreat. The *Syracuſans* were then in the height of their rejoycings, and thinking of nothing but how to divert themſelves after the toils they had ſuſtained. They therefore unanimouſly declared, that they would not,
d upon any account whatſoever, take up arms again till they had been allowed ſome days reſt. Hereupon *Hermocrates*, thinking it of the utmoſt importance not to ſuffer ſo great a body of forces to make their eſcape, ſince they might fortify themſelves in ſome corner of the iſland, and there begin a new war, deviſed the following ſtratagem to gain time. He ſent ſome horſemen to the *Athenian* camp, who were to paſs for friends, and adviſe *Nicias* not to quit his camp, which was well fortified, ſince the *Syracuſans* lay in ambuſh for him, and had ſeized on all the paſſes leading to the cities of their allies. This falſe advice ſtopt *Nicias* at once, and he did not even ſet out the next day, that his ſoldiers might have more time to refreſh themſelves, and carry off whatever might be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance. He
e might have paſſed with great ſafety, had he not been thus deluded. The next day *Hermocrates*, having prevailed upon his men to march out, poſſeſſed himſelf of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified the avenues leading to the places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe up and down the plains; ſo that there was not one outlet, through which the *Athenians* were not obliged to fight their way. However, as they could no longer ſubſiſt in their camp, the third day after the battle they ſet out to the number of forty thouſand men, leaving behind them all their gallies, and great part of their baggage. The whole army was in the utmoſt conſternation in ſeeing ſuch great numbers of men, either dead or dying, abandoned to wild beaſts or the cruelty of the enemy. Some who
f were ſick or wounded, hanging on the necks of their friends and companions, conjured them with many tears, to take them along with the army; others dragging themſelves after them, followed as far as their ſtrength allowed them, and when this failed, had recourſe to tears and ſighs, calling upon the gods as well as men to revenge the cruelty they met with; ſo that every place ecchoed with groans and mournful lamentations. But the moſt melancholy part of the ſpectacle, and which moſt deſerved compaſſion, was *Nicias* himſelf. That great man, dejected and worn out with a tedious illneſs, deſtitute of all neceſſary things when his age and infirmities required them moſt, tormented not only with his own grief, but with the affliction

[c] Diodor. & Thucyd. ibid.

affliction of others, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, a
and rouse their courage; he ran from one part of the army to the other, exhorting his men to pluck up their spirits, by representing to them, that matters were not yet desperate, since other armies had escaped far greater dangers; that they ought not to grieve too immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occasioned; that if they had offended any god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them, *&c.* Above all he insisted upon their marching in good order, since by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they might not only save themselves, but their country, and enable it to recover its former splendor [d]. b

The hopes of the desponding army being somewhat revived by this speech, they marched out in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the van was led by *Nicias*, and the rear by *Demosthenes*, with the baggage in the centre. They forced their passage over the river *Anapis*, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition they met with. But being every day harassed by the *Syracusan* horse and bowmen, who were continually discharging showers of darts upon them, and finding all the outlets guarded, so that they were obliged to dispute every inch of their way, they began again to despond. *Nicias* offered the enemy battle, but *Hermocrates* and *Gylippus*, not caring to engage men whom despair made invincible, retired as soon as they saw them drawn up in battalia, but when they began to proceed in their c
march, they then fell upon their rear with the utmost fury.

Demosthenes and *Nicias*, seeing the miserable condition to which the army was reduced; for many were daily wounded, and besides, they were in great want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste the whole country through which they were to pass, resolved to alter their rout, and, instead of pursuing their march to *Catana*, to turn towards the sea, and make the best of their way for *Camarina* and *Gela*. Accordingly having lighted a great many fires in their camp, they retired in the dead of the night. The van-guard led by *Nicias* kept together and advanced in good order; but half the rear, commanded by *Demosthenes*, fell into great confusion and lost their way. However, they got early in the morning to the sea-side, but could d
have no advice of the rest of the army. In the mean time the *Syracusans*, having intelligence of their march, by break of day made after them with all possible expedition, and came up with *Demosthenes* about noon. The *Athenians* were then in some disorder, as not suspecting the enemy could overtake them so soon. The *Syracusans* did not fail to take advantage of their confusion, and immediately charging them with their cavalry, they forced them into a narrow pass, and there surrounded them on all sides. *Demosthenes*, seeing there was no hopes of escaping, after having fought from noon to night, thought it advisable to save the lives of so many brave men by capitulating. Accordingly having stipulated, that neither he nor any of his men should be put to death, or sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, they all, to the c
number of six thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered [e].

Nicias arrived the same evening at the river *Erineus*, which he crossed and encamped on an eminence, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender as *Demosthenes* had done. *Nicias*, not believing what they told him of his collegue, obtained leave to send a horseman to enquire of the truth. Upon the return of the messenger, being informed that *Demosthenes* had really surrendered, he sent a herald to the enemy's camp, offering to pay the whole charges of the war, upon condition that he was allowed to leave the country with all his forces. But this proposal being rejected, the enemy attacked him with great vigour, and the *Athenians*, though quite tired out with their long marches and faint with hunger, stood f
their ground till night put an end to the combat. When all things seemed quiet, *Nicias* commanded his men to file off in silence, for he was there in absolute want of all necessaries. But they no sooner took up their arms, than the advanced guards of the *Syracusans* gave the alarm. Whereupon the *Athenians*, seeing themselves discovered, remained there all night. However, three hundred of them broke through the enemies guards, and marched as far as they could that night. At break of day *Nicias* pursued his march, being galled all the way by showers of darts from all

[d] Thucyd. & Diodor. ibid.

[e] Thucyd. & Diodor. ibid.

a all ſides. When they arrived at the river *Aſinarus*, they ruſhed into it without any order, every one ſtriving to get over the firſt, and in that confuſion the *Syracuſan* cavalry advancing full gallop into the river, trod many of them down with their horſes, cut others in pieces, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of thoſe unfortunate men, while they were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance, that the *Aſinarus* was for many miles died with their blood. Our hiſtorian tells us, that the *Athenians* were ſo tormented with drought, occaſioned by their long and quick march, that, unmindful of their preſent danger, they ſeemed to be more intent on quenching their thirſt than ſaving their lives, though what they drank was rather the blood of their companions than the waters of the ſtream. On this occaſion above eighteen b thouſand *Athenians* were by the mercileſs *Syracuſans* inhumanly butchered. *Nicias* with a ſmall body, which eſcaped the ſlaughter and kept together, being hemmed in on all ſides, ſurrendered, not to the *Syracuſans*, but to *Gylippus*, hoping to meet with better treatment from him than from the *Syracuſans*. The only condition he aſked was, that their lives ſhould be ſpared, which being granted, they threw down their arms and ſurrendered. After this the *Syracuſans* detached ſeveral ſmall bodies of horſe to all parts, and theſe took the three hundred, who had forced their way through the guards the night before, with many others whom they found ſtraggling in the fields; ſo that out of ſo numerous an army very few had the good fortune to eſcape either death or ſervitude [f].

c THE *Athenians*, it ſeems, were diſpleaſed with their general for ſurrendering in this manner, ſince his name was omitted on a public monument, where the names were engraved of thoſe commanders who had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their country [g].

THE *Syracuſans*, upon this happy ſucceſs, having erected two trophies, and fixed to them the arms of the two captive generals, returned to the city, which they entered in triumph among the loud and joyful acclamations of their fellow-citizens, who flocked from all quarters to be ſpectators of ſo glorious a ſight. The whole city returned thanks to the gods, in the moſt ſolemn manner, for having auſpiciouſly ended the greateſt war they had ever been engaged in, and put a period to their ca-d lamities with a ſignal and compleat victory [h].

THE next day an aſſembly was called to determine the fate of the captives, when one *Diocles*, a man of great eſteem and authority among the people, was of opinion, that the two *Athenian* generals ſhould be firſt whipt with rods, and then put to death, that the reſt ſhould be ſhut up in the quarries, and there allowed only two ſmall meaſures of flower and one of water a day, and that the inhabitants of the iſland, who had joined them, ſhould be ſold for ſlaves. This opinion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by *Hermocrates*, to whom the *Syracuſans* were chiefly indebted for their late victory; he was a man highly eſteemed for his eminent probity and juſtice; but nevertheleſs, ſo incenſed was the multitude againſt the *Athenians*, that they would not ſuffer him to c continue his ſpeech. *Hermocrates* being thus interrupted by the ſhouts and clamours which ecchoed from all parts of the aſſembly, a venerable old man, by name *Nicholaus*, who had loſt in this war two ſons, the only heirs to his name and eſtate, roſe up, ſupported by two of his ſervants. He no ſooner offered to ſpeak, but a profound ſilence was made, no one doubting but he would make a bitter invective againſt the priſoners. *Nicholaus* ſeeing the eyes of the whole multitude fixed upon him, ſpoke thus: "Dear countrymen, you ſee me now appear here ſupported by the "hands of my ſlaves, who formerly made my appearance ſupported by thoſe of my "beloved children; but they are now gone, and I deprived of the only comfort of "my old age. However, though I am every day deſiring they were alive, yet I f "cannot help thinking them happy for having ſacrificed in defence of their country "that life, which they muſt have one day parted with by the law of nature. They "are happy, and I alone miſerable, who have loſt my children, and with them all "hopes of poſterity. And ſince I have bore ſo great a part in the calamities of this "war, I ſhall ever hate and deteſt the *Athenians*, who, without any provocation, "kindled it in the very heart of our country. They indeed deſerve the ſevereſt "treatment; but have not the gods, the juſt avengers of crimes, already puniſhed "their injuſtice, and revenged our ſufferings ſufficiently? They invaded us with a "fleet of two hundred ſail, and an army of forty thouſand men, and not one ſhip, "not

[f] THUCYD. & DIODOR. ibid. [g] PAUSAN. l. i. [h] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid.

" not one man, has made his escape to carry home the news of their destruction. a
" Have they not therefore suffered already above the degree and measure of their
" offence? and will you, O *Syracusans*, be so hard-hearted as to insult them in their
" distress, and treat them inhumanly while they lie prostrate at your feet? You have
" shewn your bravery and valour in reducing them to the state they are now in; let
" your mercy and compassion exert themselves, as much as your courage has done.
" But what do I say mercy and compassion? you are bound in justice to treat them
" with humanity, and reject with horror the very thought of putting them to death.
" When their generals laid down their arms and surrendered, did you not promise to
" spare their lives? and if we put them to death, shall we not be eternally branded
" with the just reproach of having violated the law of nations, and dishonoured our b
" victory with the blackest treachery? What then, you will ask, is to be done with
" the captives? My opinion is, and I hope it will not seem strange to any here pre-
" sent, that they be all dismissed, and suffered to return unhurt to their country.
" Let it be said in all nations, that we have overcome the *Athenians*, not only in
" arms, but in mercy and humanity. Thus our enemies will not only be censured
" by others, but will even condemn themselves for having attempted to destroy men
" of so merciful a temper. To use that severity, which some unthinking men have
" advised, is intailing the hatred of so great and powerful a nation on our posterity,
" which [illegible]-ways safe, the issues of war being so uncertain, that the conquerors are
" often by a sudden change of fortune brought lower than the conquered, as the event c
" of this war has shewn. Those who besieged us in our capital are by the unexpected
" turn of fortune become our prisoners. It is therefore great prudence to shew com-
" passion in the miseries of others, if we expect to find the same ourselves in their
" condition. As for *Nicias*, you all know, that he pleaded your cause in the assem-
" bly of the *Athenians*, and did all that lay in his power to dissuade his countrymen
" from this expedition. How base then and ungenerous would it be, to condemn
" this worthy man to death for obeying the commands of his superiors, though con-
" trary to his own opinion and inclination? How hard-hearted must that man be,
" whose anger is not assuaged in seeing so renowned a general, lately the admiration
" of *Greece*, loaded with irons, and suffering under the miserable condition of a d
" slave, as if fortune in his life gloried to shew the greatness of her power? Since
" therefore under her kind auspices we have triumphed over our enemies, let us car-
" ry it with humanity and moderation, and not insult, with the cruelty of barbarians,
" over those who are of the same stock with ourselves."

The people seemed moved to compassion by this speech, especially as they expected to hear this venerable old man cry aloud for vengeance, on those who had brought all his calamities upon him; instead of which he earnestly sued for their pardon. But the enemies of the *Athenians* expatiating on their inveterate hatred to the *Syracusans*, and the many calamities which they had brought upon them, the people returned to their former resolution, and followed the advice of *Diocles*. The e generals were first whipt, and then put to death, all compassionate men bewailing the hard lot of two such illustrious personages, especially of *Nicias*, who, as our author tells us, of all men of his time least deserved to be brought to so great a degree of misery. *Thucydides* says, that *Gylippus* pleaded their cause with a great deal of eloquence, out of gratitude with regard to *Nicias*, who, after the overthrow which the *Lacedæmonians* received at *Pylus*, had persuaded the *Athenians* to restore the captives to their liberty; out of generosity with respect to *Demosthenes*, who had ever been a professed enemy to the *Spartans*. On the other hand, *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Gylippus*, seeing the people greatly affected by the speech of *Nicholaus*, and inclined to pardon the captives, effaced the good impressions he had made in their f minds, and by a most bitter invective against the *Athenians*, which our historian sets down at length, so prejudiced the assembly against the generals, that they were immediately put to death. The other prisoners were thrust down into the quarries, where, crouded upon one another, they suffered inexpressible miseries for the space of eight months. They were there ever exposed to the inclemencies of the air and alterations of the weather; scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, and frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, and the bodies of those who died of their wounds and of diseases,

[i] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

diſeaſes, and lay together in heaps; in fine tormented with hunger and thirſt, their allowance being ſcarce ſufficient to keep them alive. Moſt of them died of the hardſhips they ſuffered; others were taken out of the quarries, and being ſold for ſlaves met with a moſt generous treatment from their maſters, who, moved with compaſſion, and thinking they had already ſufficiently atoned for any fault they could be guilty of, reſtored them to their ancient liberty [k].

SUCH was the iſſue of this war after it had laſted near three years, and coſt the *Athenians* an immenſe treaſure, without their reaping any thing by it but ſhame and diſhonour. The *Syracuſans* rewarded their allies, eſpecially the *Lacedæmonians*, with great part of the ſpoils; what remained was divided among their own ſoldiers, and hung up in their temples, as monuments of the victory they had obtained by the powerful aſſiſtance of the deities worſhipped there. *Gylippus*, on his return to *Lacedæmon*, was accompanied by five-and-thirty *Syracuſan* gallies to be employed under the conduct of *Hermocrates* againſt the *Athenians*. But this fleet was entirely deſtroyed in a ſea engagement near *Abydus*, and the commanders obliged to return to the defence of their own country, which was ſoon involved in a new war.

Year of the flood 2591. *Before Chriſt* 413.

THE *Egeſtines*, who had called the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, and conſtantly adhered to them during the whole courſe of the war, dreading the reſentment of the *Syracuſans*, and being anew attacked by the *Selinuntines*, who laid claim to great part of their territories, had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, offering to put their city into their hands, and declaring that they had rather live ſubject to *Carthage* than to *Syracuſe*. After their embaſſadors had delivered this meſſage to the ſenate, the *Carthaginians* were greatly perplexed what to reſolve. On one ſide, they were deſirous of getting footing anew in *Sicily*, and poſſeſſing themſelves of a city, which lay ſo convenient for them; on the other, they feared the power of the *Syracuſans*, who had lately obtained ſo ſignal a victory over the *Athenians*, and would not fail to aſſiſt their ancient allies the *Selinuntines*. At laſt the deſire of enlarging their dominions prevailed, and the *Egeſtines* were promiſed ſuccours. But before the *Carthaginians* came to an open rupture, they attempted to ſow ſeeds of diviſion between the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſans*. With this view they ſent embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*, entreating that city to compoſe the differences of the contending parties in an amicable manner, and oblige the *Selinuntines* to content themſelves with that portion of the lands in queſtion, which they ſhould think fit to allow them. They hoped, that if the *Selinuntines* ſhould decline the arbitration of the *Syracuſans*, that would breed a miſunderſtanding between the two cities; whence the *Syracuſans* would not think themſelves obliged to lend any aſſiſtance to the *Selinuntines*, who had refuſed to ſtand to their arbitration, nor the *Selinuntines* have the confidence to recur to them after they had thus affronted them by rejecting their mediation. But this trick of *Punic* policy did not ſucceed; the *Syracuſans* indeed interpoſed their good offices, but finding the *Selinuntines* unwilling to come to an accommodation upon the terms they propoſed, and remembring their eminent ſervices during the late war, they would neither compel them to it, nor, for ſo ſlight a cauſe, renounce their alliance. Hereupon the *Carthaginians*, being reſolved at all events to get poſſeſſion of *Egeſta*, ſent to the *Egeſtines* five thouſand men from *Africa* and eight hundred from *Campania*. The latter had been hired by the *Chalcidians* to aſſiſt the *Athenians* againſt the *Syracuſans*; but after their overthrow ſailing back into *Campania*, ſtayed there, in hopes that ſome ſtate might ſoon ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. Accordingly the *Carthaginians* took them into their ſervice, bought them horſes, and placed them in gariſon at *Egeſta*. Theſe, in conjunction with the five thouſand *Africans*, falling unexpectedly upon the *Selinuntines*, put them to flight, killed a thouſand of them on the ſpot, and took all their baggage. Upon this open rupture between the two cities, both diſpatched embaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from their confederates, the *Selinuntines* from the *Syracuſans*, and the *Egeſtines* from the *Carthaginians*, which being promiſed on both ſides, a moſt dreadful war broke out between the *Egeſtines* and *Carthaginians* on one hand, and the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſans* on the other. The *Carthaginians*, foreſeeing the greatneſs of the undertaking they were to imbark in, committed the whole management of the war to *Hannibal*, impowering him to raiſe what forces he thought fit. He was grandſon to *Hamilcar*, who had been defeated and killed by *Gelon* before *Himera*, as we have related above, and ſon to *Giſco*, who being baniſhed his country had retired to *Selinus*, where he died for want of neceſſaries. As he bore

The Carthaginian *war.*

[k] THUCYD. & DIODOR. ibid.

bore therefore a natural hatred to all the *Greeks*, and was desirous to wipe off by a his own valour the disgrace of that defeat, which he considered as a stain upon his family, he was indefatigable all that summer and the ensuing winter in raising forces, not only in *Africa*, but in *Spain* and *Italy*, and making the other necessary preparations; insomuch, that in the beginning of the spring he had no fewer than three hundred thousand men under his standard. These with an immense store of provisions, engines, arms, and all other things necessary for such an undertaking, he put on board threescore long gallies and fifteen hundred transports, and setting sail, assoon as the season would allow, crossed the sea and landed safe at a place called *the well of Lilybæum*, where the city of *Lilybæum* was afterwards built. After he had landed his forces, he caused all his ships to be drawn ashore for fear of giving umbrage to b the *Syracusans*, and then, being joined by the *Egestines*, marched strait to *Selinus*, which city he invested, and began to batter the walls with incredible fury. The *Selinuntines*, who had been the only people in *Sicily* that had sided with the *Carthaginians* against *Gelon*, did not think they would have come to such extremities, and therefore were at first struck with great terror. However, as they were not altogether without hopes, but expected speedy succours from *Syracuse* and other confederate cities, they all joined as one man, and made a vigorous defence; even the women and children regardless of danger appeared on the ramparts, ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their country [1].

Selinus *besieged by the* Carthaginians.

As the walls were incessantly battered day and night by the rams and other war- c like engines, a breach was soon opened, and the first who entered it were the *Campanians* out of an ambition of distinguishing themselves above the rest; but they were repulsed with great loss, as were the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* sent to support them. The fight lasted from noon to night, when *Hannibal* sounded the retreat. In the mean time the *Selinuntines* sent expresses to *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, and *Syracuse*, acquainting them with the state of affairs. The *Agrigentines* and *Geleans* immediately armed their troops, but waited for the *Syracusan* auxiliaries with a design to fall upon the enemy with united forces. The *Syracusans* likewise without delay drew together what forces they could, but as they did not think them sufficient to relieve effectually the besieged, whom they apprehended to be in no immi- d nent danger, they put off their march for some days till they got together a stronger force. But *Hannibal*, assoon as it was light, renewing the assault, possessed himself of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another which his rams had opened near it, and from thence charging the besieged, obliged them to give ground, but could not put them in disorder, nor enter the city. Many fell on both sides; but the *Carthaginians* were constantly supplied with fresh men; whereas the *Selinuntines* had none to relieve them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the assault was daily renewed for the space of nine days with incredible slaughter. At length the besieged being quite tired out, the *Iberians* after a long contest lodged on the ramparts; from thence they advanced into the e city, but finding all the streets and passages barricadoed, and being at the same time sorely galled by showers of tiles and stones thrown by the women from the tops of the houses, they were obliged to retire to the ramparts. The next day they returned to the charge very early, and by continually pouring fresh men into the city forced the *Selinuntines* to abandon the narrow streets, and pursued them into the market-place, where they made a stand, and were all to a man cut in pieces. Two thousand six hundred had by the favour of the night made their escape to *Agrigentum* before the enemy had forced the narrow passes; so that now there was not one single man left alive in the city. The *Carthaginians* therefore, raging in all parts without restraint, rifled the houses, and then set fire to them, and either threw into the f flames the women and children they found in them, or, dragging them into the streets, put them all, without distinction, to the sword. Neither did this satiate their inhuman cruelty, which they carried so far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others out of ostentation bearing the heads of the slain on the points of their swords and spears. The city was razed two hundred and fifty years after it had been built, and the few women and children, who outlived this fatal day, carried away captives. Those who fled to *Agrigentum* were received there

Taken and razed.

[1] Diodor. Sicul l. xiii. c. 6. & 7.

a there with great humanity and tenderneſs, and abundantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries out of the public ſtores (U) [m].

Hannibal, having thus taken and demoliſhed *Selinus*, marched with all his army to *Himera*, extremely deſirous to revenge on that city the death of his grandfather *Hamilcar*, who had been ſlain there by *Gelon* with an hundred and fifty thouſand *Carthaginians*. On his march he was joined by twenty thouſand *Siculi* and *Sicani*, whom he ſent with the main body of the army to lay ſiege to the city, while he with a body of forty thouſand men encamped on a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from it. The *Syracuſans* had ſent four thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the *Himereans*, under the conduct of *Diocles*, before the city was inveſted, and the other confederates had likewiſe ſent what troops they could well ſpare. Wherefore the inhabitants, encouraged b by theſe ſuccours, and dreading to undergo the ſame fate as the *Selinuntines*, made a moſt vigorous defence. The *Carthaginians* made ſeveral breaches in the wall, but were conſtantly repulſed for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, without being able to gain an inch of ground. This did not a little diſcourage the enemy, notwithſtanding their late ſucceſs at *Selinus*; which the *Himereans* obſerving made a ſally with ten thouſand men, cut many of the *Carthaginians* in pieces, and put the whole army to flight, purſuing them with great ſlaughter to the hill, where *Hannibal* was encamped. That general ſeeing his army in confuſion, haſtened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for ſome hours, victory inclining to neither ſide. At length the *Himereans*, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three c thouſand of them kept their poſts, and covered the retreat of their companions, ſuſtaining the ſhock of the whole *Carthaginian* army till they all died upon the ſpot. Himera *beſieged.*

After this engagement five and twenty gallies appeared off of *Himera*, and a report was ſpread all over the city and the enemy's camp, that the *Syracuſans* with all their forces were coming to the relief of the city. Hereupon *Hannibal*, having put the flower of his troops on board his gallies, prepared to ſail for *Syracuſe*, hoping to ſurprize the city now that it wanted, as he ſuppoſed, ſufficient forces to defend it. But thoſe gallies proved to be the fleet, which the *Syracuſans* had ſent ſome time before to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, returning home. As they touched at *Himera*, *Diocles*, commander in chief of the *Syracuſan* auxiliaries there, adviſed them to ſail with all d ſpeed to *Syracuſe*, leſt *Hannibal* ſhould make any attempt upon that city. He thought it alſo adviſeable to leave *Himera* for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to *Syracuſe* on the gallies, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought ſufficient to hold out till he, after putting his own city in a ſtate of defence, ſhould return. This the beſieged took very ill, but could not prevail upon *Diocles* to alter his meaſures. Upon his departure the *Carthaginians* doubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermiſſion. On the other hand the beſieged believing the ſhips would return ſpeedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulſing the enemy. Thus they held out againſt the repeated aſſaults and utmoſt efforts of above three hundred thouſand men till the very e day the fleet appeared, when the *Carthaginians*, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, gave a general aſſault, and, with their numbers bearing all down before them, drove the citizens from the ramparts, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, entered the city ſword in hand. There is no ſort of cruelty which the barbarous *Carthaginians* and *Iberians* did not practiſe on this occaſion; all they met, without regard to ſex or age, were inhumanly butchered; the ſlaughter was ſo mercileſs, that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. After they had plundered the temples and houſes, and levelled the city with the ground, *Hannibal* cauſed three *Taken and razed.*

[m] Idem, ibid.

(U) A few days after the city was taken, three thouſand *Syracuſans* arrived at *Agrigentum* on their march to the relief of *Selinus*. But underſtanding that the city was taken, they ſent embaſſadors to *Hannibal* to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him that he would at leaſt ſpare the temples. *Hannibal* returned anſwer, that ſince the *Selinuntines* had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deſerved to be treated like ſlaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedneſs, had forſaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no ſacrilege to ſtrip them of their ornaments. The *Syracuſans*, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, ſent a ſecond embaſſy, and on that occaſion employed one *Empediones* of *Selinus*, who had always been of the *Carthaginian* party, and adviſed the citizens to open their gates to them, when they firſt appeared before the city. *Hannibal* received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, reſtored him his eſtate, pardoned all thoſe priſoners who were any ways related to him, and permitted the others, who had fled to *Agrigentum*, to return and people the city anew, upon paying to the *Carthaginians* an annual tribute.

three thousand of the captives to be carried to the place, where his grandfather had been defeated and killed by *Gelon*'s cavalry, and there first exposed them to the insults of his barbarians, and then caused them to be massacred [n]. a

THUS ended this campaign, after which *Hannibal*, dismissing the *Siculi* and confederates, and disbanding the *Campanians*, imbarked his troops, and set sail for *Africa*. When he arrived at *Carthage*, the whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things in so short a time than any ever before him.

Hermocrates *banished*.

ABOUT this time some disturbances arose in *Syracuse*, occasioned by the return of *Hermocrates*. This brave officer had signalized himself in the war against the *Athenians*, and had been afterwards sent with a fleet of thirty-five gallies to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians*. During his absence, the contrary faction, headed by *Diocles* (W), prevailing at home, he was tried, and, without so much as being heard, condemned to banishment. As he was a man of great probity, and had on all occasions been very serviceable to his country, many of the citizens sought to have him recalled, knowing that his enemies had prevailed on the ungrateful multitude to banish him merely on account of his virtue, which gave them no small umbrage. But all their endeavours proving unsuccessful, *Hermocrates* himself returned in *Sicily*, and having raised an army of six thousand men, by the advice of his friends he advanced to *Syracuse*, and surprised one of the gates of the city. But the adverse party running to arms, and falling furiously upon his small army, cut most of them in pieces, and slew *Hermocrates* himself. All those who had declared in his favour, were condemned to perpetual banishment, and among the rest his son-in-law *Dionysius*, who made the *Syracusans* pay dear for the excesses they committed on this occasion, as we shall see in the sequel of the history [o]. b c

The Carthaginians *return to* Sicily.

THE late success of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* revived the design which they had ever entertained of subduing the whole island. With this view they began to make new preparations and raise another army, committing the whole management of the war to the same *Hannibal*. But as he pleaded his great age, and shewed himself unwilling to take upon him the command and return to *Sicily*, they joined in commission with him *Imilcar* the son of *Hanno*, one of the same family. These two generals being plentifully supplied with money, and impowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers with large sums into *Spain*, *Italy*, *Lybia*, *Sardinia*, and the *Balearic* islands to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. When all their forces were mustered at *Carthage*, the army was found to consist of three hundred thousand chosen men, as *Ephorus* informs us; but *Timæus* says, that they amounted only to an hundred and twenty thousand, or thereabouts. All things being got ready, the troops were imbarked on a thousand transports, which, under the convoy of a numerous squadron of gallies, arriving safe in *Sicily*, landed on the coast of *Agrigentum*, and marched strait to that city [p]. d e

THE *Syracusans* and their confederates had sent embassadors to *Carthage* to complain of the late hostilities practised upon them by *Hannibal*, and persuade the senate to

[n] Idem, ibid. [o] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. [p] Idem, ibid.

(W) *Diocles* was a man of great authority among the people. By his advice the form of government was altered after the first *Carthaginian* war, and the magistrates, contrary to the ancient custom, chosen by lot. He also instituted laws for the *Syracusans*, which were observed, not only in the city of *Syracuse*, but in most of the free states of *Sicily*, *Diocles* being highly esteemed by all for his wisdom and probity. Others after his time made laws, namely *Cephalus*, who flourished under *Timoleon*, and *Polydorus*, who was contemporary with *Hiero*; but these were only called interpreters of the law, which was written in such obsolete language as was hardly understood; the title of law-giver was bestowed upon none but *Diocles*. He is said to have been a man of an inexorable nature and great severity. Among the many laws he made one was, that if any man came armed into the court, where the public assemblies were held, he should be put to death, even though he had done it inadvertently. Not long after the publication of this law, some of the neighbouring people having invaded the territories of *Syracuse*, *Diocles* put on his armour to march out against them; but in the mean time a tumult arising in the court, he hastened thither to appease it with his sword by his side; which one there present observing, cried out, that he transgressed the laws which he himself had made. Whereupon *Diocles* drawing his sword, answered, that he would confirm them with his blood, and ran himself through in the court. After his death divine honours were paid to him, and a temple erected to his memory, which was afterwards pulled down by *Dionysius*, when he surrounded the city with a new wall (28).

(28) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xiii. *c.* 4.

a to forbear ſending any troops into *Sicily*. But the *Carthaginians* returning a doubtful anſwer to this embaſſy, the *Syracuſans* had put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. The *Agrigentines* eſpecially, expecting this great ſtorm would firſt diſcharge itſelf upon them, had carefully provided all things neceſſary for the ſuſtaining of a long ſiege, following therein the directions of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, an officer of great courage and experience. *Hannibal*, on his arrival before the city, ſent embaſſadors to the *Agrigentines*, inviting them either to join him, or ſtand neuter, declaring he would be well ſatisfied with either, and forbear all hoſtilities if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendſhip. But both propoſals being rejected, *Imilcar* and *Hannibal*, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter b to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. But the defence was no leſs vigorous than the attack; the beſieged, in the firſt ſally they made, burnt all the enemies engines, deſtroyed the towers they had raiſed againſt the city, and after having made a great ſlaughter in the camp, returned in good order into the city. Hereupon *Hannibal* commanded all the tombs and ſtately monuments, ſtanding round the city, to be demoliſhed, and mounts to be raiſed with the rubbiſh as high as the walls. Soon after the plague broke out in the army, and in a ſhort time carried off a great number of the ſoldiers and the general himſelf. The *Carthaginian* ſoothſayers interpreted this diſaſter as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead; wherefore *Imilcar*, in whom the whole power was now c veſted, ordered ſupplications to be made according to the practice of *Carthage*, and a boy to be ſacrificed to *Saturn*, in compliance with a cuſtom which had long obtained among the *Carthaginians*; by his orders *Neptune* likewiſe was appeaſed, and ſeveral prieſts thrown into the ſea, as the moſt pleaſing victims to that deity. *Imilcar* having, as he imagined, by theſe cruelties atoned for the ſacrileges of *Hannibal* and pacified the gods, the aſſaults were renewed with more vigor than ever, and the city reduced to great ſtraits.

Agrigentum *beſieged.*

In the mean time the *Syracuſans* having raiſed an army of above thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, ſent them to the relief of the beſieged under the com- d mand of one *Daphneus*. *Imilcar*, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the *Iberians* and *Campanians* with forty thouſand *Carthaginians*, enjoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river *Himera*. Purſuant to his orders the *Syracuſans* were attacked a few hours after they had paſſed the river, as they were advancing in good order through thoſe large plains towards *Agrigentum*. The diſpute was ſharp, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemies being far ſuperior in number to the *Syracuſans*. But at length the latter carried the day, and purſued the *Carthaginians*, with great ſlaughter, to the very walls of *Agrigentum*. Upon the approach of the *Syracuſans*, that body which was carrying on the ſiege, abandoning their poſts, ſaved themſelves by flight to *Imilcar*'s camp, which was e pitched on the neighbouring hills. *Daphneus* purſued them in good order with a deſign to attack the camp; but finding it ſtrongly fortified, he thought it more adviſeable to guard all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, and by that means oblige the enemy either to periſh with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly all the paſſages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was ſoon brought to ſuch ſtraits, that the *Campanians* and other mercenaries began to mutiny, and going in a body to *Imilcar*'s tent, threatened to join the enemy if they had not their uſual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their preſent want for a few days, aſſuring them, they ſhould be very ſoon plentifully ſupplied f with all ſorts of proviſions. He had been informed, that the *Syracuſans* were then loading many ſhips with corn to be ſent to *Agrigentum*, and did not the leaſt doubt but he ſhould intercept the convoy, the *Syracuſans* not ſuſpecting that he would attempt any thing by ſea. Accordingly he diſpatched meſſengers to *Motya* and *Panormus* where his fleet lay, enjoining the commanders to man the gallies with all poſſible expedition, and lie in wait at an appointed place, for the ſhips that were to bring the proviſions. His orders were put in execution, and forty gallies being ſpeedily equipped, the *Syracuſan* fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore tranſports, laden with corn and all ſorts of proviſions, was intercepted. As this unexpected relief gave the *Carthaginians* freſh courage, ſo it greatly diſheartened the *Agrigentines*, who, having already held out for the ſpace of eight months, were in great want of all

all things, and without hopes of being relieved so quickly as their present necessity required. Eight hundred *Campanians*, who had formerly served under *Hannibal*, but were now in the service of the *Agrigentines*, observing the desperate condition the city was reduced to, went all over in a body to the *Carthaginians*; *Dexippus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, was said to have been bribed with fifteen talents by the *Carthaginians*, and to have advised the *Campanians* and other *Italian* mercenaries to desert, since they were likely to be starved in the city, without the least prospect of rendering any service to those who had hired them. Thus the mercenaries falling off, and the inhabitants desponding for want of necessaries, a council of war was summoned, when it was judged absolutely impossible to hold out any longer, there not being provisions enough in the public stores to support the soldiery and people two days longer. Some were therefore for attacking the *Carthaginians* in their camp, others for abandoning the city, and conveying the inhabitants to some place of safety; this opinion prevailed, and the following night was fixed for their departure. This resolution, when publickly known, threw the whole city into the utmost consternation; lamentable outcries were heard in every house, and the grief and dread they were all seized with, in seeing themselves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods, and estates, is not to be expressed. They were inconsolable in seeing themselves stript at once of all their riches, but as life was still dearer, and they expected no mercy from so cruel an enemy, they complied with the resolution which had been taken in the council. What above all grieved them was the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who, they knew, would be treated by the enemy with the utmost cruelty. Many, not finding in their heart to abandon their sick parents and relations, stayed behind to comfort them at their death, and then die by them. The rest, being guarded by the *Syracusan* troops, marched out and arrived safe at *Gela*, where they were received with great kindness and humanity, and plentifully supplied with all necessaries at the expence of the public. The *Syracusans* afterwards granted them the city of *Leontini* and its rich territory.

The Agrigentines *abandon their city.*

THE *Syracusan* army was no sooner retired, but *Imilcar*, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without some fear and jealousy, and put all those he found in it to the sword, not sparing even such as had fled to the temples. Among these was *Gellias* (X), a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity, who seeing that the *Carthaginians*, without respecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered those who had taken sanctuary in them, set fire to the temple of *Minerva*, and consumed in the flames both himself and the immense riches of that stately edifice. However, the booty, which the enemy found in the place, was immensely rich, such as might be expected in one of the most opulent cities of *Sicily*, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even besieged. An incredible number of pictures, vases, and statues, done by the greatest masters of those times, fell into the enemy's hands, the *Agrigentines* having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull of *Phalaris*, which was sent to *Carthage* (Y) [q].

Imilcar,

[q] Idem, ibid.

(X) *Gellias* was the richest citizen of *Agrigentum*, and is said to have built several rooms in his house of an extraordinary size for public entertainments, placing his servants at the gates, and charging them to invite all those who went by to be his guests. Five hundred horsemen from *Gela* happening to pass through *Agrigentum* in winter-time, he not only entertained them with great magnificence, but furnished them all on their departure, as it was rainy weather, with cloaks and coats out of his wardrobe. *Polyclitus* the historian, as quoted by *Diodorus*, tells us, that when he served among the troops of *Agrigentum*, he saw a wine-cellar in his house, which contained three hundred great vessels full of wine, each of which held an hundred *amphoræ*. This *Gellias*, as our author informs us, was of a very mean presence, but was endowed with extraordinary parts. Being once sent with the character of embassador to the *Centuripines*, when he appeared in the assembly, all who were present burst out in a loud laugh; so ridiculous was his aspect. But *Gellias* told them, that they ought not to be surprized at his mean figure and appearance, since the *Agrigentines* always sent the most comely and handsome men to the noblest cities, but to those that were insignificant and of no account such as himself (29).

(Y) *Timæus* endeavoured to prove in his history, as our author tells us, that there never had been any such bull, and bitterly inveighed against those historians who were so credulous as to believe such a fable. But the truth of their accounts was afterwards made plain; for *Scipio Africanus*, when he razed *Carthage*, about two hundred and threescore years after the destruction of *Agrigentum*, found among other things this very bull, and restored it to the inhabitants of *Agrigentum*, where it was still to be seen when *Diodorus* wrote his history, that is, in the reign of *Augustus* (30).

(29) *Diodorus Sicul. l.* xiii. *c.* 12.

(30) *Idem, ibid. c.* 13.

a *Imilcar* having thus gained the city after an eight months ſiege, a little before the winter ſolſtice, did not preſently raze it, but there took up his winter quarters to give his army the neceſſary refreſhment. In the mean time the deplorable fate of *Agrigentum* being publicly known, the whole iſland was ſtruck with terror, and many of the inhabitants, forſaking their native cities, fled to *Syracuſe*, or retired with their families and effects to *Italy*. Thoſe who took ſanctuary in *Syracuſe* were treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among them were many *Agrigentines*, who filled the city with their complaints againſt the *Syracuſan* commanders, as if they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the enemy's hands. This raiſed ſuch diſturbances in *Syracuſe*, as gave *Dionyſius* a fair opportunity of ſeizing

b on the ſovereign power, and depriving the inhabitants of that liberty which they had long abuſed, and by degrees turned into an unbridled licentiouſneſs. The power of the populace was ſo great, that the moſt worthy citizens had either abandoned their native country, or led at home a private life, through fear of giving them any jealouſy, or incurring their diſpleaſure. The eminent ſervices of their beſt commanders were often rewarded with death or baniſhment, the capricious multitude being led, by their groundleſs ſuſpicions, to treat as enemies even thoſe to whom they were indebted for their lives and ſafety. But *Dionyſius* found means to curb their inſolence, and puniſh both their cruelty towards ſtrangers and their ingratitude towards their own citizens.

Dionyſius was a native of *Syracuſe*, born, according to ſome, of a noble and illu- Dionyſius
c ſtrious family; according to others of a mean extraction. He was one of thoſe who *ſtirs up the* accompanied *Hermocrates*, when he attempted to return to *Syracuſe* by force of arms, *people.* after he had been baniſhed through the intrigues of his enemies. *Hermocrates* was killed in the attempt, and many of his friends afterward publicly executed. *Dionyſius* was dangerouſly wounded, and the report of his death, purpoſely ſpread abroad by his relations, ſaved his life. When the war, we are now ſpeaking of, broke out, he was by the interceſſion of his friends recalled, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle fought near *Agrigentum* in a very particular manner. When the *Agrigentines* charged the *Syracuſan* officers with treachery, as if they had been gained over by the

d *Carthaginians* with bribes to betray their country, *Dionyſius* backed their accuſations, and even impeached the magiſtrates as keeping a ſecret intelligence with the enemy, and attempting to introduce an oligarchy. His ſpeech, which was entirely levelled againſt the wealthy and powerful citizens, and therefore agreeable to the humour of the people, ſet all the aſſembly in a flame; the people, already incenſed againſt their commanders, being more exaſperated by the ſpeech of *Dionyſius*, forthwith deprived them of their commands, and named others in their room, among whom was *Diony-* *Is choſen one of* *ſius*, now as much eſteemed and favoured by the populace, as he had been lately per- *the generals.* ſecuted and hated. Having gained this ſtep to preferment, he began to conſider with himſelf how he might have his collegues turned out, and the whole command

e of the army lodged in himſelf. With this view he never joined in any council of war with the other commanders, nor imparted to them his reſolutions, giving out that he durſt not truſt them, and that they had more at heart their own intereſt, than the welfare of their country. While he was thus by degrees paving his way to the throne, the moſt prudent among the citizens, being well appriſed of his wicked deſigns, complained of his proceedings to the ſenate and magiſtrates, who fined him as a diſturber of the public peace. According to the laws the fine was to be paid before he could ſpeak in public, and *Dionyſius* was not in a condition to diſcharge it. Hereupon *Philiſtus the hiſtorian*, a man of great wealth, not only paid the fine for him, but encouraged him to ſpeak his mind freely, as it became a zealous citizen

f to do, offering to pay all the fines they ſhould lay upon him. *Dionyſius*, being thus ſupported by the wealth of a rich citizen and the favour of the people, as he was an eloquent ſpeaker, bitterly inveighed againſt all thoſe, who on account of their power or intereſt were in a condition to obſtruct his deſigns, and by degrees brought them into diſgrace with the people [q].

ANOTHER ſcheme, which he formed, was attended with all the ſucceſs he could *Gets the Syra-* have wiſhed, and greatly ſtrengthened his party. There were at that time a great *cuſan exiles* many *Syracuſan* exiles diſperſed up and down *Sicily*, whom the faction of the nobility *recalled* had baniſhed, at different times and under various pretences. Theſe *Dionyſius* looked upon

[q] DIODOR. ibid. ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 6

upon as the most proper tools for the execution of his designs; for he did not doubt a
but their gratitude towards him, and their hatred against those who had occasioned
their misfortunes, would unalterably attach them to his party and interest. Where-
fore in one of the assemblies, that were then frequently held to deliberate on the
state of affairs, he applied with his usual address to the people in behalf of the exiles.
A decree had passed for the raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress
of the *Carthaginians*, and the people were very uneasy on account of the expence
which the new levies would amount to. *Dionysius* took advantage of this favourable
conjuncture and disposition of the people. He represenred, that it was absurd and
impolitic[b] to bring troops from *Italy* and *Peloponnesus* at a vast charge, when they
might be supplied with excellent forces, without being at any expence at all; that b
if they recalled their own countrymen, who were dispersed all over *Sicily*, they would
by that kindness oblige them to sacrifice willingly their lives in defence of those
who restored them to their former condition, *&c.* His speech had such an effect
on the people, that a decree was immediately passed in favour of the exiles. Many
plainly perceived what he had in view, but none durst contradict him, knowing
that he had gained such an ascendant over the people, that their opposition would
not only prove ineffectual, but incense the multitude against them, and raise the re-
putation of *Dionysius*, to whom alone the exiles would be indebted for their return.
The decree was no sooner published, but the exiles flocked from all parts to
Syracuse[r]. c

Gains the soldiery.

In the mean time the inhabitants of *Gela*, falling out among themselves, im-
plored the protection of *Syracuse*, lest the common enemy should take advantage of
their disagreement, and by the assistance of one party possess themselves of the city.
Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot and four hundred
horse, and finding the city in an uproar occasioned by the unjust pretensions of the
nobility over the people, he sided with the latter, and caused those to be put to
death, whom the people condemned in their assembly. Their estates he confiscated
and sold, and with the money arising from the sale paid the soldiers, who were there
in garison under *Dexippus*, their arrears, distributing the overplus among the troops
that came with him from *Syracuse*. At the same time he assured them all, that their d
pay should be doubled, which gained him the hearts of the soldiery. The *Geleans*
treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent embassadors to *Syra-
cuse* to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in send-
ing thither *Dionysius*.

During his stay at *Gela*, he endeavoured to gain over to his views *Dexippus*; but
not being able to persuade the *Lacedæmonian* to come into his measures, he marched
back to *Syracuse* with all his forces, promising to return soon with a more numerous
army. He arrived at *Syracuse* just as the people were coming out of the theatre,
who thronging about him enquired what news he brought concerning the *Cartha-
ginians*. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city had not so much e
cause to be afraid of them, as of her own officers and magistrates, who, instead
of making the necessary preparations against the approach of so formidable an enemy,
lulled the people asleep with trivial amusements and idle shews, and suffered the
troops to want necessaries, converting their pay to their private uses; that he had
long suspected, but now saw plainly, what they aimed at; that *Imilcar* had sent an
officer to him under pretence of redeeming some captives, but in truth to persuade
him not to pry too narrowly into the conduct of his collegues, and if he would not
enter into their measures, at least not to obstruct them; that he was come deter-
mined to lay down his commission, that he might leave no room for injurious suspi-
cions of his acting in concert with traitors, who basely sold their country. f

Made generaliss.

This speech being divulged about the city and among the troops, the very next
day an assembly was convened, when *Dionysius* renewed his complaints against the
generals, and was heard with universal applause. At length some in the assembly
cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generalissimo, and that the thing
ought not to be put off till the enemy was battering the walls; that the greatness of the
war required such a commander, and that *Gelon* was chosen generalissimo on the like
occasion, and defeated the *Carthaginian* army consisting of three hundred thousand
men. As for the traitors, their cause might be referred to another day, but the pre-
sent

[r] Idem, ibid.

a sent affair would admit of no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect, for the people, who, as the historian observes, are always apt to close with the worst advice, elected that instant *Dionysius* commander in chief, with an absolute and unbounded power.

Procures a guard.

All things succeeding thus according to his wish, he caused a decree to be passed, ordering, that for the future the soldiers pay should be doubled, alledging, that they would be thereby encouraged to fight more chearfully in defence of their country. When the assembly broke up, the *Syracusans* upon second thoughts began to repent of what they had done, being sensible, they had acted imprudently in putting the whole power into the hands of one man, which was in effect giving themselves a b master, who might, if he pleased, lord it over them without controll. *Dionysius* therefore, to prevent the change of the people's minds, began to contrive how he might procure a guard for his person; if he could but gain this point, he concluded he might easily usurp the sovereignty. With this view he commanded all that were able to bear arms, and under forty years of age, to march with thirty days provisions to the city of *Leontini*, which belonged to the *Syracusans*, and was full of foreigners and exiles, persons very fit for the execution of his design. He encamped the first night on the plains of *Leontini*, where he caused a great noise and clamour to be made in the dead of the night by his servants and attendants, as if his enemies had attempted to assassinate him in his tent. In this alarm he fled to the castle of *Leon-* c *tini*, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great many fires to be lighted, and drawn off with him such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day he acquainted the people of *Leontini* with the danger he pretended to have been in, and feigning to be still under great apprehension, he demanded leave to chuse himself a guard of six hundred men for the security of his person. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out a thousand men for his guard upon the spot, armed them compleatly, and encouraged them with great promises. He also attached the mercenaries to his interest in a peculiar manner, by addressing them with great freedom and affability. He then made several alterations and removals in the troops, giving commissions to such as he could d rely upon, and turning out those whom he distrusted. Among the latter was *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, whom he sent back into *Greece*, not doubting but the *Syracusans* would chuse him for their general, if they should attempt the recovery of their liberty; for he was an officer of great experience, and could not by any offers be prevailed upon to fall in with *Dionysius*. At the same time he sent orders to the garison of *Gela* to join him, and assembled from all quarters fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals s.

Seizes on the citadel, and declares himself king of Syracuse. *Year of the flood* 2600. *Before Christ* 404.

With this train he returned to *Syracuse*, which trembled at his approach. But the people were no longer in a condition to oppose his designs, or dispute his authority; the city being full of mercenaries, who were in arms, and the *Carthaginians* with a mighty army on the frontiers. The first thing he did after his return to *Syra-* e *cuse* was to possess himself of the citadel, where the arms and provisions were lodged; which he no sooner saw himself master of, than bidding defiance to his opposers, he publicly declared himself king of *Syracuse* in the twenty-fifth year of his age. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he married the daughter of *Hermocrates*, whose family was the most powerful of *Syracuse*, and gave his own sister in marriage to *Polyxenus*, brother-in-law to *Hermocrates*. Afterwards he called an assembly, in which he caused *Daphneus* and *Demarchus*, who had been the most active in opposing him, to be condemned. Thus *Dionysius*, from a simple notary, as *Diodorus* informs us, raised himself to the sovereignty of the greatest and most opulent city of *Sicily* t.

Gela *besieged by the* Carthaginians.

f In the mean time, the *Carthaginians*, under the command of *Imilcar*, having on the return of the spring razed the city of *Agrigentum*, marched with all their forces against *Gela*, and sitting down before that place, fortified their camp with a deep ditch and a wall, not doubting but *Dionysius* would come to the relief of the besieged with a powerful army. The *Geleans* in the beginning of the siege were for sending their wives and children to some place of safety; but not one of them could be prevailed upon to retire, they all protesting that they would undergo the same fate as their husbands and parents. This resolution encouraged the

s Idem, ibid. & Aristides in Panathen. t Idem, ibid.

the *Geleans* to exert themselves in the defence of persons so dear to them, and to a whom they were so dear. They made several sallies, and cut great numbers of the enemy in pieces. No sooner was a breach opened in the wall, but the inhabitants repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully shared with them the labour and danger. Thus they held out a long time, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, against an army of above three hundred thousand men, without receiving any aid from their allies. At length *Dionysius* advanced to their relief at the head of fifty thousand foot and a thousand horse; but after some unsuccessful attempts, not caring to put all to the issue of a battle, he persuaded the inhabitants to abandon their country, as the only means to save their lives, and covered their retreat with the forces he had b brought to relieve the place. The *Carthaginians* immediately entered the city, and either put to the sword or crucified all those they found in it. From *Gela* they advanced to *Camarina*, whither the *Geleans* had retired; and *Dionysius*, being informed of their march, obliged the *Camarineans* likewise to remove from their native city, and withdraw with their wives and children to *Syracuse*. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength from two several cities in one and the same country, and stript of all their wealth and possessions, raised compassion in the breasts of *Dionysius*'s soldiers, and incensed them against the tyrant. They suspected him to act in concert with the *Carthaginians*; the more be- c

The Syracusans *revolt from* Dionysius.

cause they did not offer to pursue him, and none of his mercenaries had been killed in the attacks he made on the enemy's camp before *Gela*. The *Italians* therefore left his camp in a body, and marched homewards through the heart of the country. The *Syracusan* cavalry, after having attempted to kill him on the march, clapt spurs to their horses, and rode full gallop to *Syracuse*, where they entered the citadel without opposition, the guards being quite ignorant of what had happened at *Gela* and *Camarina*. Upon their arrival they forced his palace, ransacked his treasures, carried off all his rich furniture, and abused his wife so cruelly, that through grief and shame she poisoned herself. In the mean time *Dionysius*, suspecting their design, followed them with all possible expedition, and, having marched fifty miles without ever halting, arrived at midnight with an hundred horse and five hundred foot at the gate of d

He possesses himself of the city.

Acradina, which he found shut against him. He immediately caused the gate to be burnt down, and having thus opened himself a way into the city, he cut in pieces a body of the most wealthy and noble citizens, who, without waiting for the people, had hastened to the defence of the gate. Being now master of the city, he scoured the streets, putting all those to the sword that came in his way, and even entering the houses of such as he took to be his enemies, and cutting them off with their whole families. Next morning at break of day the whole body of his troops arrived; but the unhappy fugitives from *Gela* and *Camarina*, incensed against the tyrant, retired to *Leontini*.

A peace between the Carthaginians *and* Dionysius.

In the mean time, a plague breaking out in the *Carthaginian* camp, *Imilcar*, not e finding himself in a condition to carry on the war, sent a herald to *Syracuse* to offer terms of peace to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to *Dionysius*, and a peace was immediately struck up on the following terms: That the *Carthaginians*, besides their ancient acquisitions in *Sicily*, should still possess the countries of the *Sicani*, and the dismantled cities of *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, and *Himera* with their territories; that the *Geleans* and *Camarineans* should be suffered to return to their respective countries and live there, paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*; that the *Leontines*, *Messenians*, and all the other inhabitants of *Sicily* should live according to their own laws, and enjoy their liberties, except the *Syracusans*, who should continue subject to *Dionysius*. These articles being agreed to by both parties, f *Imilcar* embarked his troops, and set sail for *Carthage*, after having lost above the half of his army by the plague, which afterwards made a dreadful havock in *Africa* [u].

Dionysius, foreseeing that the *Syracusans* would not fail to take advantage of the peace with the *Carthaginians* to attempt the recovery of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the island, which was very strong by nature, and divided it from the rest of the city with a high and thick wall, which was at due distances flanked with strong towers. He built likewise at a vast

[u] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

a a vaſt expence a caſtle, which commanded the city, to ſerve him for a retreat in caſe of any ſudden commotion. As to the lands, he choſe the moſt fertile for himſelf and his friends, the reſt he equally diſtributed among the citizens, including in that number the ſlaves, whom he made free, and called *Neopolites*, or *new citizens*. In the ſame manner he divided the houſes, except thoſe in the iſland, which he beſtowed on his mercenaries, and ſuch friends as he could confide in [w],

HAVING taken theſe precautions for his own ſecurity, and thinking his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he began to think of extending his dominions, and ſubjecting ſeveral free ſtates of *Sicily*, which had ſided with the *Carthaginians*. He marched firſt againſt the city of *Herbeſſus*; but while he was employed in the ſiege of that b place, the *Syracuſans*, who had been liſted for that expedition, ſeeing their ſwords reſtored to them, thought it their duty to employ them in the recovery of their liberty. One of the tyrant's officers, endeavouring to prevent their meeting together in private cabals, was killed on the ſpot, and his death ſerved as a ſignal for the reſt to take up arms and join in the common cauſe. They ſent immediately to *Ætna* for the horſe, for they had retired thither, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that caſtle when *Dionyſius* firſt uſurped the ſovereignty. *Dionyſius* alarmed at theſe commotions broke up the ſiege, and haſtening to *Syracuſe* made himſelf maſter of that city, before the news of the revolt in the army had reached it. The revolters, being joined by the cavalry from *Ætna*, followed him cloſe, and, encamping on *Epipolæ*, cut c off all communication with the country. At the ſame time they diſpatched meſſengers to *Rhegium* and *Meſſina*, ſoliciting their aid by ſea for the recovery of their liberty. The meſſengers were kindly received in both places, and fourſcore gallies well-manned ſent with all poſſible expedition to ſupport ſo good a cauſe. Being thus reinforced, they promiſed by the common crier, a great reward to any one that ſhould kill the tyrant, and the freedom of the city to all foreigners, who ſhould abandon him and come over to them. A great number of *Dionyſius*'s mercenaries allured by theſe promiſes forſook him, and were immediately made free of *Syracuſe*, and beſides rewarded with large ſums, which ſo encouraged them, that in a few days the tyrant ſaw himſelf quite abandoned by thoſe in whom he chiefly con- d fided. And now the *Syracuſans*, having prepared engines for the battering down of the wall, with repeated aſſaults ſo haraſſed thoſe few that ſtill kept with the tyrant, that they were ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In this deſperate condition *Dionyſius* aſſembled his friends, to conſult with them rather by what kind of death he ſhould put an end to his career, than by what means he might ſave his life or maintain the ſovereignty. They were divided in their opinions. *Heloris* adviſed him to lay violent hands on himſelf before he was forced to reſign the ſovereign power, telling him, that the royal title would be the greateſt ornament of his ſepulchre. *Polyxenus* would have had him attempt to break through the enemy's camp, on the ſwifteſt horſe he had, and retiring to thoſe places, which were ſub- e ject to the *Carthaginians*, implore the aſſiſtance of the *Campanians*, whom *Imilcar* had left to defend his conqueſts in *Sicily*. But *Philiſtus* the hiſtorian oppoſed this advice, telling *Dionyſius*, that he ought not to fly from the crown, but hold it to the laſt gaſp with both his hands. *Dionyſius* cloſed with this advice, and reſolved to part with his life, rather than with the power he had acquired. However, to gain time, he ſent deputies to the *Syracuſans*, demanding permiſſion to depart the city with his friends and adherents, which was granted; and five ſhips were allowed him to tranſport his men and effects. In the mean time he ſent privately diſpatches to the *Campanians*, who gariſoned the places in the poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*, with great offers, if they would haſten to his relief [x].

The Syracuſans *revolt.*

Dionyſius beſieged in the iſland.

And reduced to great ſtraits

f THE *Syracuſans*, believing they had now got the better of the tyrant, and truſting to the treaty, diſarmed part of their troops, and ſuffered the others to rove about in the fields, as if there were nothing further to be feared. In the mean time the *Campanians*, encouraged by *Dionyſius*'s generous promiſes, arrived unexpectedly at *Syracuſe*, and, having killed all who oppoſed them, broke through into the port, where he was ſhut up. At the ſame time three hundred mercenaries more came to his aſſiſtance. The face of affairs was then entirely altered; and *Dionyſius*, taking advantage of the conſternation and deſtraction that reigned in the enemy's

[w] Idem, ibid. [x] Idem, l. 14. c. 7.

enemy's camp, made a vigorous ſally, and drove them as far as that part of the a
city, which was called *Neapolis*. The ſlaughter was not great, *Dionyſius*, to ingra-
tiate himſelf with the *Syracuſans*, having given orders to ſpare thoſe that fled. With
the ſame view he cauſed the dead to be buried, which had ſo good an effect on the
minds of the ſimple populace, that above ſeven thouſand of them joined him. But
the *Syracuſan* cavalry could not by any offers be prevailed upon to ſide with him;
wherefore ſeeing all loſt they retired anew to their ſtrong caſtle of *Ætna*, waiting
there for another opportunity of pulling down the tyrant. *Dionyſius* ſent frequent
meſſages to them, exhorting them to lay aſide their animoſities, and return to their
country; but the only anſwer they returned was, that they had rather live free in
exile, than in their own country ſubject to a tyrant. All the reſt returned home, b
and again acknowledged *Dionyſius* for their ſovereign, who treated them for ſome
time with great kindneſs and humanity. When all things were again quiet, he diſ-
charged the *Campanians* with great rewards, not daring to truſt their fickle and un-
conſtant humour. Theſe arriving at the city of *Entella* prevailed with the citizens to
receive them within their walls; which favour they requited by murdering in the night
all the townſmen, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the city, they married the wives of
the deceaſed, and maintained themſelves for many years in poſſeſſion of the place.

He diſarms the Syracuſans.

Dionyſius being now convinced by experience, that he could not by any means
truſt the *Syracuſans*, reſolved to diſarm them all, and becauſe that, if done with
open violence, might occaſion great commotions, he waited till moſt part of the in- c
habitants had left the city, and were employed abroad in gathering in their harveſt.
He then ſearched narrowly every houſe, and ſeized on all the arms he could find.
Afterwards he encloſed the citadel with another wall, fitted out a powerful fleet,
hired a great many foreigners, and took all poſſible meaſures to ſecure himſelf againſt
the attempts of the *Syracuſans*.

Having ſufficiently provided for his ſafety at home, he began to extend his con-
queſts abroad, not only with a view of enlarging his dominions, and encreaſing his
revenues, but in order to divert his ſubjects from the ſenſe of the evils attending
ſlavery by employing them in military expeditions, to which the hopes of riches and
plunder would ſtir them up. Having therefore muſtered his troops, he took the d
field, and in the very firſt campaign poſſeſſed himſelf of *Naxos*, *Catana*, *Leontini*,
Ætna, *Enna*, and other cities. Some of them he treated with great clemency, to
gain the eſteem and affection of the people, others he plundered, and ſold the inha-
bitants for ſlaves, to ſtrike terror into the country.

These conqueſts alarmed the neighbouring cities, that ſaw themſelves threatened
with the ſame danger. *Rhegium*, ſituate on the oppoſite coaſt of the ſtrait which
divides *Sicily* from *Italy*, taking umbrage at the great naval preparations carried on
at *Syracuſe*, entered into an alliance with *Meſſana*, on the *Sicilian* ſide of the ſtrait,
and, having raiſed a conſiderable army, ſent a meſſenger to the *Syracuſans*, acquaint-
ing them, that if they were deſirous of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under, e
they ſhould be aſſiſted with a numerous fleet and powerful army. The *Syracuſans*
readily promiſed to perform their part; but while the joint forces of *Meſſana* and
Rhegium were upon the point of marching againſt the tyrant, diſputes ariſing among
the troops and officers of the two armies, the enterprize was dropped, and the mighty
preparations for war ended in a treaty of peace and alliance between *Dionyſius* and the
two cities.

Prepares to make war on the Carthaginians.

Dionyſius had concluded the late peace with the *Carthaginians*, with no other view,
but to gain time to eſtabliſh his authority: He therefore no ſooner ſaw himſelf firm-
ly ſeated on the throne, but he began to make the neceſſary preparations for renew-
ing the war, deſigning nothing leſs than to drive them quite out of *Sicily*. As he f
was very ſenſible how formidable the power of the *Carthaginians* was at that time,
he made preparations ſuitable to the undertaking he was going upon. His firſt
care was to bring to *Syracuſe*, from all parts of *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, great numbers
of workmen, whom he employed in forging all ſorts of arms. Not only the porches
of the temples, but the ſchools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every pub-
lic place, nay even private houſes were filled with workmen. The great wages, which
Dionyſius paid them, induced the beſt artificers in every profeſſion to quit their own
country, and flock to *Syracuſe*. *Dionyſius* himſelf was continually among them, en
couraging them with great rewards to diſpatch the work in hand. Such as diſtin-
guiſhed

a guiſhed themſelves by their ingenuity or application, were ſure to receive ſome particular marks of his favour. He even invited them to dine with him, and took pleaſure in entertaining them with all the freedom and kindneſs of a friend. The artificers thus encouraged were indefatigable, ſtriving to outvie one another; inſomuch, that in a ſhort time an hundred and forty thouſand compleat ſuits of armour were finiſhed. He then applied himſelf entirely to the fitting out of a fleet, capable of diſputing with the *Carthaginians* the ſovereignty of the ſea. The timber for building his gallies he brought at a great expence from *Italy*, where it was drawn on carriages to the ſea-ſide, and then ſhipped for *Syracuſe*. Having provided the neceſſary materials, he employed ſuch a vaſt number of workmen, that a fleet of two
b hundred ſail was ſoon ready to put to ſea; to theſe he added an hundred and ten old gallies, which he cauſed to be made as ſerviceable as the new ones. The preparations he made both by ſea and land were ſo great and expenſive, that one would have taken them, as our author obſerves, to have been the utmoſt effort of the whole iſland. The fleet was manned with an equal number of citizens and foreigners. *Syracuſe*, and the cities in its dependence, ſupplied him with great part of his land-forces: many came from *Italy* and *Greece*, the great pay he offered inducing them to flock over in crouds and liſt in his ſervice. Being ſenſible of what importance it is for a general to gain the affection of his troops, he applied himſelf in a particular manner to oblige all, eſpecially the *Syracuſans*. With this view he entirely changed
c his behaviour for ſome time; kindneſs, civility, a diſpoſition to do good, and an inſinuating condeſcenſion, took place of that imperious air and inhumane temper, which had rendered him ſo odious.

Dionyſius, ſeeing his great preparations now compleat, and the army in a condition to take the field, aſſembled the *Syracuſans*, and acquainted them with his deſign, which was, he ſaid, to make war upon the moſt implacable enemy the *Grecks* had; he repreſented to them, in a pathetic ſpeech, the many calamities, which the *Carthaginians* had brought upon *Sicily*, adding, that the plague, which had lately waſted *Carthage*, offered them a fair opportunity of being revenged on them, for the inhuman cruelties they had practiſed on their countrymen. The aſſembly readily con-
d curred in his opinion; the ancient hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, their rage againſt them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding ſome opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their ſuffrages, and war was unanimouſly reſolved on. Upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, *Dionyſius* granted leave to the people to ſeize on all the goods and eſtates of the *Carthaginians*, who, upon the faith of treaties, had ſettled at *Syracuſe*, and there carried on a conſiderable trade [y].

Dionyſius, finding the *Syracuſans* no leſs deſirous of the war than himſelf, diſpatched an herald to *Carthage*, with a letter to the ſenate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their gariſons from all the *Greek* cities in
e *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuſe* would treat them as enemies. This letter, being read firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people, occaſioned a general alarm at *Carthage*, which the plague had reduced to a miſerable condition. However, they were not diſmayed, but ſent officers into all parts with conſiderable ſums to raiſe troops with the utmoſt diligence, and appointed *Imilcar* commander in chief of all their forces.

Dionyſius *declares war againſt the* Carthaginians.

Dionyſius on his ſide loſt no time; without waiting for the anſwer of the *Carthaginians* he took the field, and his army was daily increaſed by the arrival of new troops, which, out of hatred to the *Carthaginians*, flocked to him from all parts: It amounted to fourſcore thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. The
f fleet conſiſted of two hundred long gallies, and five hundred tranſports, laden with warlike engines and all ſorts of proviſions. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of *Motya*, where the *Carthaginians* kept all their ſtores and proviſions. This city ſtood near mount *Eryx*, in a ſmall iſland about a mile from the ſhore, to which it was joined by a ſmall neck of land; this the beſieged immediately cut off to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that ſide. *Dionyſius* after having taken a view of the place with his engineers commanded the canal between the city and the ſhore to be filled up with rubbiſh, and his gallies to anchor at the mouth of

Motya *beſieged.*

[y] Idem, ibid. c. 7.

of the harbour. Having given these orders he left his brother *Leptines*, commander a
in chief of the fleet, to carry on the siege, while he with his land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*, which, terrified at the approach of so great an army, all submitted, except five, *viz.* *Ancyra*, *Solas*, *Egesta*, *Panormus*, and *Entella*. The two last he besieged, but not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to *Motya*, not doubting, but all other places would surrender assoon as they saw him master of this [z].

In the mean time *Imilcar*, who was busy in raising men and making other preparations for the war in *Sicily*, ordered his admiral to set sail from *Carthage* with ten gallies, and making strait to *Syracuse*, to destroy all the vessels he should find in that harbour. What he proposed by this was to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige b
Dionysius to send part of his fleet to the defence of *Syracuse*. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, and having sunk most of the ships he found there, sailed back to *Carthage* without the loss of a single man.

Dionysius, on his return to *Motya*, having set more hands at work, speedily filled up the canal with heaps of stone and rubbish, so that he could make his approaches as on the dry land. He then brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers six stories high rolled upon wheels, and from thence galled the besieged with continual vollies of arrows and stones discharged from his catapults, an engine at that time of late invention. The place
And taken. was attacked and defended with the utmost vigor. After the aggressors had opened c
several breaches in the walls, and entered the city sword in hand, the besieged still persisted in defending the narrow streets and passages with incredible valour, so that they were drove from street to street, till, being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut in pieces. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all to the sword without distinction of sex or age, those only excepted, who took sanctuary in the temples. The city was given up to be plundered, *Dionysius* being glad to have such an opportunity of gaining the affection of the troops by the allurement of gain and booty. He rewarded one *Archylus*, who first mounted the wall, with an hundred minas, and all the rest in proportion to their merit. Such of the *Motyans* as were left alive he sold for slaves, but commanded *Diameres*, d
and all the *Greeks* who had joined the *Carthaginians*, to be crucified. Having thus reduced the strongest city in *Sicily* subject to *Carthage*, and placed a numerous garison in it, under the command of one *Bito* a *Syracusan*, and ordered *Leptines* with an hundred and twenty gallies to watch the *Carthaginians* at sea, summer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to *Syracuse*.

Great preparations of the Carthaginians *against* Dionysius.

In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, having certain intelligence of the strength of *Dionysius*, resolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and ships; and accordingly, having made an extraordinary effort, they raised an army of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Their fleet, under the command of *Mago*, consisted of four hundred gallies, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden e
with provisions and engines of war. The troops being imbarked, and the fleet ready to set sail, *Imilcar* delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet sealed up, enjoining them not to open them till they were out at sea, and then to observe them with all strictness. This precaution he took (and it is the first time we find it used) to prevent spies from informing the enemy of his designs. The orders were, that they should make strait to *Panormus*, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. But the transports, having outsailed the gallies, were attacked off the coast of *Panormus* by *Leptines*, who sunk fifty of them, in which five thousand men and two hundred chariots

Imilcar, *landing in* Sicily, *takes* Eryx *and* Motya.

were lost; the rest tacking about had the good luck to escape. Assoon as the gallies f
appeared *Leptines* retired, and *Imilcar*, having landed his troops, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. On his march he took *Eryx* by treachery, and hastening from thence to *Motya*, reduced that important place, before *Dionysius*, who was then besieging *Egesta*, could send any forces to its relief. The *Syracusans* and their confederates were for venturing a battle,

[z] Idem, ibid.

a a battle, but *Dionyſius* thought it more adviſeable to retire to *Syracuſe*, and abandon all the open country to the mercy of the *Carthaginians*, who, flushed with their ſucceſs, marched ſtrait to *Meſſana*. *Imilcar* was deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf of that city on account of its ſituation; for being once maſter of it, he could eaſily intercept all ſuccours ſent to the enemy either from *Italy* or *Greece*; and beſides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which conſiſted of five hundred ſail and upwards. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themſelves about the meaſures to be taken on that occaſion. Some, alarmed at the great ſtrength of the *Carthaginians*, and ſeeing themſelves deſerted by their confederates, were for ſubmitting to the enemy; others were reſolved to hold
b out to the laſt, and chearfully ſacrifice their lives in the defence of their liberties. They were encouraged to this reſolution by an ancient prophecy, whereby it was foretold, *that the* Carthaginians *ſhould be one day carriers of water in that city*. This they interpreted as if the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſlaves in *Meſſana*, and therefore, having ſent away their wives and children with all their treaſures to the neighbouring cities, they began to make the neceſſary preparations. But in the mean time the *Carthaginian* fleet having, by the favour of a ſtrong gale, entered the harbour, and with a great number of engines battered down the walls on that ſide, the inhabitants haſtened in crouds to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. *Imilcar* took advantage of this confuſion, and attacking the city
c on the land ſide entered it without oppoſition. All thoſe, who were on the ramparts, died valiantly on the ſpot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or threw themſelves into the ſea, and made their eſcape to the oppoſite ſhore of *Italy*. *Imilcar* entering *Meſſana* with his whole army, and conſidering that it was too far diſtant from the cities held by the *Carthaginians*, ordered his ſoldiers to raze it to the ground, and his orders were executed with ſuch ſeverity, that there was not one houſe left ſtanding in the whole city; nay, our hiſtorian tells, that, after the departure of the *Carthaginians*, it was hard to tell where *Meſſana* had ſtood, the very rubbiſh being carried away and thrown into the ſea, which diſcovered the implacable hatred *Imilcar* bore to the *Greeks*.

Meſſana taken by the Carthaginians.

And razed to the ground.

d THE fame of theſe ſucceſſes being ſpread all over the iſland, moſt of the inhabitants, who hated *Dionyſius* in their hearts, and had only been reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this opportunity to quit his party and join the *Carthaginians*. He raiſed new forces, and giving the ſlaves their liberty, manned with them threeſcore gallies. His whole army amounted to thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty gallies. With theſe he took the field, and removed about twenty miles from *Syracuſe*. *Imilcar* upon advice of his march advanced to meet him, his land-army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coaſt. When the *Carthaginians* arrived at *Naxos*, they could not continue any longer their march by the ſea-ſide, but were obliged to take
e a long compaſs round mount *Ætna*, which by a violent eruption had covered all the neighbouring country with burning aſhes. *Imilcar* therefore ordered *Mago* to ſail to *Catana*, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, ſhould rejoin him with the land-forces. *Dionyſius*, appriſed of this, haſtened with all ſpeed to *Catana* with a deſign to attack *Mago*, before *Imilcar*'s army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the ſhore would greatly encourage his own mariners and diſcourage the enemy's: beſides, if his fleet were worſted, both ſhips and men had a place of ſafety to retire to.

HAVING therefore drawn up his land-forces on the ſhore, he ſent out *Leptines* with the whole fleet againſt the enemy, commanding him to engage in cloſe order,
f and not to break his line upon any account whatſoever. The *Carthaginians*, ſeeing the *Greek* troops drawn up on the ſhore, and the navy advancing in good order againſt them, were ſtruck with terror, and began to make to the ſhore with a deſign to ſave themſelves over land and join *Imilcar*; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they reſolved to try their fortune by ſea; and accordingly drawing themſelves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. *Leptines* inconſiderately advancing with thirty of his beſt gallies, contrary to the expreſs command of *Dionyſius*, ſunk ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, but was himſelf ſurrounded, and, after having fought for ſome hours hand to hand with the enemy as if in a battle on land, was obliged to fly. The flight of the admiral diſheartened the *Syracuſans*, and gave the enemy freſh courage; the former fled to the ſhore where their land-forces were drawn up,

A fight at ſea between Mago *and* Leptines.

Leptines *defeated*

but

but were cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*. Many abandoning their ſhips threw a themſelves into the ſea, hoping to ſave their lives by ſwimming to the ſhore; but the *Carthaginian* tranſports, which lay near the ſhore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of thoſe unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance. The land-army ſaw them periſh, without being able to give them the leaſt relief. In this engagement above an hundred of the *Syracuſan* gallies were either ſunk or taken, and more than twenty thouſand of their men killed in the battle or purſuit.

Dionyſius marches back to Syracuſe.

Upon this misfortune the land-forces, under the command of *Dionyſius*, ſolicited their generals to lead them againſt *Imilcar*, alledging, that their unexpected arrival would ſtrike terror into the enemy, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving b their late loſs, while the enemy's troops were fatigued with their long and haſty march. This propoſal pleaſed *Dionyſius* at firſt; but while he was preparing to march, ſome of his friends remonſtrating to him, that *Mago* in the mean time with his victorious fleet might poſſeſs himſelf of *Syracuſe*, he altered his reſolution, and haſtened with his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. Many of the *Sicilians*, being unwilling to undergo the fatigues and hardſhips of a ſiege, deſerted, and either joined the enemy, or withdrew to their reſpective homes [a].

Syracuſe beſieged.

Imilcar in two days march arrived at *Catana*, where he halted ſome time to refreſh his troops, and then, animated with the good ſucceſs that attended his arms, marched ſtrait to *Syracuſe* with a deſign to beſiege it; while his fleet, under the command of c *Mago*, ſailed along the coaſt, carrying great plenty of proviſions for the ſubſiſtance of ſo numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. Above two hundred gallies, adorned with the ſpoils of the enemy, entered in a kind of triumph the great haven of *Syracuſe*, and were followed by a thouſand tranſports; ſo that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain ſo great a navy. The fleet had ſcarce caſt anchor, when the army appeared on the other ſide, conſiſting of three hundred thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. *Imilcar* took up his quarters in the temple of *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the army encamped round it, about twelve furlongs from the city. The next morning the *Carthaginian* general, advancing with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, d offered the inhabitants battle. But as they were not ſo imprudent as to accept the challenge, he returned to his camp, well ſatisfied at his having extorted from the *Syracuſans* a tacit confeſſion of their own weakneſs and his ſuperiority. At the ſame time he ordered an hundred of his beſt gallies to enter the two other harbours, *viz.* the *Little Port* and that of *Trogilus*, to ſtrike more terror into the *Syracuſans*, and convince them that the *Carthaginians* were likewiſe maſters at ſea. As he met with no oppoſition, he ſent out parties for thirty days together to lay waſte the country, cutting down groves, and deſtroying all before him. He took by aſſault the quarter of the town called *Acradina*, where he plundered the rich temples of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*. He conſidered the city as a ſure prey, which could not poſſibly eſcape e him; but at the ſame time foreſeeing, that the ſiege would be long and tedious, he ſurrounded his camp with a trench, and encloſed it with ſtrong walls, after having demoliſhed for that purpoſe all the tombs which ſtood round the city, and amongſt others that of *Gelon* and his wife *Demarata*, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts near the ſea at equal diſtances from each other, one at *Plemmyrium*, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of *Jupiter*, laying up in theſe great ſtores of proviſion. He ſent likewiſe tranſports to *Sardinia* and *Africa* to bring from thence corn and other neceſſaries.

The Syracuſans defeat the Carthaginians by ſea.

In the mean time *Polyxenus*, whom *Dionyſius* had diſpatched into *Italy* and *Greece* with great ſums of money to raiſe what forces he could, arrived with a fleet of thirty f ſhips under the command of *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. This reinforcement came very ſeaſonable, and ſomewhat raiſed the courage of the diſpirited *Syracuſans*, who, ſpying a large veſſel laden with proviſions for the enemy, ventured out with five gallies and took it. As they were ſailing away with their prize, the *Carthaginians* gave them chaſe with forty ſail, againſt which they advanced with their whole fleet, and engaging them took the admiral galley, and twenty-four more, damaged others, and purſued the reſt to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a ſecond time. The *Carthaginians*, diſcouraged with this unexpected over-

[a] Idem. ibid.

a overthrow, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them [b].

THE *Syracuſans*, animated by this ſucceſs, which could only be aſcribed to their own valour, for both *Dionyſius* and *Leptines* were then abſent, began to encourage each other to ſhake off the ſhameful yoke of ſervitude, and reſume their ancient liberty. What exploits, ſaid they, have we atchieved under the conduct of the tyrant? Have we not been always ſhamefully overcome by the *Carthaginians*? But now, that we did not fight under the unlucky auſpices of *Dionyſius*, we have gained a glorious victory, and are returned conquerors. Why then do we not exert the ſame courage againſt a domeſtic tyrant, which we have ſhewn againſt a foreign enemy? We have

b again got ſwords in our hands; let us imploy them againſt him who has injured us more than the *Carthaginians* themſelves. While theſe ſpeeches were whiſpered about the town, *Dionyſius*, who had been out at ſea with a ſmall ſquadron to procure proviſions, landed at the port, and having ſummoned an aſſembly he congratulated the *Syracuſans* on their late victory, promiſing in a ſhort time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from their preſent calamities. When the aſſembly was ready to break up, one *Theodorus*, a *Syracuſan* of great authority among the nobility, and who had done eminent ſervices to his country, ſtood up and boldly ſpoke thus: "Although *Dionyſius* has advanced many falſhoods in his ſpeech, yet what he

c "ſaid in the cloſe of it, *viz.* that he would put a ſpeedy end to the war, he may "truly perform, if he himſelf, who has always been overcome, reſigns the command, and reſtores us to our liberty. For none of us care to venture our lives in "the field againſt a foreign enemy, while we know, that, notwithſtanding our victory, we are to be treated like ſlaves by a domeſtic tyrant. If the *Carthaginians* "prevail, by paying an annual tribute, we ſhall be allowed to enjoy our liberties; "but if *Dionyſius* ſhould conquer, he would not fail to rob our temples, plunder our "houſes, ſeize our eſtates, take away our lives, and deprive us of all that is moſt "dear to us. Let us therefore get rid of the tyrant within our walls, before we attempt to drive away a leſs dangerous enemy without. Shall we, who have lately "engaged thouſands and put them to flight, be now afraid of one tyrant? We have

d "arms in our hands, and againſt whom can we better employ them than againſt one "who has reduced us to ſuch a deplorable condition, that we are pityed even by our "enemies? If *Dionyſius* conſents to abdicate the tyranny, and retire, let us open our "gates to him and his followers. But if he refuſes to reſign his uſurped authority, "let him know by experience how powerful is the love of liberty in the breaſts of "brave and valiant men."

Deſigns to depoſe Dionyſius.

WHEN *Theodorus* had ended his ſpeech, the *Syracuſans*, much perplexed in their minds, and not knowing what to reſolve on, looked earneſtly on their allies, eſpecially on the *Spartans* there preſent; when *Pharacidas*, who commanded the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, roſe up. Every one expected that a citizen of *Sparta* would declare

e in favour of liberty; but they were diſappointed in their hopes, for he told them, that he had been ſent by his republic to aſſiſt the *Syracuſans* and *Dionyſius* againſt the *Carthaginians*, and not to make war upon *Dionyſius*, or ſubvert his authority. This unexpected anſwer put a ſtop to any further attempts of the *Syracuſans*; and the tyrant's mercenaries arriving at the ſame time, the aſſembly broke up. However, *Dionyſius* was under no ſmall apprehenſion, and from that time left no ſtone unturned to ingratiate himſelf with the people, affecting on all occaſions to treat them with great kindneſs and familiarity [c].

Polyxenus, who had married *Theſta*, *Dionyſius*'s ſiſter, declared againſt him on this occaſion, and not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Sicily*, privately withdrew into *Italy*.

f When *Dionyſius* was informed of his flight, he ſent for his ſiſter, and bitterly reproached her for not giving him notice of her huſband's retreat, ſince ſhe could not be ignorant of it. *Theſta* reply'd, without expreſſing the leaſt fear or concern. Have I appeared to be ſo bad a wife to you, and ſo mean-ſpirited as to have abandoned my huſband in his flight? No, I was quite unacquainted with his deſign; but if he had imparted it to me, I ſhould not have diſcovered it to you, but ſhared with him his dangers and misfortunes, reckoning myſelf more happy in being called the wife of *Polyxenus* the exile, than the ſiſter of *Dionyſius* the tyrant. *Dionyſius*, though highly incenſed againſt his ſiſter, yet could not help commending the affection ſhe

[b] Idem, ibid. [c] Idem. ibid.

ſhe ſhewed for her huſband; and the *Syracuſans* were ſo charmed with the love ſhe ſhewed for her country on this and all other occaſions, that after the tyranny was ſuppreſſed, the ſame honours, equipage, and train, which ſhe had before, were continued to her, during her life. After her death the whole city attended her funeral, which was performed at the expence of the public, with extraordinary pomp and ſplendor [d].

A plague in the Carthaginian *army.*

But to return to the *Carthaginians*, their ſucceſſes were not laſting. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking *Syracuſe* upon their arrival, when the ſight of a mighty fleet and a formidable army had occaſioned an univerſal conſternation in the city; and now a plague, breaking out in their camp, prevented them from making any attempts towards the reduction of the place. This infection was looked upon as a puniſhment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, and demoliſhing the tombs round the city, but was in effect occaſioned by the unwholeſome exhalations of the fens and marſhes joining their camp; for the *Athenians*, who ſpared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the ſame calamity. The plague began among the *Africans*, and ſoon ſpread through the whole army. Care was taken at firſt to interr the dead, but their numbers increaſing daily, they were left unburied, and this, as it was then the midſt of ſummer, and the heat that year exceſſive, aggravated the evil beyond meaſure. This infection was attended with very uncommon ſymptoms, ſuch as violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all the parts of the body, *&c.* ſome were even ſeized with madneſs and fury, falling upon all thoſe that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. The plague was ſo violent, that in a ſhort time it ſwept away above an hundred thouſand men, all remedies proving unſucceſsful, by reaſon of the incredible violence of the diſtemper, and the quick diſpatch it made of ſuch as were ſeized with it.

Dionyſius reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy. Having therefore manned fourſcore gallies, he ordered *Pharacidas* and *Leptines* to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view having commanded his troops to be ready to march by midnight, he ſet out at the head of ten thouſand choſen men at the time appointed, and without being diſcovered arrived at the enemy's camp. He then detached a ſtrong body of cavalry, and a thouſand of the mercenary foot with orders to fall upon that part of the camp which lay at the greateſt diſtance, pretending that the enemy there kept no guard. But his real deſign was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having in the late diſturbances ſeemed to favour the faction which oppoſed him. Accordingly he gave private inſtructions to the officers of the horſe to retire aſſoon as the infantry was engaged; his orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being ſurrounded on all ſides, were cut off all to a man. Upon the return of the cavalry, *Dionyſius* at the ſame time attacked the camp and the forts, which the enemy had built near the ſhore. Two of the forts were taken at the firſt onſet, which gave the *Syracuſans* an opportunity of entering the great haven with all their fleet, and falling furiouſly on the enemy's gallies anchored there. The *Carthaginians* in the camp made at firſt a vigorous reſiſtance, but ſeeing the two forts, which defended the harbour, poſſeſſed by the enemy, and their navy in imminent danger of being utterly deſtroyed, many of them abandoning the defence of the camp, haſtened to the ſhore to the relief of their companions on board the veſſels. This occaſioned a great confuſion in the army, which *Dionyſius* taking advantage of, broke into the camp, and made a dreadful havock, putting all to the ſword who oppoſed him. The ſurprize, terror, and even haſte they were in to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, threw them into greater confuſion and diſorder. They knew not on what ſide to ſend relief, all being equally in danger. Many of their veſſels were ſunk, others quite diſabled, and a great many burnt and taken. The inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, crouded on the walls and eminences, were eye-witneſſes of that ſcene of horror, and, lifting up their hands to heaven, thanked the tutelary gods of the city, for revenging in ſo ſignal a manner the many ſacrileges, which the *Carthaginians* had committed ſince their arrival in *Sicily*. The ſlaughter in the camp and on board the veſſels was great and dreadful, and ended only when night obliged the conquerors to retire. *Dionyſius* encamped at the temple of *Jupiter*, near the enemy, with

Dionyſius *forces the* Carthaginian *camp and burns their fleet.*

[d] Plutarch. in Dion.

a with a design to renew the fight early next morning. But *Imilcar*, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent embassadors privately to *Dionysius*, offering him three hundred talents, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to withdraw unmolested. *Dionysius* was unwilling utterly to destroy the *Carthaginians*, lest the *Syracusans*, when free from the apprehension of so formidable an enemy, should seek to regain their ancient liberty; but on the other side he knew, that neither the *Syracusans* nor their confederates would suffer him to grant the enemy such terms. He therefore answered, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire, but that he would allow *Imilcar* with all the citizens of *Carthage* to depart in the night upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed on, *Dionysius* retired with

b his forces into the city, whither *Imilcar* privately sent him the promised sum, and then began to make the necessary preparations for his departure. The *Carthaginians* were put on board forty gallies and ready to set sail, when the *Corinthians*, who served under *Dionysius*, discovering from the noise and motion of the vessels that *Imilcar* was making off, sent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered some gallies to be manned, as if he designed to prevent their retreat. But as his orders were but slowly executed, the *Corinthians* without his command pursued them, and sunk several vessels in the rear. *Dionysius* then marched out with his troops against those, whom *Imilcar* had left behind to the mercy of the conqueror; but before his arrival the *Sicilians* in the *Carthaginian* service had retired to their respective countries; the rest, seeing themselves abandoned by the *Sicilians* and betrayed by

c the *Carthaginians*, at the approach of *Dionysius*'s army betook themselves to flight; but being closely pursued were either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners; only the *Iberians* kept together in a body, and sent a herald to capitulate with *Dionysius*, who took them into his service. Such was the fate of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, which shews, says our historian, that those, who are too much elated with power and success, may soon be forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty conquerors, masters of almost all *Sicily*, who looked upon *Syracuse* as their own, and entered at first triumphant into the harbour, insulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly shamefully in the night, dragging away with them the sad ruins and mi-

d serable remains of their shattered fleet and army, after having left an hundred and fifty thousand men lying unburied in the enemy's country [c].

Dionysius *grants the Carthaginians leave to retire.*

Imilcar upon his arrival at *Carthage*, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, went directly to his own house, and, shutting the doors against the citizens and even his own children, laid violent hands on himself, to shew that he did not survive his countrymen, who perished in *Sicily*, out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the troops, which had escaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which his more early death would have exposed them. When it was publicly known in *Africa*, that *Imilcar* had saved only the citizens of *Carthage*, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy, the cities and states, which had sent

e them auxiliaries, were incensed to such a degree, that taking up arms they marched directly to *Carthage*, being two hundred thousand men and upwards. But as they wanted a leader of experience, and had neither warlike engines nor provisions to support so numerous an army, they soon dispersed, and, retiring to their respective countries, freed *Carthage* from a dreadful alarm.

Imilcar *lays violent hands on himself.*

The Rhegians *defeated by* Dionysius.

The *Carthaginians* being thus intirely defeated in *Sicily*, all those who had abandoned their country, through dread of so formidable an enemy, returned to their ancient habitations. *Dionysius* caused the city of *Messana* to be rebuilt, and peopled it with a thousand *Locrians* and four thousand *Medimneans*. This gave no small jealousy to the inhabitants of *Rhegium* in *Italy*, who, receiving into their protection all those that

f were driven out by *Dionysius*, or hated his government, formed a considerable army, which they sent under the conduct of *Heloris* to besiege *Messana*. But *Dionysius* unexpectedly falling upon them, cut most of the *Rhegian* forces in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire to their vessels and abandon the island. He had scarce obtained this victory over the *Rhegians*, but *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, whom *Imilcar* had left to settle the affairs of *Carthage* in *Sicily*, appeared before *Messana* at the head of a numerous army; but was attended with no better success, being in a pitched battle driven out of the field with the loss of above eight hundred men. *Dionysius*, animated by these two victories, resolved to make an attempt upon *Rhegium*, and accordingly having

And Mago *the* Carthaginian.

[c] Idem, ibid.

having manned an hundred gallies, arrived unperceived before the city, ſet fire to the gates, and in the confuſion, which his arrival occaſioned, was very near carrying the city by aſſault, the inhabitants being more intent upon extinguiſhing the fire, than repulſing the enemy. But *Heloris*, perceiving the danger the city was in, ordered the inhabitants to give over quenching the flames, and haſten to the walls; by which means the place was ſaved, for ſome of *Dionyſius*'s men had already by the help of their ſcaling ladders got into the city, but the reſt being timely prevented from following them, they were either put to the ſword, or made priſoners. *Dionyſius* being thus diſappointed in his deſign, laid waſte the territory of *Rhegium*, and then retired to *Syracuſe*. a

Mago concludes a peace with Dionyſius.

The *Carthaginians*, however diſheartened by their late loſſes, yet could not forbear making new attempts upon *Sicily*. They ſent *Mago* fourſcore thouſand men, enjoining him to make war upon *Dionyſius*, and promiſing to ſend him ſoon new ſupplies both of men, money, and ſhips. But *Mago*, being ſoon reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, ſent embaſſadors to *Dionyſius* to treat of a peace, which was concluded before either ſide had loſt one man. By this treaty *Taurominium*, a *Carthaginian* colony, was given up to *Dionyſius*, who driving from thence the ancient proprietors, placed the choiceſt of his mercenaries in their room. As for *Mago*, aſſoon as the treaty was ſigned, he returned to *Carthage*, leaving his allies in *Sicily* to ſhift for themſelves. b

Dionyſius *attacks* Rhegium.

And now *Dionyſius*, being under no apprehenſion of the *Carthaginians*, bent all his thoughts on the reduction of *Rhegium*, which was the key of *Italy*, with a deſign to bring under his power all the *Greek* cities there. He had then under his command an army of twenty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, beſides an hundred and twenty gallies well manned and equipt. With theſe he paſſed over into *Italy*, and having laid waſte the country of the *Locrians*, he advanced to *Rhegium*. But in the mean time the *Italians*, being well appriſed of his deſigns, raiſed forces in all their cities, and having fitted out a fleet of threeſcore gallies, ſent them to the relief of *Rhegium*. They were met by a ſquadron of *Dionyſius*'s fleet conſiſting of fifty gallies; whereupon a ſharp engagement enſued, in which *Dionyſius* loſt ſeven galleys, and fifteen hundred men. The fleets were parted by a violent ſtorm, which driving many of the *Syracuſan* veſſels upon the *Rhegian* ſhore, the mariners were either cut in pieces by the inhabitants, or taken priſoners, *Dionyſius* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped in a ſmall veſſel, and with much ado landed at midnight at the port of *Meſſana*. c d

Stirs up the Lucanians *againſt the* Greeks *in* Italy.

This diſappointment did not make *Dionyſius* lay aſide his deſigns upon the *Greek* cities in *Italy*; he reinforced his army with new levies, equipt a greater number of ſhips, and made vaſt preparations both by ſea and land in order to renew the war. In the mean time, he entered into an alliance with the *Lucanians*, engaging them with great promiſes to fall upon the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, hoping to find them thereby on his return ſo weakened that he might eaſily accompliſh his deſign. The *Lucanians*, agreeable to their engagement, entered the country of the *Thurians*, put all to fire and ſword, and having joined battle with the confederate *Greeks*, killed above ten thouſand of them on the ſpot. Thoſe, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, fled to a hill near the ſea-ſide, whence they diſcovered a ſquadron of ſhips making to the *Italian* ſhore, and hoping that they were ſent from *Rhegium* to their aſſiſtance, out of eagerneſs to ſave themſelves from the *Lucanians*, who purſued them, leapt into the ſea and ſwam to the ſhips. But this fleet proved to be a ſquadron ſent by *Dionyſius* to the aſſiſtance of the *Lucanians*, under the command of his brother *Leptines*. However, that commander not only received them generouſly into his ſhips, but prevailed upon the *Lucanians* to accept for each man, they being a thouſand in all, a mina, and ſuffer them to return unmoleſted into their own country. This ſum, which was very conſiderable, *Leptines* himſelf diſburſed, being moved thereunto by his own generoſity and natural inclination to pity even an enemy in diſtreſs. Such a generous behaviour gained him the affection of all the *Greeks*, but highly diſpleaſed *Dionyſius*, who immediately diſcharged him, and appointed *Thearides*, his other brother, admiral in his room [f]. e f

Dionyſius *paſſes again into* Italy.

And now *Dionyſius*, having made the neceſſary preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, ſet ſail from *Syracuſe* with an army of above twenty thouſand foot and three

[f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. c. 12.

a three thousand horse, and a fleet of forty long gallies, and three hundred transports, loaded with provisions and all sorts of warlike engines. The fifth day after his departure from *Syracuse* he arrived at *Messana*, whence he sent his brother *Thearides* to the *Lipari* islands, upon advice brought him that ten ships of *Rhegium* were anchored there. *Thearides* found the ships, and returned with them and their crews to *Dionysius*, who delivered the prisoners loaded with chains to the care and custody of the magistrates of *Messana*, and then set sail for *Italy*. The first place he attacked was *Caulonia* or *Caulum*, a strong city in *Locris*, which, though battered night and day without intermission, held out, till the *Italians*, having raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, drew near the city in order to relieve it. These were commanded by *Heloris*, a native of *Syracuse*, whence he had been banished by *Dionysius*, and therefore bore him an implacable hatred. *Heloris*, as he drew near the besieged city, advanced with a detachment of five hundred chosen men to observe the ground on which the enemy was incamped. But *Dionysius*, upon advice of his approach breaking up the siege, marched with all speed against him, and arriving by break of day at the place where *Heloris* was encamped with his small detachment, fell upon him with his whole army. *Heloris* kept his ground, in spite of the utmost efforts of an army so much superior in number, till the rest of his forces came up. But as they arrived by parties, every one making what haste he could to relieve their general, they were after a long and obstinate dispute put to flight. *Heloris* and his party still kept their posts, and were killed on the spot. Those, who escaped, fled to a neighbouring mountain, and there made a stand. But as they wanted water, and were hemmed in on all sides by the enemy, they sent an herald to *Dionysius*, offering to surrender, provided he would allow them to retire unmolested; but he insisting upon their delivering themselves up at discretion, they held out till they were ready to perish with hunger and thirst, and then complied with his proposal. They were above ten thousand, and expected no quarter from so cruel an enemy. But *Dionysius*, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great humanity, discharging them all without ransom, and suffering them to live in their respective countries according to their own laws. This, as our historian observes, was the only commendable action he ever performed in the whole course of his life. The captives on their return to their respective cities greatly extolled his clemency and good nature, and acknowledged his kindness to them by presenting him with crowns of gold [g].

b

c

d

Dionysius, having by this generous action acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, turned his arms again upon the city of *Rhegium*. He was highly incensed against the *Rhegians*, on account of their having refused to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage, and much more for the insolent answer, with which their refusal was attended (Z). The besieged, finding themselves abandoned by their allies, whom *Dionysius* had gained over by his late kindness, and expecting no quarter if the city should be taken by storm, sent embassadors to treat of a surrender. *Dionysius* offered them peace, upon condition that they paid him three hundred talents, delivered up all their vessels, which were seventy in number, and put an hundred hostages into his hands. These terms the inhabitants agreed to, and the siege was raised. It was not out of kindness or good nature he acted in this manner, but with a view to deprive them of their fleet, knowing that it would be impossible for the *Rhegians* to hold out, if they received no assistance by sea. He therefore put off from day to day his march, waiting for some colourable pretence to break

Rhegium *besieged.*

e

[g] Idem, ibid.

(Z) *Dionysius* in the beginning of his reign did all that lay in his power to oblige the two powerful cities of *Rhegium* and *Messana*, lest they should enter into an alliance with the *Syracusans*, among whom his authority was not then well established. The inhabitants of *Messana* he presented with some lands in their neighbourhood, which lay very conveniently for them. To give the people of *Rhegium* an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent embassadors to desire them to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage. Upon the arrival of the embassadors the people of *Rhegium*, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, took a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant, and for their final answer charged the embassadors to acquaint the tyrant, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. This gross abuse *Dionysius* never put up, but continually studied how to revenge it (13).

(13) *Idem, ibid. c.* 12.

break the treaty lately concluded with the *Rhegians*. With this view having drawn all his forces together, as if he intended to leave *Italy*, he desired the *Rhegians* to supply his army with provisions, promising to defray the charges they should be at assoon as he got to *Syracuse*. His design in this was, that if they refused to supply him he might have a pretence to attack their city anew; and if they complied with his demand, after their provisions were all spent, he might easily possess himself of the place. The *Rhegians*, not suspecting his design, supplied him for some days very plentifully. But as he put off his departure from day to day, sometimes pretending sickness, at other times alledging other frivolous excuses, they at length saw into his real design, and forbore sending him any further provisions. Hereupon *Dionysius*, pretending to be highly affronted, sent them back their hostages, and besieged them again with all his forces. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and the fear of inhuman cruelties on the other, animated the troops. The *Rhegians* were under the command of *Phyto*, an officer of long experience and extraordinary valour. He made frequent sallies, in one of which *Dionysius*, while he was encouraging his troops to stand their ground, was so dangerously wounded that his life was despaired of. However, he recovered, and renewed the siege with more fury than ever, the walls trembling all round the city at the repeated shocks of almost innumerable warlike engines, no otherwise, as our historian expresses it, than as if they had been shaken by a dreadful earthquake. But, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the aggressors, the siege went on very slowly, their works being often demolished, and their engines burnt by the besieged, who in each sally gained very considerable advantages. Thus they held out for the space of eleven months against the whole force of *Dionysius*, but were at length for want of provisions reduced to the utmost extremity. A bushel of wheat was sold for five minas, (that is 15*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) and the famine was so great, that after they had consumed all their horses and beasts of burden, they supported themselves with boiled skins and leather; which also failing, they daily went out of the town to feed, like beasts, on the grass that grew under the walls. But *Dionysius*, to deprive them even of this poor support, sent his horses under a strong guard to graze where they used to feed. The besieged being thus overcome by famine were at length forced to surrender at discretion. *Dionysius* himself when he entered the city was struck with terror, finding every-where heaps of dead bodies lying in the streets, and those who survived rather skeletons than men. However, he got together about six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to *Syracuse*, where such as were not able to redeem themselves with a mina, were sold for slaves. *Dionysius* vented his rage and revenge chiefly on the brave *Phyto*, who had made so gallant a defence; he caused his son to be thrown headlong into the sea and drowned. The next day he ordered *Phyto* to be loaded with chains, and fastened to the top of one of his highest engines, that he might be exposed to the view of the whole army. In that condition he sent one of his guards to tell him that his son had been drowned the day before; *Then the son*, replied Phyto, *is by one day happier than the father*. He afterwards caused him to be whipt through the city, and undergo innumerable other cruelties, whilst a crier walking before him proclaimed, that *the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner, for having stirred up the people of* Rhegium *to war*. But *Phyto*, with an undaunted courage, cried out, that *he thus suffered, because he would not betray his country to a tyrant*. His heroic behaviour, and the indignities he suffered, raised compassion even in the breast of the tyrant's soldiers, who began to mutiny, and would have rescued him, had not *Dionysius* immediately ordered him to be thrown into the sea. Thus suffered a man, whose probity, courage, and disinterested zeal for the good of his country, deserved a more glorious end. His death was lamented by all the *Greeks*, and became the subject of many elegant and affecting elegies [h].

a

b

c

Rhegium taken.

d

e

f

Dionysius addicted to poetry.

Year of the flood, 2617. Before Christ 387.

Dionysius after the taking of *Rhegium* allowed both himself and his troops some respite. In the intervals of leisure he loved to unbend his mind with the study of the liberal arts and sciences, especially of poetry, piquing himself upon the excellence of his genius and the elegancy of his performances. As he excelled all others in power, so, in his own conceit, he surpassed them in wit and humour, and was more pleased to hear his poetical compositures commended, than his victories and conquests. The flatterers, who abounded in his as in all other courts, greatly contributed to the

[h] Idem, ibid..

a the high opinion he had of himself, crying his poems up to the skies, and preferring them to the works of all who had wrote before him. He often used to invite the learned men and poets of that age to dine at his table, and on that occasion never failed to entertain them with some new composition of his own, which always met with great approbation; all was great, noble, majestic, and divine. *Philoxenus* was the only one who attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities, but narrowly escaped paying dear for his sincerity. As *Philoxenus* was himself an excellent poet, *Dionysius* one day, after having read to him some of his verses, pressed him to give his opinion of them, which he doing with great freedom, *Dionysius*, ascribing the liberty he had taken to envy, commanded his guards
b to carry the poet forthwith to the quarries or common jail; however, he was the next day, at the earnest entreaties of all *Dionysius*'s friends, set at liberty and restored to favour. On this occasion *Dionysius*, as it were to ratify the pardon, made a noble entertainment, inviting to it all his own and the poet's friends. When the guests began to be merry, the prince did not fail to recite some verses he had lately made, chusing out some lines, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and looked upon as master-strokes, as was apparent from the self-satisfaction he expressed in rehearsing them. As he set a great value on *Philoxenus*'s approbation, who was not apt to be lavish of his praises, he desired him again to divest himself of all envy, and speak his real sentiments. What had passed the day before might have served
c as a lesson for the poet; but he could not dissemble, and therefore, without making any answer to *Dionysius*, he turned to the guards, who always stood round the table, and with a serious, but humourous, air, desired them to carry him back to the quarries. This pleasantry *Dionysius* took in good part, saying, that the wit of the poet had atoned for his freedom. *Antiphon*, finding that *Dionysius* was pleased with witty expressions, told him several truths in a very humourous manner, which he took no offence at; but having one day provoked him with too biting a jest, he paid dear for it. The prince, in a conversation, asked which was the best kind of brass, to which question *Antiphon* answered, that the best brass was that of which the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* were made. These were two famous patriots, who had de-
d fended the liberty of their country against the tyranny of *Pisistratus*'s sons [i].

Dionysius, notwithstanding all *Philoxenus* had said to undeceive him, still fancied himself the best poet of his age, and sent his brother *Thearides* to the *Olympic* games, to dispute in his name the prizes of poetry and the chariot-races. When *Thearides* arrived at *Olympia*, the richness and number of his chariots, the extraordinary magnificence of his pavilion embroidered with gold and silver, and the sumptuous apparel of his numerous attendants, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. Their ears were no less charmed at first when the poems of *Dionysius* began to be read. He had chosen for that purpose persons of sweet and harmonious voices, who were heard far and distinctly, and knew how to give a just
e emphasis to the verses they repeated. But when that numerous assembly began to mind no more the delivery, but the sense and composition, they all burst out in a loud laugh, and hissed them off the stage, and even, to express their indignation, tore the rich pavilion in pieces. *Lysias*, the celebrated orator, who was then at *Olympia*, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of *Greece* and sacredness of the sports, to admit such an impious tyrant to share in those diversions. This speech was stiled the *Olympic Oration*. When the races began, *Dionysius*'s chariots were either by an headlong impetuosity driven out of the place, or dashed in pieces against one another. Neither did the vessel, which carried *Thearides* and his retinue prosper better, being by a violent storm driven on the coast of
f *Tarentum*, whence with much ado they got to *Syracuse*. Upon their return they ascribed all the misfortunes they had met with, both by sea and land, to the badness of *Dionysius*'s verses. But that did not cure him of his folly, or, as the historian stiles it, of his madness for versification; he entertained the same high opinion of his poetical vein, ascribing such injurious treatment to envy, and saying, that they would one day admire what they then despised. He sent his poems a second time to *Olympia*, where they were treated with the same contempt as before; which threw him into a deep melancholy and kind of madness. This grew daily upon

[i] Idem, ibid. Plut. Moral.

upon him, till at length he fancied, that even his best friends were plotting against his life and reputation, crying out like a phrenetic, that every one envyed him, that both friends and foes conspired to his ruin. In these fits of melancholy and madness, he put many of his friends to death, and banished others; among the latter were *Leptines* his brother and *Philistus*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his power. They retired to *Thurium* in *Italy*, whence they were soon recalled and reinstated in their former places of power and authority [k]. a

To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, he had again recourse to arms, and formed a design of driving the *Carthaginians* quite out of *Sicily*. But as he wanted money for so expensive an undertaking, he resolved to attack *Epirus*, and make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of *Delphos*. With this view he settled powerful colonies in that part of *Italy* which faces *Greece*, and made an alliance with the *Illyrians*, sending them two thousand men and a great quantity of arms, to be employed against the *Molossians*, with whom they were then at war. But the *Illyrians* afterwards falling out with *Dionysius*, on account of his building the city of *Lyssus* in the island of *Pharos*, he laid aside for the present all thoughts of plundering the temple of *Delphos*, and pursued another project of the same kind, which he easily accomplished. For having fitted out threescore gallies, under colour of clearing the seas of pyrates, he made a descent in *Hetruria*, and plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of *Agylla*, carrying away, besides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thousand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raised by the sale of the spoils, and with this money set on foot a numerous army, and made other preparations, as if he intended to attempt again the reduction of the *Greek* cities in *Italy*. But the *Carthaginians* suspecting his real design, upon the first notice they had of these extraordinary preparations, sent *Mago* over into *Sicily* with a powerful army. *Dionysius* attacked him soon after he was landed, killed him with ten thousand of his men, took five thousand prisoners, and forced the rest to save themselves on a neighbouring hill, where he surrounded them on all sides, and brought them to such straits that they were forced to sue for a peace. *Dionysius* answered the embassadors they sent him with great haughtiness, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate *Sicily*, and to defray all the expences of the war. The *Carthaginians* pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered, but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they possessed in *Sicily*, without the express orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an express sent to *Carthage*. During this interval they buried *Mago* with great pomp and magnificence, and appointed his son to command the troops in his room. This new general, who was very young, but had on all occasions given proofs of an extraordinary valor and prudence, in the time of the truce raised and disciplined new troops, and improved so well the short time which was allowed him, that at the return of the express from *Carthage* he took the field, gave the enemy battle, and killed above fourteen thousand *Syracusans* on the spot, and among the rest *Leptines*, *Dionysius*'s brother, who was greatly regretted even by those who hated the tyrant. He was a brave and experienced officer, and though ever faithful to *Dionysius*, yet an enemy to all manner of oppression. *Dionysius* with the remains of his shattered army fled to *Syracuse*, where he expected to be soon besieged by the victorious enemy. But the *Carthaginian* general used his victory with great moderation, and, instead of pursuing the routed enemy, retired to *Panormus*, whence he sent embassadors to *Dionysius* offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, *viz.* that both parties should keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, save only that *Dionysius* should deliver up to the *Carthaginians* the city and territory of *Selinus*, and part of the territory of *Agrigentum*, and besides pay a thousand talents to defray the expences of the war [l].

Dionysius *makes war on the* Carthaginians, *and defeats them.* b c d e

Dionysius *routed.*

Peace concluded. f

An account of Dionysius's *death.*

A victory of a very different kind made amends, or at least lessened his concern, for the ill success of his arms; he had caused a tragedy wrote by himself to be acted at *Athens*, for the prize of poetry at the celebrated feast of *Bacchus*, and was proclaimed victor. As the *Athenians* were the best judges of this kind of literature, and no-ways biassed in favour of *Dionysius*, who had on all occasions assisted the *Lacedæmonians*.

[k] Idem, ibid. [l] Idem, l. xv. c. 2

a *cedæmonians*, we cannot help thinking, that the contemptuous ſentence paſſed upon his poems in the *Olympic* games was chiefly owing to the hatred and averſion, which the ſpectators bore him. But, however that be, *Dionyſius* received the news of his victory with ſuch tranſports of joy as are not be expreſſed; he amply rewarded the perſon that brought him the agreeable tidings, cauſed coſtly ſacrifices to be offered to the gods, and, believing himſelf arrived at the higheſt pitch of glory, ſet no bounds to his generoſity; he entertained the whole city with extraordinary magnificence, and ſpent an immenſe treaſure in publick feaſts and banquets, which laſted ſeveral days. On this occaſion *Dionyſius*, drinking to exceſs and overcharging nature, a fault which he had never before been guilty of, was ſeized with violent pains, which
b were attended with uneaſy and reſtleſs nights. Having therefore aſked of his phyſicians a ſoporative, they gave him ſo ſtrong a doſe as quite ſtupified his ſenſes, and laid him in a ſleep, out of which he never awaked. He had been formerly forewarned by an oracle, that he ſhould die when he had overcome thoſe who were better than himſelf. This prediction he applied to the *Carthaginians*, who were more powerful than himſelf; and therefore would never own that he had gained any victory over them, but uſed to ſay, that the advantage, all things well conſidered, was pretty equal on both ſides. However, he could not avoid his deſtiny, ſays the hiſtorian; for though he was but a bad poet, yet, in the opinion of the *Athenians*, he gained the victory over thoſe who far excelled him in that art [m]. He died after
c he had reigned thirty-eight years.

His character

Dionyſius was, without all doubt, a prince of extraordinary abilities, both in his political and military capacity, having raiſed himſelf, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of a powerful people, from a mean condition to ſo high a ſtation, and tranſmitted the ſovereignty to a ſucceſſor of his own iſſue and election, who, notwithſtanding the ſlenderneſs of his parts, held it for the ſpace of twelve years. This ſhews, that *Dionyſius* had eſtabliſhed his power and authority upon a ſolid foundation, which could not be effected, in a city ſo fond of liberty, without great prudence and forecaſt. But what abilities could atone for the vices, which rendered him the object of the public hatred? His ambition knew no bounds; his avarice ſpared not the moſt ſacred
d perſons or places; and his cruelty, when awaked by jealouſy or ſuſpicion, made no diſtinction between friend and foe. He deſpiſed not only his fellow creatures, but the gods themſelves, glorying in his open and profeſſed impiety, whereof the ancients relate the following inſtances. On his return from *Locris*, where he had plundered the temple of *Proſerpine*, the wind being favourable, he turned to his friends, and with a contemptuous ſmile, *See*, ſaid he, *how the immortal gods favour the ſacrilegious* [n]. Being in great want of money to carry on the war againſt the *Carthaginians*, he rifled the temple of *Jupiter*, and amongſt other things ſtript the god of a robe of gold, which *Hiero* had preſented him with out of the ſpoils of the *Carthaginians*, ſaying, that a robe of gold was too heavy in ſummer and too cold in
e winter, and at the ſame time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's ſhoulders, adding, that ſuch an habit would be far more proper for all ſeaſons. He ordered the golden beard of *Æſculapius* to be taken off, ſaying, it was very inconſiſtent for the ſon to have have a beard, when the father had none; for *Apollo* is always repreſented as a beardleſs young man [o]. Several of the ſtatues of the gods held cups and crowns of gold in their hands, which he made no ſcruple to carry off, ſaying, that the gods offered them to him, and that it was very ſimple to be continually importuning the gods for good things, and then refuſe them when they themſelves preſented them to their votaries. Theſe ſpoils were by his orders carried to the market-place, and there ſold by auction. But the very next day pretending to be
f ſorry for having plundered the temples, he cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, commanding all thoſe, who had any thing in their cuſtody belonging to the immortal gods, to reſtore it to the temples within a limited time; but did not himſelf return the money to the buyers.

His impiety

THE amazing precautions, which he made uſe of to ſecure his life, ſhew both his ſuſpicious temper, and the inquietude to which he was abandoned. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower. Not daring to truſt his friends and neareſt relations, he committed the guard of his perſon to ſlaves and foreigners, and, though ſurrounded by theſe, ſcarce ever ventured out of his palace [p].

His ſuſpicious temper.

A jeſt,

[m] Idem, ibid. c. 8. [n] PLUT. in Dion. [o] Cic. de natur. Deor. l. xv. [p] Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. l. v.

A jeſt, that eſcaped his barber, who boaſted in a merry humour that he often held a razor at the king's throat, being related to *Dionyſius*, coſt the man his life; and from that time he employed his daughters, then very young, in that mean office. When they were grown up, he did not care to truſt them with razors or ſciſſars, but only allowed them nut-ſhells, and at laſt was reduced by his apprehenſions to do that office himſelf. He never went into the apartment of his wives before it was ſearched with the utmoſt care, leſt any weapons ſhould lie there concealed. His bed was ſurrounded with a deep and broad trench, and a drawbridge over it. After having faſtened the doors of his apartment with ſtrong bolts, he drew up the bridge, and then took took ſome reſt, which was interrupted by the leaſt noiſe he heard, either in the ſtreets or his palace. Neither his ſon nor his brother were admitted to his preſence, without being ſearched by the guards and obliged to change their garments [q]. Thus at the height of his grandeur he led a more miſerable life than the meaneſt of his ſlaves, as he himſelf ingenuouſly owned (A).

His good qualities.

Dionyſius was, without all doubt, an ambitious and inhuman tyrant; but at the ſame time had ſome good qualities, which ought not to be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented, the impartiality of an hiſtorian requiring that juſtice ſhould be done to the moſt wicked. The kindneſs and reſpect which he ever ſhewed for his two wives (B); the mildneſs with which he ſuffered the freedom of young *Dion* (C); the commendations he beſtowed on his own ſiſter *Theſta*, for the bold and generous anſwer ſhe made him on account of her huſband's flight, as we have related above; his obliging and inſinuating behaviour towards the *Syracuſans* on ſeveral occaſions; and the familiarity, with which he condeſcended to converſe with the meaneſt citizens, and even workmen, convince us, that he had more equity, moderation, and generoſity than is commonly aſcribed to him. In ſhort he was a tyrant, but not ſo inhuman, as many, who have reigned ſince his time.

Dionyſius had three children by his wife *Doris* the *Locrian*, and four by *Ariſtomache* the ſiſter of *Dion*, whom we ſhall have often occaſion to mention in the following reign.

[q] Cic. off. l. ii. Plut. in Dion.

(A) As one of his courtiers, named *Damocles*, was perpetually repeating that never man was happier than *Dionyſius*, and extolling the magnificence of his palaces, the extent of his dominions, the number of his troops, the richneſs of his treaſures, &c. *Dionyſius* aſked him whether he would for a ſhort time have a taſte of his happineſs? *Damocles* accepted the offer with joy, and being invited to dinner by *Dionyſius*, was accordingly placed on a bed of gold, covered with carpets of an ineſtimable value; the table was ſpread with dainties of all ſorts and the moſt beautiful ſlaves in pompous habits ordered to wait on *Damocles*, and watch the leaſt ſignal to ſerve him. The courtier was tranſported with joy, and ſaid, that if he could always live in that manner he ſhould look upon himſelf as the happieſt of mortals. He had ſcarce ſpoke, when, unfortunately caſting up his eyes, he beheld over his head a naked ſword hanging from the cieling by a ſingle horſe-hair. At this ſight he was immediately taken with a cold ſweat; every thing diſappeared in an inſtant, except the ſword; he could think of nothing elſe; and the danger, he was threatened with, throwing him into agonies of death, he deſired permiſſion to retire, declaring he would be happy no longer. A lively repreſentation of the unhappy life, which a tyrant muſt lead, when hated by his ſubjects (32).

(B) *Dionyſius* married two wives at the ſame time, *viz.* *Doris* and *Ariſtomache*; *Doris* was the daughter of one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of *Locris* in *Italy*, whence he cauſed her to be brought in a quinquereme, adorned in a moſt magnificent manner. *Ariſtomache* was the daughter of *Hipparinus*, the moſt wealthy and powerful citizen of *Syracuſe*, and ſiſter of the celebrated *Dion*. She was brought to the royal palace in a chariot drawn by four white horſes, which was at that time a mark of great diſtinction. The nuptials of both were ſolemnized the ſame day, with univerſal rejoicings throughout the whole city. *Dionyſius*, to remove all cauſes of diſcord, ſhewed an equal affection for both. But the *Locrian* had the good fortune to bring him the firſt ſon, who ſucceeded him. *Ariſtomache* after ſome years bore him two ſons, *viz.* *Hipparinus* and *Niſæus*, and two daughters, *Sophroſine* and *Arete*. *Sophroſine* married *Dionyſius* the eldeſt ſon of the *Locrian*, and *Arete* firſt *Theorides*, the brother of *Dionyſius*, and afterwards *Dion*.

(C) *Dion* was in great eſteem and favour with *Dionyſius*, to whom he was firſt introduced by his ſiſter *Ariſtomache*, but afterwards recommended by his own merit. Amongſt the other marks *Dionyſius* gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treaſurers to ſupply him with whatever money he ſhould demand, provided they informed him the ſame day they paid it. But *Dion*, notwithſtanding the kindneſs ſhewn him by the tyrant, uſed to ſpeak to him with a great deal of freedom. *Dionyſius* ridiculing one day the government of *Gelon*, and ſaying, in alluſion to his name, that he had been *the laughing ſtock* of *Sicily*, that being the import of the *Greek* word Γελως, all the courtiers highly applauded the wit of that conceit, or rather pun, flat and inſipid as it was. But *Dion* took it in a different manner, and had the freedom to tell *Dionyſius*, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whoſe wiſe and equitable conduct had exhibited an excellent form of government, and given the *Syracuſans* a favourable opinion of monarchy. *You reign*, ſaid he, *and have been truſted for* Gelon's *ſake*; *but on your account no man will ever be truſted after you.* This *Dionyſius* took in good part, without ſhewing the leaſt reſentment (33).

(32) *Cic. Tuſ. quæſt. l* v.

(33) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. & Plut. in Dion.*

a reign. When no hopes was left of *Dionysius*'s life, *Dion* took upon him to speak in favour of his children by *Aristomache*, insinuating, that it was just to prefer the issue of a *Syracusan* to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous to make their court to young *Dionysius*, the son of *Doris*, who had been brought up for the throne, did not give the father time to alter his resolution, dispatching him in the manner we have related above; so that *Dionysius*, surnamed the younger, peaceably ascended his father's throne. After he had performed his father's funeral with the utmost mag- Dionysius *the younger.*
nificence, he assembled the people, and promised to pursue, with regard to his sub-
jects, quite different measures from those which had been practised in the preceding
reign. The gentle and humane disposition of the young *Dionysius* made the *Syracusians*
b believe that they should live happy under his government; whereas they were well
apprised, that if they attempted a change, the sad consequences of a civil war would
involve the state in endless calamities. On these considerations, notwithstanding their
passion for liberty, they suffered him to take quiet possession of the throne, as of a *His character.*
lawful inheritance. He was of a quite different character from his father, being as
peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprizing; which
would have been no disadvantage to his subjects, had that mildness and modera-
tion been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of a certain natu-
ral sloth and indolence. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and averse from all
violence and cruelty, had a taste for arts and sciences, and took great delight in con-
c versing with men of learning. Whence it is plain, that he would have proved a good
prince, had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition
which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit,
even in his own children, gave umbrage, stifled in him every noble and elevated
sentiment by a mean and obscure education. He no sooner ascended the throne, but Dion.
Dion, who was well acquainted with his temper and good disposition, undertook
to correct the faults of his low education, and inspire him with thoughts suitable to
the high station he was placed in. *Dion* was, as we have hinted already, the son of
Hipparinus, the most illustrious citizen of *Syracuse*, and brother of *Aristomache* the
wife of *Dionysius* the elder. In his early years he contracted an intimate acquaintance
d and friendship with *Plato* (D), and so improved by his lessons, that that great phi-
losopher in one of his letters gives this glorious testimony of him; that he had never
met with a young man, on whom his discourses made so great an impression, or
who had embraced his principles with so much ardour. *Diodorus* speaks of him as
one of the greatest men *Sicily*, or any other country, ever produced. And indeed
it is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person, as
were centered in *Dion*. But to return to *Dionysius*; in the very beginning of his
reign, as he had been kept under great restraint by his father, he abandoned himself
to all manner of diversions and shameful pleasures. He was scarce seated on the
throne, when he made an entertainment, or rather a debauch, which continued for
e three months together, during all which time his palace, shut against all persons
of any sobriety, was crouded with debauchees, and resounded with nothing but
low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, *&c.* As *Dion*
believed, that this was the effect of his bad education and intire ignorance of his duty,
he rightly conceived, that the best remedy would be to introduce to him persons
of good sense, virtue, and learning, whose agreeable conversation might at once
instruct and divert him, for the young prince was endued with good natural parts,
and took delight in conversing with philosophers. With this view *Dion* often talked
to him of *Plato*, as the most profound of all the philosophers, whose merit he was
well acquainted with, and to whom he was indebted for all he knew. He enlarged
f on the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his
character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him as the man most
capable of any to form him in the arts of governing, upon which his own happiness,
and that of his subjects depended. *&c.* These discourses well-timed inflamed the
young

(D) He was first acquainted with *Plato* at the court of *Dionysius* the elder, who invited him into *Sicily*, and for some time professed a great kindness for him. But at length taking offence at his freedom, he ordered him to be carried into the common market-place, and there sold as a slave for five minas. But some philosophers of the same sect redeemed him, and sent him back to *Greece* with this friendly advice; *that philosophers should very seldom converse with tyrants, and when they did, they should be of a winning behaviour* (34).

(34) *Diodor. l.* xv. *c.* 2.

young prince with a desire of seeing that celebrated philosopher, and improving by a
Dionysius *sends for* Plato his conversation. He wrote to him in the most obliging manner, inviting him to his court, and dispatched express after express to hasten his journey. But *Plato*, mindful of the treatment he had met with at his father's court, could not prevail upon himself to comply with his invitation. All the *Pythagorean* philosophers of *Sicily* and *Italy* joined their intreaties with the prince's; and *Dion* with repeated letters never ceased to importune him, till at length he promised to return into *Sicily*, and attend the young prince's education.

This resolution highly displeased the rest of the courtiers, who dreading the presence of *Plato*, of which they foresaw the consequences, united against him as their common enemy. They were for the most part young unexperienced debauchees, b persons of no merit, and of most abandoned characters. Wherefore they rightly judged, that if all things were to be measured according to the standard of true merit, which was one of *Plato*'s maxims, they could lay no claim to any honours, nor expect any favour. They were not able to prevent *Plato*'s voyage, but raised a strong battery to render it ineffectual, by persuading *Dionysius* to recal *Philistus* from banishment, who was an experienced officer, and a zealous assertor of tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him to *Plato* and all his philosophy. For *Philistus* was not only a brave commander, but a man of extraordinary parts and uncommon learning. He wrote the history of *Sicily*, as we have hinted elsewhere, and is honoured by *Tully* with the title of *Thucydides the Second*[r]. c

Plato *arrives at* Syracuse. *Plato* on his arrival was received with the highest marks of honour and respect; at his landing he found one of the prince's chariots, with horses richly caparisoned, ready to attend him; and the prince no sooner heard that he was landed, but he commanded a solemn sacrifice to be offered in thanksgiving to the gods, for having sent him a man of so great merit and wisdom. *Plato* found *Dionysius* in the most happy disposition imaginable, and enflamed with an eager desire of profiting by his precepts. The philosopher, by adapting himself with wonderful address to the young prince's humour, and gaining his confidence and affection, in a very short time wrought a surprizing change in his mind. He had abandoned himself till then to idleness, pleasure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, d the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life. But now, awaked, as it were, from a lethargy, he began to have some relish for virtue, and to taste the refined pleasure of a blameless life. The courtiers, who never fail to ape the prince, seemed to fall in with his inclinations, and, laying aside the frivolous amusements of a court, applied themselves to the study of philosophy, as the only means to preferment.

Conspiracy of the courtiers against Dion. *Philistus* and his party were greatly alarmed at the sudden change they observed in *Dionysius*, and judging from some expressions he let drop, that *Plato* might at last induce him to resign the tyranny, used all possible means to work him out of favour. They began by turning into ridicule the retired life, which *Dionysius* led with *Plato*. Nor was that all; they attempted to render the zeal of *Plato* and e *Dion* suspected, by giving out, that *Dion* made use of *Plato* as a proper tool to draw *Dionysius* into a voluntary resignation of the crown, that he might place it on the head of his nephew, the son of *Aristomache*. The *Athenians*, said they, formerly invaded *Sicily* with a mighty fleet and a formidable army, without being able to subvert the government of *Syracuse*; and shall now an idle caviller from *Athens*, an unintelligible sophist, attain that point, and persuade *Dionysius* to renounce a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, pleasures, *&c.* for a pretended supreme good to be found in the academy? Such repeated discourses raised in the mind of *Dionysius* some suspicion of *Dion*, as if he really designed to establish his nephew in the sovereignty. The fears of *Dionysius* were carefully fomented by the enemies of *Dion*, who were perpetually advising the prince to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. They even feigned a letter, which they shewed to *Dionysius*, pretending that it had been wrote by *Dion* to the *Carthaginians*. As this letter contained several articles of treason, *Dionysius* flew into a violent passion, and having consulted with *Philistus* what measures he should take, by his advice
Dion *banished* dissembling his resentment, he led *Dion* alone to the sea-side below the citadel, where he shewed him the letter, and accused him of entering into a league with his enemies the *Carthaginians*. *Dion* might have easily justified himself, but the king refused to hear him,

[r] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. Plut. in Dion. Athen. l. x. Cic. de orat. l. ii.

a him, commanding him immediately to go on board a veſſel, which lay there ready with orders to carry him to the coaſt of *Italy* and leave him there [s].

Such an unjuſt treatment raiſed great clamours in *Syracuſe*, and the whole city declared againſt it. *Dionyſius*, who apprehended the conſequences of the public diſcontent, in order to appeaſe it in ſome degree, allowed *Dion*'s relations two veſſels to tranſport to him in *Peloponneſus*, whither he had retired, his riches and numerous retinue, for he lived with as much grandeur as a king [t]. Aſſoon as *Dion* was gone, *Dionyſius* made *Plato* change his habitation and remove into the citadel, in appearance to do him more honour, but in reality to aſſure himſelf of his perſon, and to prevent him from joining *Dion*. However, he continued to ſhew him an extraordinary kind-

b neſs, and, out of a fooliſh jealouſy, offered him all his treaſures, provided he would prefer his friendſhip to that of *Dion*'s. In the mean time a war breaking out, *Dionyſius* reſtored *Plato* to his liberty, and even gave him leave to return home. At his departure, he would have loaded him with preſents, which *Plato* refuſed, only begging that he would recall *Dion*. *Dionyſius* promiſed to reſtore him the following ſpring; but did not keep his word, and only ſent him the revenues of his eſtate, deſiring *Plato*, in a letter he wrote to him, to excuſe his breach of promiſe, and to impute it to the war. He aſſured him, that, aſſoon as he put an end to the war, *Dion* ſhould be recalled, upon condition that he did not meddle with public affairs, nor in the mean time leſſen him in the opinion of the *Greeks*. For *Dion*

c during his baniſhment viſited moſt of the cities of *Grecce*, and was every-where received with extraordinary marks of diſtinction. The *Lacedæmonians* made him free of their city, without regard to the reſentment of *Dionyſius*, who at that very time aſſiſted them with a powerful ſupply in their war with the *Thebans*. *Athens*, which he choſe for the place of his reſidence, paid him the higheſt honours, all the inhabitants of that illuſtrious city ſtriving, as it were, to outdo each other in giving him inſtances of their eſteem and affection. This alarmed the tyrant's jealouſy, who put a ſtop to the remittance of *Dion*'s revenues, ordering them to be paid into his own treaſury [u]. Such a reſolution obliged *Dion*, who had hitherto lived quietly at *Athens*, to take another courſe, as we ſhall ſee anon.

Plato *returns to* Sicily.

d *Dionyſius* having put an end to the war he was engaged in, of which no particulars have been tranſmitted to us, was again inflamed with a deſire of ſeeing and hearing *Plato*, and accordingly prevailed upon *Archytas* and the other *Pythagorean* philoſophers to write to him, and aſſure him, that he might return with ſafety, and that upon his return the promiſes which had been made him ſhould be punctually performed. The philoſophers deputed *Archidemus* to *Plato*, and *Dionyſius* ſent at the ſame time two *Triremes* with ſeveral of his friends on board to ſolicit his compliance. He alſo wrote letters to him with his own hand, wherein he declared, that if he refuſed to return into *Sicily*, *Dion* ſhould receive no favours at his hands, but if he complied with his requeſt, the exile ſhould be immediately reſtored. *Plato* was very unwilling to truſt himſelf anew to the tyrant's mercy and fickle temper, but

e could not reſiſt the warm ſolicitations of *Dion*'s friends; he therefore ſet out for *Sicily* the third time, being then in the ſeventieth year of his age. *Dionyſius* received him with inexpreſſible joy, appointed him the beſt apartment of his palace, and ſuffered him to have free acceſs to him at all hours without being ſearched, a favour not granted to his beſt friends. The philoſopher, ſeeing that *Dionyſius* repoſed an entire truſt in him, entered upon *Dion*'s affair with him, which was the chief motive of his voyage. But the tyrant put it off, and in the mean time endeavoured, by heaping all manner of honours on *Plato*, to leſſen his eſteem and regard for *Dion*. The philoſopher diſſembled on his ſide, and, though extremely offended at ſo notorious a breach of

f faith, carefully concealed his diſſatisfaction. However, he could not give over ſoliciting in behalf of his friend, which at length ſo exaſperated the tyrant, that all on a ſudden he ordered *Plato* to remove from his apartment in the palace to another without the caſtle, where his guards were quartered (E). Theſe had long hated

Diſgraced by Dionyſius.

Plato

[s] Plut. in Dion. [t] Plut. ibid. Plat. epiſt. 7. [u] Plut. ibid.

(E) A few days before *Dionyſius* and *Plato* fell out, one *Helicon* of *Cyzicum* a particular friend of *Plato*'s, foretold an eclipſe of the ſun, which happening according to his prediction, *Dionyſius* was ſo much ſurprized at it, that he made him a preſent of a talent. *Aleſippus*, jeſting upon that occaſion, ſaid, that he likewiſe had ſomething very extraordinary to foretel, and being preſſed to explain himſelf, I propheſy, ſaid he, that it will not be long ere *Dionyſius* and *Plato*, who at preſent ſeem to be great friends, will be enemies (34).

(34) *Plut. in Dion.*

Plato, because he had advised *Dionysius* to dismiss them, and live without any other guard but the love of his people. But *Dionysius* restrained their fury, forbidding them on pain of death to molest his guest. When *Archyas*, who was then prætor or chief magistrate of *Tarentum*, heard of the danger *Plato* was in, he immediately dispatched embassadors to *Dionysius* to remind him, that *Plato* came to *Syracuse* only upon his promise, and on the promise of all the *Pythagorean* philosophers, who had engaged for his safety, wherefore he could not detain him against his will, nor offer him any insult, without a manifest breach of faith. This remonstrance awaked a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at length gave *Plato* leave to return into *Greece*. Upon his departure *Dionysius*, throwing off all restraint, abandoned himself to the most shameful vices, setting no bounds to his avarice, cruelty, rapines, *&c.* [w]. a b

Dion resolves to deliver Sicily

Not long after *Plato* had left *Sicily*, *Dionysius* ordered all *Dion*'s lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use: neither did he stop here, but gave his half-sister *Arete*, whom *Dion* had married after the death of *Theorides*, in marriage to *Timocrates*, one of his friends and flatterers. So unworthy a treatment *Dion* could not brook, and therefore from that moment resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and revenge all the wrongs done him. *Plato*, out of a scrupulous regard to the duties of hospitality, did all that lay in his power to divert him from such a resolution; but on the other hand *Speusippus*, *Plato*'s nephew, with whom *Dion* had contracted a particular friendship during his abode at *Athens*, encouraged him to pursue so noble a design, and restore *Sicily* to its ancient freedom. All the rest of *Dion*'s friends were of the same opinion, and many of the chief citizens of *Syracuse* continually importuned him to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for want of ships or forces, but to imbark on the first vessel he met with, and only lend his name to the friends of liberty. *Dion* did not delay any longer, but, withdrawing from his retired life, undertook the delivery of his country, which implored his protection. No enterprize was ever formed with more boldness, or conducted with more prudence. He began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents for the better concealment of his design. Many persons of distinction, who were at the head of affairs, entered into his measures, and gave him notice of whatever was transacted in *Sicily*. But of the exiles, who were above a thousand, dispersed up and down *Sicily* and *Greece*, only twenty-five joined him; so much were they awed by the dread of the tyrant. The island of *Zacynthus* was the place of the rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of about eight hundred, all tried on many occasions, well disciplined, and capable of animating with their example the forces, which *Dion* hoped to find in *Sicily*. When they were to set sail, *Dion* acquainted them with his design, which till that time he had concealed from the common soldiers. The boldness of the undertaking occasioned at first no small consternation; but *Dion* soon removed their fears by telling them that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers but as officers, to put them at the head of the *Syracusans* and all the people of *Sicily*, who were ready to receive them with open arms. *Dion*, before he set out from *Zacynthus*, offered a solemn sacrifice to *Apollo*, and gave a grand entertainment to his small army, which was now impatient to proceed on their voyage, and begin the great work of delivering *Sicily* from tyranny and oppression. The next day they imbarked on board two trading vessels, and put to sea with loud shouts of joy, as if they had already dethroned the tyrant. Who could imagine, says our historian, that a man with two small vessels, should ever dare to attack a prince, who had under his command four hundred gallies, an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of provisions, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them? But no force is able to defend a prince, who is not guarded by the affection of his people, as the event of this undertaking will shew [x]. c d e f

Dion *arrives in* Sicily.

Dion, after having been twelve days at sea, arrived with his small body of troops at cape *Pachynum*, where their pilot advised them to land immediately lest they should be overtaken by a violent hurricane, which threatened them. But *Dion*, not thinking it safe to land so near the enemy, ordered him to put to sea again and double the cape, which they had no sooner done, than a furious storm attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, drove them on the eastern coast of *Affric*, where they were in great danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks; but luckily for them

[w] Plat. epist. 7. Plut. in Dion. & Mod. [x] Diod. Sicul. l. xvi. Plut. in Dion

them the wind changing all on a ſudden, they ſtood out to ſea for *Sicily*, and with a favourable wind entered the port of *Minoa*, not far from *Agrigentum*. This city was then in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, and governed by one *Synalus*, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, *Paralus*, *Dion*'s particular friend. They were therefore kindly received, and would have ſtaid there ſome days to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues of their voyage, had they not received advice, that *Dionyſius* had ſome days before imbarked for *Italy* attended with fourſcore gallies. *Dion*, to take advantage of his abſence, immediately ſet out for *Syracuſe*, and on his march prevailed upon the *Agrigentines*, *Geleans*, *Camarineans*, and other cities to join him. He no ſooner entered the *Syracuſan* territories, but multitudes flocked to him from all parts, every one looking upon him as the deliverer of their country. When he arrived at the *Anapus* he ordered his troops to halt, and there offered a ſacrifice to the tutelary gods of *Syracuſe*; which being performed, he called an aſſembly of all the *Syracuſans* in his camp, and after having acquainted them with his deſign, which was to reſtore them to their liberty and ſuppreſs tyranny, he deſired them to name a general, who ſhould be entruſted with the whole conduct of the enterprize. The multitude cried out with one voice, that *Dion* and his brother *Megacles* ſhould be generals, and inveſted them with abſolute power and command. The new generals without delay drew up their army in battalia, and marched ſtrait to the city, where they were received at the gates by the moſt conſiderable of the inhabitants in white habits. As no body appeared to oppoſe them, they boldly entered the city, and marched through *Acradina* to the forum, where they encamped, being in all above fifty thouſand men. Here *Dion* ordered the trumpets to ſound to appeaſe the noiſe and tumult; and ſilence being made, an herald proclaimed, that Dion *and* Megacles *were come to aboliſh tyranny, and to free the people of* Syracuſe *and their allies from the yoke of the tyrant*. At theſe words the whole city reſounded with joyful ſhouts and acclamations for ſo ſudden and unexpected an happineſs: They had lived fifty years in ſlavery, and ſaw themſelves, by the valour of one man, reſtored to their liberty, when they leaſt expected ſo happy a change. Where-ever *Dion* paſſed, the citizens, having ſet out on both ſides of the ſtreets tables and bowls, and prepared victims, as he came before their houſe, threw all ſorts of flowers upon him, addreſſing vows and prayers to him as to a god. *Dion*, ſeeing himſelf maſter of the city, fell upon *Epipolæ* and took it by ſtorm, ſetting at liberty the citizens, who were priſoners in the fort. He then ſurrounded the citadel whither all the tyrant's friends and mercenaries had fled, with a ſtrong wall from ſea to ſea; ſo that they could receive no ſuccours by land, nor have any communication with the reſt of the city [y].

And poſſeſſes himſelf of Syracuſe.

In the mean time *Dionyſius*, who was at *Caulonia* in *Italy*, receiving intelligence of what paſſed in *Syracuſe* (F), haſtened thither, and entered the citadel by ſea ſeven days after the arrival of *Dion*. He found his affairs in a deſperate condition, and therefore to gain time he ſent embaſſadors to *Dion* and the *Syracuſans*, offering to reſtore the democracy, provided, they would confer certain honours upon him in the republican ſtate; he deſired them to ſend deputies to treat with him, that he might put a ſpeedy end to the war. The *Syracuſans* immediately ſent ſome of their citizens to ſign an agreement with him upon the articles which he had propoſed; but *Dionyſius*, putting off the conferences from day to day, and obſerving that the *Syracuſans* in hopes of peace kept negligent guard, ſuddenly attacked the wall, with which they had incloſed the citadel, and made ſeveral breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an aſſault put the *Syracuſans* in great diſorder; however, they maintained their ground, and fought with great reſolution. *Dion* diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt; for, finding that his troops were very backward in engaging the tyrant's mercenaries, and believing example more powerful than words, he threw himſelf violently

Dionyſius' troops defeated.

[y] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

(F) Affoon as *Dion* landed in *Sicily*, *Timocrates*, who had married *Dion*'s wife, and to whom *Dion* had left the command of the city in his abſence, diſpatched a courier to him with advice of *Dion*'s arrival. But the courier, being almoſt at his journey's end, was ſo fatigued, that he could not help ſtopping to take ſome ſleep. In the mean time a wolf, ſmelling ſome meat he had in his wallet, came to the place, and carried off the bag, in which was the meat with the diſpatches. By this misfortune *Dionyſius* was prevented from receiving a timely account of *Dion*'s arrival (35).

(35) *Plut. ibid.*

violently in the midſt of them, and, after having made a great ſlaughter of the a
enemy and broken their ranks, made way for his men to follow him. His ſhield being pierced through in many places, and the enemy diſcharging ſhowers of darts on him from all ſides, he was wounded in his right arm with a javelin, and, fainting away through the extremity of the pain, was very near falling into the enemy's hands: but the *Syracuſans*, highly concerned for the ſafety of their general, charged the mercenaries in a full body, and reſcuing *Dion*, who was almoſt ſpent, put the enemy to flight. A great number of the tyrant's troops were ſlain on the ſpot, the reſt eſcaped with much ado into the citadel. The *Syracuſans*, having gained ſo glorious a victory, ſet up a trophy in defiance of the tyrant, rewarded their foreign troops with a conſiderable ſum of money, and preſented *Dion* with a crown of gold. b
On the other hand *Dionyſius*, having obtained leave to carry off his dead, cauſed them to be buried in purple robes; and paid them extraordinary honours; ſuch as ſurvived he rewarded with great generoſity, beſtowing upon them great part of his treaſures [z].

Ingratitude of the Syracuſans *towards* Dion.

Dionyſius after this defeat ſent embaſſadors anew to propoſe terms of peace; but *Dion* returned no other anſwer than this; *Let* Dionyſius *firſt abdicate the tyranny, and then we ſhall hear him.* *Dionyſius* was highly provoked at this haughty and peremptory anſwer, as he called it; but, however, diſſembling his reſentment, he ſent other embaſſadors with a letter to *Dion* wrote with great art and addreſs, and wonderfully calculated to render him ſuſpected by the *Syracuſans*, as if he intended to ſeize on the c
ſovereignty himſelf. The *Syracuſans* were taken with this groſs bait, for *Dion* read the letter in the public aſſembly, and began to be jealous of his too great power. The arrival of *Heraclides* did not a little contribute to the ſhameful ſteps that ungrateful people took with regard to their deliverer and benefactor. *Heraclides* was one of the *Syracuſan* exiles, an excellent officer, and well known among the troops, which he had formerly commanded under *Dionyſius*; but at the ſame time he was very ambitious, and a ſecret enemy to *Dion*, with whom he had had ſome diſpute in *Peloponneſus*. He arrived at *Syracuſe* with ſeven triremes and three other veſſels, not with a deſign to join *Dion*, but to act ſeparately againſt the tyrant in hopes of having himſelf the glory of driving him out. His firſt endeavour was to ingratiate him- d
ſelf with the people, and for that he was wonderfully qualified by an open and inſinuating behaviour, whilſt *Dion*'s auſtere gravity was offenſive to the multitude, eſpecially as they were become more haughty and untractable by their late victory (G). *Heraclides*, by courting them and in every thing ſeconding their capricious humour, ſo won their affections in a ſhort time, that of their own accord they called an aſſembly, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet. *Dion*, having notice of theſe irregular proceedings, haſtened to the aſſembly, and highly complained of the affront offered him, for they had conferred upon him the ſupreme command both of the fleet and army. His remonſtrances were of ſuch weight with the aſſembly, that they deprived *Heraclides* of the office, which they had juſt then honoured him e
with. When the aſſembly broke up, *Dion* ſent for him, and having gently reprimanded him for his ſtrange conduct in ſo delicate a conjuncture, when the leaſt diviſion among themſelves might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, he ſummoned a new aſſembly, and in the preſence of the multitude appointed him admiral, and allowed him ſuch a guard as he had himſelf. *Dion* imagined, that by this obliging behaviour he ſhould get the better of his rival's ill-will. But *Heraclides* was not ſo eaſily to be gained; he aimed at the ſupreme command, and nothing leſs would ſatisfy his ambition; he expreſſed indeed a great many obligations to *Dion*, ſeemed to court his favour, and in his outward behaviour ſhewed a great readineſs to obey his orders. But in the mean time he influenced the people under-hand againſt f
him, oppoſed his meaſures, and found fault with his whole conduct, as if he deſigned either to ſave the tyrant or protract the war. While *Heraclides* was thus diſpoſing the people to confer the ſupreme command upon himſelf, one thing happened, which

[z] Diodor. Plut. ibid.

(G) *Dion* had ſomething rigid and auſtere in his temper, that made him leſs acceſſible and ſociable than he ſhould have been, and kept even men of merit and his beſt friends at a kind of diſtance. *Plato* and thoſe who had his glory ſincerely at heart, often found fault with this his turn of mind, and adviſed him to correct it. But he, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, ſeemed to pique himſelf upon the auſtere gravity and inflexible ſeverity, with which he treated the people. That rough, and, as he called it, manly behaviour, created him many enemies, eſpecially among the populace.

a which greatly raised his reputation among the *Syracusans*. *Philistus*, the tyrant's admiral, having put to sea with sixty gallies, *Heraclides* gave him chace with his small squadron, obliged him to engage, and gained a complete victory. *Philistus* behaved with great personal bravery, but at last finding himself surrounded on all sides by the *Syracusans*, who were desirous of taking him alive, he laid violent hands on himself, after having discharged the trust reposed in him in a distinguished manner. The *Syracusans* vented their rage upon his dead body, which they barbarously mangled, dragged through all the streets of the city, and then threw it over the walls to rot without burial in the open fields. He was one of the tyrant's most trusty friends, and had on all occasions given him signal proofs of his fidelity. Wherefore

b *Dionysius* was so disheartened with the loss of so steady a friend and experienced officer, that he sent embassadors to *Dion*, offering to surrender the citadel with all the troops there in garison, and money to pay them for five months, upon condition, that he were allowed to retire to *Italy*, and there enjoy during his life the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of *Syracuse*. *Dion*'s advice was, that the terms should be accepted; but the *Syracusans*, hoping to take *Dionysius* alive, would hearken to no proposals. Wherefore *Dionysius*, seeing all lost, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son *Apollocrates*, and, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, put to sea in a small vessel, and landed undiscovered in *Italy* with his treasures and most valuable effects[a].

Dionysius *flies to* Italy.

Factions in Syracuse.

c *Heraclides* was greatly blamed for having suffered him to escape; and therefore, to regain the favour of the people, he proposed a new division of lands, insinuating, that they could never enjoy perfect liberty so long as there was so great an inequality in wealth and power. This motion was warmly opposed by *Dion*, which gave *Heraclides* an opportunity of rendering him suspected to the people, as if he intended to keep them in subjection, and reduce them to the same state of slavery in which they had been held by their tyrants. By thus pretending to espouse the cause of liberty, he prevailed upon the assembly to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, to appoint new generals, himself among the rest, and to make a new division of lands. At the same time they privately solicited the foreign troops to abandon *Dion* and

d join them, promising to give them a share in the government, as if they were natives and citizens. But they generously rejected the offer, declaring, that they would stand by *Dion* to the last, and willingly sacrifice their lives in defence of their general. The populace were so enraged at this answer, that they began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, and throw out threats both against *Dion* and his troops. Whereupon those brave men, placing *Dion* in their center, began to march out of the city, protesting, that so long as one of them was alive no body should hurt him. In this manner they withdrew without offering the least violence to any of the citizens, but only reproaching them with ingratitude towards their deliverer and great benefactor. The *Syracusans*, despising their small number, and ascribing their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should put them all to the sword before they got out of the city. *Dion* being thus reduced to the necessity of either destroying those he was come to save, or being himself de-

e stroyed with so many brave men, begged them in the most tender and affectionate manner to hearken to reason, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by ambitious and ill-designing men, pointing with his hand at the citadel, which was full of enemies, who with great joy beheld all that passed. But finding them deaf to all his remonstrances, he commanded his men to face about and march in close order, as if they designed to fall upon the multitude; they obeyed his orders, and raising a great shout advanced against them, pretending to attack them with the utmost fury; the noise they made with their arms, according to *Dion*'s directions, so terrified the populace, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. *Dion* did not offer to pursue them, but hastened his march towards the country of the *Leontines*. The *Syracusans*, being on their return treated by their countrymen as cowards, for having suffered so small a body of men to make their escape, in order to retrieve their honour, marched out again in pursuit of *Dion*, and coming up with him as he was passing a river, ordered their cavalry to advance to the charge. But when they perceived that he was resolved in earnest to repel force by force, they were

Dion *obliged to quit* Syracuse.

again

[a] Plut. Diodor. ibid.

again seized with terror, and, flying in a more shameful manner than before, made a what haste they could to regain the city[a].

The *Leontines* not only received *Dion* with great marks of distinction, but made rich presents to his soldiers, and declared them all free citizens. They likewise sent embassadors to the *Syracusans*, complaining of the ill treatment *Dion* and his men had met with at their hands, and reminding them of the inestimable favours they had received from so worthy a patriot. The *Syracusans* replied, that *Dion* had driven out one tyrant with a design to establish another, and therefore ought to be treated in the same manner as their first tyrant had been, whom they had obliged to quit not only *Syracuse* but the island.

In the mean time the tyrant's troops in the citadel, being reduced by famine to b the utmost extremity, resolved at last to surrender both the place and themselves to the *Syracusans*. Accordingly they sent deputies to obtain for them the best terms they could; but while they were actually conferring with the townsmen, *Nypsius*, a general of experienced valour and greatly attached to *Dionysius*, appeared with a numerous squadron of gallies, and a great many transports laden with corn and all sorts of provisions. *Nypsius* anchored in the port of *Arethusa*, and having landed the men he brought along with him, he called a council of war, wherein he made a speech to the garison suitable to the present occasion, and with hopes of ample rewards engaged them to promise, that they would never submit to the enemy upon any terms whatsoever. The *Syracusans* no sooner heard of this new supply, but they manned c as many gallies as they had at hand, and attacking the enemy while they were unloading the corn and other provisions, sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. For slighting the enemy, whom they looked upon as utterly undone, they gave themselves up to feasting, revelling, and all kind of debauchery; which general infatuation *Nypsius* did not fail to improve to his advantage. That brave commander, desirous to repair his late loss by some bold attempt, ordered his men to march out of

Syracuse *taken by the garison of the citadel.*

the citadel, and assault the wall that inclosed it. They met with no opposition, the guards being every-where asleep after their last night's debauch; having therefore in silence applied their scaling ladders, some of the most resolute mounted the wall, d killed the centinels, and opened the gates to their companions. Thus all the garison, consisting of ten thousand well-disciplined troops, entered the city, cut all those to pieces who opposed them, and made such a dreadful havock as can hardly be expressed. Many of the citizens were murdered in their beds, their houses were plundered, and their wives and children taken out of their beds, and either cruelly butchered before their faces, or carried captives into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations. The slaughter was so great, that the streets were every-where covered with dead bodies, and the private houses swimming in blood.

Dion *recalled.* The citizens, seeing themselves in this desperate condition, knew not what to resolve on. They were all well apprised, that *Dion* was the only person who could e administer them any relief; but no one had courage enough to name him; so much were they ashamed of their ingratitude towards their protector. As the danger increased every moment, and the enemy was preparing to set fire to the city, one boldly cried out, *Let us send for Dion.* His name was no sooner heard but the whole multitude with shouts of joy approved the motion; and accordingly deputies were that instant dispatched to *Leontini*, who arriving late in the evening threw themselves at *Dion*'s feet, and with many tears acquainted him with the deplorable condition of *Syracuse*. *Dion* no sooner heard them than he assembled a council of war, and having introduced the *Syracusan* deputies, he desired them to lay before his officers the state of their city, which they did in a very moving speech, entreating *Dion* to forget the f ill treatment he had received, the rather, because that unfortunate people had already paid dear for it, and acknowledged the miseries they suffered justly inflicted upon them, for their ingratitude towards so loving a father of his country. Assoon as they had done, *Dion* rose up, but instead of speaking burst into tears, and could not for some time utter one single word; the foreign soldiers, who were mostly *Peloponnesians*, called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion in seeing their leader so overwhelmed with grief. At length, having recovered himself, he addressed his troops and the people of *Leontini* in the following terms: "Men of *Peloponn-*

[b] Plut. in Dion. p. 972. 975. Diodor. l. xvi.

a " *Peloponneſus*, and you, our allies, I have aſſembled you here that you may conſider
" what is proper to be done with regard to yourſelves; as for me I am already deter-
" m·ned, and muſt not be wavering, when my country is in danger. If I cannot
" preſerve it, I will periſh with it, and be buried in its ruins. But for you, if you
" will be ſo generous as to forget the ill treatment you have received at our hands,
" and aſſiſt us once more, follow my example; but if your juſt complaints againſt
" the *Syracuſans* prevail with you to abandon them in their preſent diſtreſs, and ſuffer
" them to periſh; may the gods amply reward you for the affection and fidelity you
" have hitherto expreſſed for me. I only beg, that you will remember *Dion*, who
" did not abandon you, when you were baſely treated by his country, nor his country,
b " when fallen into misfortunes". He had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than the foreign troops with one voice entreated him to lead them on that moment againſt the enemy. The deputies, tranſported with joy, tenderly embraced them, praying the gods to ſecond their generous reſolution. Aſſoon as the tumult was appeaſed, *Dion* ordered them to refreſh themſelves and return with their arms to the ſame place, being reſolved to ſet out that very night on his march to *Syracuſe*.

The deplorable condition of Syracuſe.

In the mean time the ſoldiers of *Dionyſius*, after committing all ſorts of outrages in the city, had retired at night into the citadel. This ſhort reſpite gave *Dion*'s enemies new courage, who flattering themſelves, that the gariſon would not venture again out of the caſtle, began to exhort the *Syracuſans* to think no more of *Dion*, but to defend themſelves with their own valor. They ſo far prevailed, that new de-
c puties were diſpatched from the chief commanders to ſtop his march; but his friends at the ſame time ſent ſome worthy citizens to intreat him not to hearken to the embaſſies of ſuch, as were equally enemies to him and their country. *Dion* therefore purſued his march, but the oppoſite faction ſeized the gates with a deſign to diſpute his entrance. In the mean time *Nypſius*, well appriſed of the diviſions that reigned in the city, made another ſally from the citadel, and made ſuch a dreadful havock in all quarters of the city, that from the heaps of dead bodies with which the ſtreets, the ſquares, and the forum, were ſtrewed, one would have believed that not a ſingle citizen had been left alive. They ſpared neither age nor ſex, but put all without
d diſtinction to the ſword. Nothing but murder and blood-ſhed was ſeen in every corner; and becauſe they were informed that *Dion* was haſtening to the relief of the city, they ſeemed determined to deſtroy it intirely before his arrival. For after they had murdered all the inhabitants they could light on, with burning torches, ſtraw, and other combuſtibles, they ſet fire to the houſes, ſo that many who had eſcaped the ſword were miſerably conſumed in the flames[c].

Dion *relieves* Syracuſe.

During this confuſion *Dion* unexpectedly arrived, and having detached his light-armed troops againſt the enemy to reanimate the citizens, who were ſtill alive, with their preſence, he drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and divided them into ſmall parties, that they might be able to attack in ſeveral places at once, and appear
e ſtronger and more formidable to the enemy. Having made the diſpoſitions and invoked the gods, he marched acroſs the city againſt the enemy, being every-where welcomed with acclamations, ſhouts of joy, and ſongs of victory. There was not one in the city ſo fond of life as not to be more in pain for *Dion*'s ſafety than his own: They were all under the greateſt apprehenſions in ſeeing him march the foremoſt over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the public ſtreets were entirely covered. The enemy, hearing that *Dion* had entered the city, poſted themſelves in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, determined at all events to maintain that poſt, leſt their communication with the city ſhould be cut off. It was with the greateſt difficulty that *Dion*'s men kept their ranks, being often obliged
f to march through the fire and clouds of ſmoke, while the roofs and beams of the houſes, half conſumed with the flames, falling down broke their ranks. At length they arrived at the place where the enemy waited for them, and began the attack. The ſlaughter was great on both ſides, and the fight continued for ſeveral hours before *Dion*'s men could get over the ruins which covered the enemy; but at length the *Peloponneſians*, animating each other with mutual ſhouts, made ſuch a vigorous effort, that the enemy, though far ſuperior in number, was borne down and forced to give ground; the greateſt part of them fled into the citadel, and the reſt were cut in pieces by the victorious *Peloponneſians*. The city being thus delivered, *Dion*'s men, inſtead

[c] Plut. ibid.

inſtead of refreſhing themſelves after ſo great fatigues, ſpent all that night in extinguiſhing the fire, which they compaſſed, not without great danger and difficulty[d]. a

The next day *Heraclides* and his uncle *Theodotus*, two of *Dion*'s greateſt enemies, put themſelves into his hands, confeſſing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him to forget their ungrateful behaviour and reſtore them to his favour, of which they acknowledged themſelves unworthy. *Dion*'s friends adviſed him not to ſpare them, ſince they would not fail to raiſe new diſturbances in the city, and defeat in the end ſo glorious a victory. But *Dion*, believing he could get the better of their ſtubborn and reſtleſs temper by force of kind uſage and obligations, generouſly pardoned them. *Heraclides* ſeemed to be affected with this kindneſs, for the ſame day he propoſed in the aſſembly, that *Dion* ſhould be elected generaliſſimo, with ſupreme b power by ſea and land. But the ungrateful populace, whoſe darling *Heraclides* was, oppoſed this motion with all their power, and *Dion*, to avoid new diſturbances, gave up that point, ſuffering *Heraclides* to command in chief at ſea.

All things being now quiet, the *Syracuſans*, under the direction of *Dion*, applied themſelves ſolely to the ſiege of the citadel, and in a ſhort time reduced the numerous gariſon to ſuch ſtraits, that *Apollocrates*, the tyrant's ſon, was obliged to capitulate. *Dion* allowed him to retire unmoleſted to his father in *Italy* with five gallies and all his friends and relations. It is not eaſy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. The whole city crowded to the ſhore to gratify their eyes with ſuch an agreeable ſight, and to ſolemnize the happy day, on which, after ſo many years c ſervitude, the *Syracuſans* could firſt ſtile themſelves again a free people.

The citadel ſurrenders.

Assoon as *Apollocrates* ſet ſail, *Dion* entered the citadel at the head of his troops, and was met at the gate by his ſiſter *Ariſtomache*, leading his ſon, and by his wife *Arete*, whom *Dionyſius*, as we have related above, had given in marriage to *Timocrates*. *Dion* embraced his ſiſter firſt and then his ſon; whereupon *Arete* drenched in tears was ready to ſwoon away, when *Ariſtomache* preſenting her to *Dion*; "The tears, "ſaid ſhe, you ſee her ſhed, at the time your preſence reſtores us to life and joy, "her ſilence and confuſion may well convince you, that you alone have always poſ-"ſeſſed her heart. Shall ſhe embrace you as her huſband, or die at your feet aban-"doned by you for what ſhe has ſuffered againſt her will?" At theſe words *Dion*, d with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced her, gave her his ſon, and ſent her home to his houſe, whither he ſoon followed her, leaving the *Syracuſans* in poſſeſſion of the citadel, as a pledge of their liberty. After this *Dion* rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all thoſe who had contributed to his ſucceſs, according to their rank and merit, diſmiſſed his guards, and, though at the height of glory, lived like a private citizen.

As the city was now in a profound tranquility, *Dion* attempted to eſtabliſh in it a form of government, compoſed of the *Spartan* and *Cretan*, but wherein the *Ariſtocratical* was to prevail; the ſupreme authority, according to his plan, was to be veſted in a council, of which the members were to be choſen by the people and nobi- e lity. But this deſign was warmly oppoſed by *Heraclides*, who, ſtill turbulent and ſeditious, did not fail to ſtir up the people on that occaſion againſt *Dion*, as if he intended to abridge their power and ſubject them to the nobility. Hereupon *Dion*, finding that he oppoſed all wiſe councils, was at laſt prevailed upon to conſent to his death, and he was accordingly by *Dion*'s friends diſpatched in his own houſe. *Dion* publicly owned, that he had been put to death by his order, and in an harangue to the people convinced them, that it was impoſſible for the city to be free from commotions and ſedition, while *Heraclides* lived. However, after that murder *Dion* never enjoyed a happy hour, but lived in continual anguiſh and ſorrow, reproaching himſelf with having imbrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizen (H). Not long f after his ſon, for ſome unknown diſappointment, threw himſelf from the top of a houſe, and died of the fall. This increaſed *Dion*'s affliction; but neither his grief nor life laſted long, *Calippus* having, by the blackeſt treachery, deprived *Syracuſe* of the greateſt hero it ever produced.

Calippus

[d] Plut. & Diodor. ibid, [e] Plut. ibid.

(H) *Plutarch* tells us, that a dreadful ſpectre, which appeared to him in the night, filled him with terror and melancholy. The fantom ſeemed a woman of an enormous ſtature, and by her attire, air, and haggard looks reſembled a fury.

a *Calippus* was an *Athenian* by birth, and had contracted an intimate friendſhip with *Dion*, who lodged in his houſe at *Athens*, and ever after ranked him among his particular and intimate friends. Having attended *Dion* into *Sicily*, after the tyrant was driven out, he gave himſelf up to ambitious views, and began to entertain thoughts of making himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*. But as he was well appriſed, that he could not accompliſh his deſign ſo long as *Dion* was alive, he threw off all regard for the ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and determined to get rid of him. Notwithſtanding the care he uſed to conceal his wicked purpoſe, it came to the ears of *Dion*'s friends and relations (I), who all earneſtly exhorted him to prevent *Calippus*'s crime, by inflicting upon him the puniſhment his baſe treachery deſerved. But he b could not be prevailed upon to take any ſuch reſolution, ſaying, he had rather die a thouſand deaths, than live under the neceſſity of continual precautions, not only againſt his enemies, but the beſt of his friends. He could not even be induced to take a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon; *Calippus* therefore having one night entered his houſe with a band of *Zacynthian* ſoldiers, who were entirely devoted to his intereſt, murdered him, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, and apprehending his wife and ſiſter, cauſed them to be carried to the public priſon [f].

Dion's death.

Calippus *or* Gylippus *makes himſelf maſter of* Syracuſe.

AFTER the death of *Dion*, *Calippus*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Zacynthian* troops, made himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, and practiſed there greater cruelties than any of the tyrants before him. *Plutarch* obſerves, that the ſucceſs he met with occaſioned great c complaints againſt the gods, for ſuffering ſo impious a wretch to raiſe himſelf to ſo exalted a ſtation, by ſuch an execrable piece of treachery. But providence was not long without juſtifying itſelf, the traitor having ſoon undergone the puniſhment he deſerved. Having marched with his forces againſt *Catana*, *Syracuſe* revolted, and ſhook off ſo ſhameful a yoke. He then withdrew to *Meſſana*; but the inhabitants taking up arms ſhut their gates againſt him, and in a ſally cut off moſt of the *Zacynthian* troops who had murdered *Dion*. No city in *Sicily* would admit ſuch an execrable monſter; whereupon he left the iſland and retired to *Rhegium*, where, after having led for ſome time a miſerable life, he was ſlain by *Leptines* and *Polyperchon*, with the ſame dagger with which he had murdered *Dion* [g].

d As for *Ariſtomache* and *Arete*, upon the downfall of *Calippus* they were ſet at liberty, and at firſt kindly entertained by *Icetas* of *Syracuſe*, one of *Dion*'s friends, who received them into his houſe. But *Icetas*, at laſt complying with the importunities of *Dion*'s enemies, provided a veſſel for them, and having put them on board, under pretence of ſending them to *Peloponneſus*, ordered the commander of the ſhip to put them to death in the paſſage, and throw them into the ſea. His orders were put in execution; but *Icetas*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, paid dear for ſuch an inhuman treatment.

New troubles in Syracuſe.

Year of the flood 2654. *Before Chriſt* 350.

UPON *Dion*'s death, the city was involved in greater miſeries than ever; *Calippus* uſurped the ſupreme power, but after ten months was driven out by *Hipparinus*, the e brother of *Dionyſius*, who, arriving unexpectedly with a numerous fleet, poſſeſſed himſelf of the city, and held it for the ſpace of two years. *Syracuſe* and all *Sicily* being thus divided into parties and factions, *Dionyſius*, taking advantage of theſe troubles, aſſembled ſome foreign troops, and having defeated *Nypſæus*, who was then governor of *Syracuſe*, reinſtated himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne. His paſt misfortunes, inſtead of ſoftening his fierce temper, ſerved only to inflame it, and render him more ſavage and brutal than ever. The better ſort of the citizens, not being able to brook ſo cruel a ſervitude, had recourſe to *Icetas*, who was by birth a *Syracuſan*, but at that time tyrant of

[f] PLUT. ibid. [g] Idem. ibid.

(I) Amongſt others, *Dion*'s ſiſter and wife, having had notice of his wicked deſigns, loſt no time, but endeavoured to diſcover the truth by a very ſtrict enquiry. *Calippus*, finding that they ſuſpected him, went to them with tears in his eyes, and in appearance inconſolable, that any body ſhould ſuſpect him of ſuch a crime, or think him capable of ſo black a deſign. They inſiſted upon his taking the *Great Oath*, as it was called. The perſon, who ſwore, was wraped up in the purple mantle of the goddeſs *Proſerpine*, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced againſt himſelf the moſt dreadful execrations, wiſhing them to fall upon himſelf and his family, if he was guilty of the crime laid to his charge. This oath *Calippus* took, while he was watching every day an opportunity of putting in execution his black deſign (36).

(36) *Plut. ibid.*

of *Leontini*; they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themselves to a his conduct, not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, thinking this a very favourable opportunity to seize upon all *Sicily*, sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, the *Syracusans* had recourse to the *Corinthians*, from whom they were descended, and who, of all the *Greek* nations, were the most professed enemies of tyranny, and most generous assertors of liberty. *Icetas*, who had nothing else in view but to make himself master of *Syracuse*, and had already entered into a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, seemed to approve these measures, and even sent his deputies along with those of the *Syracusans*; but in the mean time was contriving, how he could prevent the *Corinthians* from sending any forces into the island, which, according to his late b treaty with the *Carthaginians*, was, after the expulsion of *Dionysius*, to be divided between him and them. The *Syracusan* embassadors met with a very kind reception at *Corinth*, where in a general assembly it was resolved, that succours should be sent into *Sicily*, and that *Timoleon* should be forthwith dispatched to *Syracuse*, and there take upon him the command of the *Syracusan* forces against *Dionysius* and the *Carthaginians* [h].

The Syracusans *recur to the* Corinthians.

Timoleon sent into Sicily.

Timoleon had led a retired life for twenty years, without ever interfering in public affairs, and expected nothing less than to be employed, or even thought of, on such an occasion. He was sprung from one of the most illustrious families of *Corinth*, and had on all occasions signalized himself in the defence of his country, against the un- c just pretensions of foreign as well as domestic tyrants. He had an elder brother by name *Timophanes*, whom he tenderly loved, and had saved in a battle by covering him with his own body. But his country was still dearer to him. *Timophanes* was suspected to entertain thoughts of seizing on the sovereignty, which *Timoleon* being informed of, used all possible means to divert him from so wicked an attempt. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that neither kindness, friendship, affection, nor even menaces could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be put to death in his presence by two of his intimate friends. This action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of *Corinth*; but highly blamed by others, who reproached him as an abominable parricide, who would not d fail of drawing the vengeance of the gods upon himself and his country. His mother in the excess of her grief uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to comfort her, she caused the doors to be shut against him, not being able to bear the sight of one who had murdered her son. This struck him with such horror, that, considering *Timophanes* no longer as a tyrant, but only as a brother, he resolved to put an end to his unhappy life by abstaining from all nourishment. But his friends having, with the utmost difficulty, dissuaded him from this fatal resolution, he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for several years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desart places, abandoned to excess- e sive grief and melancholy. After he had passed near twenty years in this condition, he returned to *Corinth*; but lived there quite private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration. As he had by the death of his brother given a remarkable instance of his aversion to tyranny and tyrants, the *Corinthians* chose him as the most proper man to be sent into *Sicily*, which at that time abounded with tyrants above all other countries, there being scarce a city in the whole island, which was not held in slavery by some unjust usurper. It was not without great difficulty that *Timoleon* was prevailed upon to accept the command offered him; but at last, his duty getting the better of his inclination, he complied with the request of his friends, and began to raise forces for the intended expedition [i] (K).

Timoleon sent into Sicily.

IN

h PLUT. in Timol. i PLUT. ibid.

(K) *Diodorus* varies in the circumstances of this fact from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed. He tells us that *Timoleon* having killed his brother in the public market-place with his own hand, a great tumult arose among the citizens, some being of opinion, that he should suffer according to law for having imbrued his hands in the blood of a citizen, and others crying him up as the deliverer of his country, and worthy of the greatest rewards. To appease this tumult an assembly was convened, and the case of *Timoleon* taken into consideration. In the height of the debates the *Syracusan* embassadors arrived, demanding a general to command their forces. Whereupon they unanimously agreed to send *Timoleon* into *Sicily*; but let him first know, that if he discharged with fidelity the trust reposed in him, he

a In the mean time *Icetas*, who intended to poſſeſs himſelf of *Syracuſe*, under colour of aſſiſting the inhabitants againſt *Dionyſius*, foreſeeing, that *Timoleon* would defeat his meaſures, diſpatched embaſſadors to the *Corinthians*, acquainting them, that the *Carthaginians*, appriſed of their deſign, were waiting to intercept their ſquadron with a great fleet; and that their ſlowneſs in ſending him ſuccours had obliged him to call in even the *Carthaginians* to his aid, and employ them againſt the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any farther levies, or exhauſting their treaſures in great but uſeleſs expences, ſince he could, with the aſſiſtance of his allies the *Carthaginians*, drive out *Dionyſius*, and reſtore *Syracuſe* to its ancient liberty. The ſpeech of the embaſſadors, and the letters which they delivered from *Icetas*, only ſerved to
b haſten the departure of *Timoleon*, who was now fully convinced, that *Icetas* acted treacherouſly and aſpired at the ſovereignty. He therefore immediately imbarqued his men, who were in all but a thouſand, on board ten gallies, and putting to ſea arrived ſafe on the coaſt of *Italy* (L.); where news was brought him, that *Icetas* had defeated *Dionyſius*, and, having made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. At the ſame time *Timoleon* was informed, that *Icetas* had given orders to the *Carthaginians* to prevent his approach, and deſtroy his ſquadron aſſoon as it appeared on the coaſts of *Sicily*. This gave him great uneaſineſs; however, he advanced with his ſmall fleet to *Rhegium*, where he found embaſſadors from *Icetas*, who were charged to acquaint him, that
c he ſhould be kindly received at *Syracuſe*, provided he diſmiſſed his troops; but otherwiſe the *Syracuſans*, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into their city. At the ſame time twenty *Carthaginian* gallies arrived in the port of *Rhegium*, ſent by *Icetas* to prevent the *Corinthians* from approaching *Syracuſe*. In this nice conjuncture *Timoleon* demanded a conference with the embaſſadors and the chief commanders of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, in the preſence of the people of *Rhegium*. He pretended to be willing to return home, but ſaid, that he would firſt hear the *Rhegians*, and do it by their advice, that he might on his return to *Corinth*, have wherewithal to juſtify his conduct. The magiſtrates of *Rhegium* were of intelligence with him, and deſired nothing more than to ſee the *Corinthians* in poſſeſſion
d of *Sicily*. They ſummoned therefore an aſſembly, and ſhut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themſelves only to the affair in hand.

Timoleon *deludes the* Carthaginians *and arrives in* Sicily.

The aſſembly being met, long ſpeeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, on purpoſe to gain time. While the *Carthaginians* were buſy in the council, nine *Corinthian* gallies, according to the orders they had received from *Timoleon*, ſet ſail, and were ſuffered to paſs, the *Carthaginians* believing their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who were in the city. When *Timoleon* was privately informed that his gallies were at ſea, he ſlipt out of the aſſembly, and making to the gally that was left, imbarqued and
e rejoined the reſt of his ſquadron. The *Carthaginians*, thus deluded, purſued him; but as he had got far before them, the aſſembly not having broke up till it was dark, he arrived ſafe at *Taurominium*.

Icetas *defeated by* Timoleon.

Upon the unexpected news of *Timoleon*'s arrival in *Sicily*, *Icetas* put the *Carthaginians*, who had a fleet of an hundred and fifty gallies, in poſſeſſion of the harbour of *Syracuſe*, and diſpatched an expreſs to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, deſiring him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time *Timoleon*, leaving *Taurominium*, marched to *Adranum*, where he attacked a *Carthaginian* detachment commanded by *Icetas* in perſon, and put them to flight, though they were above four times his number. As victory naturally begets friends, not
f only *Adranum*, but ſeveral other cities opened their gates to *Timoleon*, and joined him with all their forces. So that he now boldly advanced to the relief of *Syracuſe*. On his

he ſhould be treated as one who had killed a tyrant; but if he did not anſwer their expectation, he ſhould on his return be condemned as the murderer of his brother (37).

(L) *Diodorus* tells us, that, during the whole time *Timoleon* was at ſea, a light, like a burning torch, went before him in the night, till the fleet arrived ſafe on the coaſts of *Italy*; and adds, that before he ſet ſail, he had been told by the prieſts of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, that the goddeſſes had appeared to them, and promiſed to ſail along with him to the iſland that was conſecrated in a peculiar manner to them. This greatly encouraged *Timoleon*, who conſecrated the beſt galley of his ſquadron to the goddeſſes, calling it *the ſacred ſhip of Ceres and Proſerpine* (38).

(37) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi. c. 10. (38) *Idem, ibid.*

his arrival he found the *Syracusans* in a most deplorable condition, *Icetas* being master of the city, the *Carthaginians* of the port, and *Dionysius* of the citadel. The latter, seeing himself besieged on all sides without any hopes of relief, sent privately embassadors to *Timoleon*, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would suffer him to retire unmolested. *Timoleon*, taking the advantage of such an offer, willingly agreed to the terms, and detached *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, with four hundred men, to take possession of that important place. *Dionysius* received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike stores and provisions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with seventy thousand compleat suits of armour, and two thousand regular troops, which *Timoleon* incorporated among his *Corinthians*. After this *Dionysius*, taking with him some of his friends and part of his treasures, imbarked on a small vessel, and repaired, unperceived by the troops of *Icetas*, to the camp of *Timoleon*. There he appeared for the first time as a private man and a suppliant, after he had been, near twelve years, lord of one of the most wealthy kingdoms then known. *Timoleon* sent him to *Corinth* with one galley only and without a convoy; however, he escaped the *Carthaginian* vessels, which lay in wait for him, and arrived safe. He was at first greatly pitied by the *Corinthians*, but his manner of life soon changed their compassion into contempt. He passed whole days in perfumers shops, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them on the rules of music and the harmony of airs. Some believed, that he behaved thus out of policy, not to give umbrage to the *Corinthians*, or betray any thought of recovering his dominions. Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty, to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a school at *Corinth*, where, says *Tully* [k], he exercised that tyranny over children, which he could no longer practice over men. *Dionysius*, thus reduced to beggary, and of a powerful king become a contemptible school-master, ought to warn all persons in exalted stations not to rely too much on prosperity, or think the gifts of fortune, as *Valerius Maximus* expresses it, entailed upon any of the human race [l]. *Philip* king of *Macedon*, meeting one day *Dionysius* in the streets at *Corinth*, asked him, how he came to lose so powerful a kingdom as had been left him by his father; *Dionysius* answered, that his father indeed had left him a rich kingdom, but not the fortune, which had preserved both him and his kingdom [m].

a b c d

Dionysius *surrenders himself to* Timoleon.

Icetas *besieges the citadel of* Syracuse.

But to return to *Syracuse*; after the retreat of *Dionysius*, *Icetas* laid siege to the citadel, which was defended only by four hundred *Corinthians* left there by *Timoleon*, under the command of one *Leon*, an experienced and brave officer. *Timoleon*, who had withdrawn to *Catana*, sent the garison frequent supplies of provisions; but they were for the most part intercepted by *Icetas*, who kept the place closely blocked up on all sides. When they were reduced to the last extremity, *Timoleon* found means to relieve them by conveying into the place, in spite of all opposition, a great quantity of corn. Whereupon *Icetas* and *Mago*, being well apprised, that they could not become masters of the citadel so long as *Timoleon* was in that neighbourhood, resolved to leave part of the army in *Syracuse*, and with the rest either drive *Timoleon* from *Catana*, or block him up in that city. They were scarce gone, when *Leon*, who commanded in the citadel, observing that those, who were left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden sally, killed a great many of them, put the rest to flight, and having possessed himself of the quarter of the city called *Acradina*, fortified it, and by works of communication joined it to the citadel. This bad news soon brought back *Mago* and *Icetas*, but they could not drive the enemy from *Acradina*. In the mean time a supply of two thousand foot and two hundred horse sent from *Corinth* landed safe in *Sicily*, having deceived the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* squadron posted to intercept them. *Timoleon*, encouraged with this new reinforcement, marched against *Messana*, and having made himself master of that city, advanced to *Syracuse*. As he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries into the enemy's camp, and artfully spread among the *Syracusans* and other *Greeks*, who served under *Icetas* and *Mago*, that *Timoleon*'s only design was to restore them to their ancient liberty, that it was shameful for *Greeks* to fight under the standards of a tyrant, and that if they joined *Timoleon*, the war would be soon at an end, and not only peace but liberty restored to the whole island. Such discourses being spread through the whole camp, and even reaching

e f

Mago's

[k] Cic. Tus. Quæst. l. iii. [l] Val. Max. l. vi. [m] Demet. Phaler de Eloc. 11. l. viii.

a *Mago*'s ears, whoſe army was moſtly compoſed of mercenary *Greeks*, that general began to be very uneaſy, and as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he gave out that his forces were going to betray him, and, without hearkening to the entreaties and warm remonſtrances of *Icetas*, he weighed anchor and ſet ſail for *Africa*, ſhamefully abandoning the conqueſt of *Sicily*. On his arrival in *Carthage* he laid violent hands on himſelf, to prevent the puniſhment which his cowardice deſerved [n].

Mago *returns to* Carthage.

Timoleon *maſter of* Syracuſe.

The next day *Timoleon* appeared before the city with his army in line of battle, and aſſaulted it in three different quarters with ſuch vigour, that the troops of *Icetas* were every-where driven from the walls, and that part of the city which they held taken by ſtorm. *Timoleon* no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, and all the
b forts which had been built by the tyrants, but he cauſed a proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, inviting all the citizens to come the next day with neceſſary tools, and demoliſh with their own hands the citadel and other caſtles, which he called the *neſts of tyrants*. The *Syracuſans*, looking upon that day as the firſt of their true liberty, crowded in multitudes to the citadel, which they ſoon demoliſhed together with the forts and the tyrants palaces, breaking open at the ſame time their tombs, and overturning every monument of tyranny. The citadel being quite razed, *Timoleon* cauſed public edifices to be erected, in the ſpot where it ſtood, for the adminiſtration of juſtice. He found the city in a moſt miſerable condition, for many having periſhed in the wars and ſeditions, and others fled to avoid the evils
c attending tyranny, that once ſo wealthy and populous place was become almoſt a deſart; inſomuch, that the horſes grazed on the graſs that grew in the very market-place. The other cities of *Sicily* were in the ſame manner abandoned and deſolate. *Timoleon* therefore wrote to *Corinth*, deſiring the magiſtrates to ſend a new colony to repeople *Syracuſe*, which could no otherwiſe recover its former ſplendor. The *Corinthians*, pitying the ſad condition of a city, which they themſelves had founded, ſent to all the ſacred games of *Greece* and public aſſemblies, and cauſed proclamations to be made by heralds, declaring, that the *Corinthians*, having aboliſhed the tyranny of *Syracuſe*, and expelled the tyrants, reſtored *Syracuſe* to its former liberty, and invited all thoſe, who had withdrawn from their native country, to repair thither
d again and take poſſeſſion anew of their lands and eſtates. At the ſame time they diſpatched couriers into *Aſia* and the neighbouring iſlands, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, exhorting them to haſten to *Corinth*, where they ſhould be ſupplied with veſſels, and at the expence of the public conveyed to their own country [o].

Syracuſe *repeopled by the* Corinthians.

When it was publicly known, that *Syracuſe* was delivered from the oppreſſion of tyrants, and that *Corinth* received all the fugitives in order to tranſport them to their native city, great numbers flocked thither from all parts; but as they were not ſufficient to repeople that great city, they intreated the *Corinthians* and other cities of *Greece* to ſpare them ſome of their inhabitants, and their requeſt being granted,
e they imbarqued for *Syracuſe*, being in all above ten thouſand. At the ſame time great multitudes of people from *Italy* and other parts of *Sicily* joined *Timoleon*, who diſtributed the lands among them gratis, but ſold the houſes, and with the money ariſing from the ſale eſtabliſhed a fund for the ſupport of the poor and needy.

Timoleon, having thus raiſed *Syracuſe* in a manner from the grave, undertook the delivery of all *Sicily*, and the extirpating of tyrants and tyranny from the other cities. He began with *Icetas* tyrant of *Leontini*, whom he compelled to renounce his alliance with the *Carthaginians*, demoliſh his forts, and reſign the ſovereignty. *Leptines* tyrant of *Engya* and *Apollonia*, being cloſely beſieged, ſurrendered himſelf to the conqueror, who ſpared his life, and ſent him with ſeveral other tyrants to
f *Corinth*, where he led a private life. Afterwards he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Entella*, and put to death all thoſe who adhered to the *Carthaginians*. The fame of his victories being now ſpread all over the iſland, the *Greek* cities every-where ſubmitted to him, and were by him reſtored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewiſe of the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring to be admitted among his confederates.

Timoleon, having thus cleared *Sicily* of the many tyrants who held the people in ſubjection, and ſet the whole iſland at liberty, returned to *Syracuſe*, where in conjunction with *Cephalus* and *Dionyſius*, two legiſlators ſent from *Corinth*, he inſtituted ſuch

[n] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 11. & 12. Plut. in Timol. [o] Plut. in Timol.

such laws as were most proper for the democracy. Among other wise institutions, a
he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the *Syracusans* called the
Amphipolus of Jupiter Olympius; and the first *Amphipolus* was *Callimenes*. Hence
arose the custom among the *Syracusans* to compute their years by the respective go-
vernments of these magistrates, which custom continued in the time of *Diodorus*
Siculus, that is, in the reign of *Augustus*, above three hundred years after the office
of *Amphipolus* was first introduced [p].

Timoleon *makes war upon the* Carthaginians.

Timoleon, having thus reformed the government of *Syracuse*, and by many wise
laws settled the city in peace and tranquility, began to entertain thoughts of driving
the *Carthaginians* quite out of the island. With this view he sent a strong detach-
ment, under the command of *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus*, into the neighbouring coun- b
tries subject to the *Carthaginians*, enjoining them to plunder all those cities, which
refused to renounce their alliance with *Carthage* and join them. By this means he
got a vast sum of money, which served to pay his soldiers their arrears, and make
the necessary preparations for the war he designed. The *Carthaginians*, suspecting
his design, sent over into *Sicily Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, two experienced commanders,
with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, and a thousand
transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all sorts of pro-
visions. They no sooner landed at *Lilybæum*, but *Timoleon* advanced against him,
though his army consisted only of seven thousand men. On his march one of his
mercenaries, by name *Thracius*, cried out, that *Timoleon* was not in his right senses, c
else with such an handful of men he would never attempt to oppose so numerous
an army, that he was leading them to certain and unavoidable destruction, and
that, if he was not distracted, he could propose nothing else than the sacrificing
of their lives, perhaps because he was not able to pay them their arrears. By this
speech he prevailed upon a thousand of the mercenaries to return to *Syracuse*, and
not follow *Timoleon* in so desperate an expedition. This did not dishearten *Timoleon*,
who, having by fair words and large promises brought back the other mercenaries
to their duty, continued his march to the banks of the river *Cremissus*, where the
enemy was encamped. His unexpected arrival occasioned no small confusion in

The Carthaginians *defeated.*

the *Carthaginian* army, which he improving to his advantage attacked them with d
great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemies forces, who had already
passed the river, were defeated and put to flight, before the rest could come up to
their assistance. But in the mean time the whole army having gained the opposite
bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful; but while the
Carthaginians were fighting with great resolution, and endeavouring to hem in and
surround on all sides *Timoleon*'s small army, there arose on a sudden a violent storm
of hail, thunder, and lightening, which, beating on the faces of the *Carthaginians*,
put them into such confusion, that they were not able to stand their ground any
longer. Assoon as they began to retire, the *Grecks*, encouraging one another
with shouts of joy, pressed them so vigorously, that the whole army was driven e
into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned in that throng and con-
fusion. The *sacred cohort* or *brigade*, as the *Carthaginians* called it, which consisted
of two thousand five hundred citizens of *Carthage*, all men of experienced courage
and valour, fought with great resolution, and stood their ground till they were all
cut off to a man. Of the rest ten thousand were slain, and above fifteen thousand
taken prisoners; all their baggage and provision, with two hundred chariots, a
thousand coats of mail, and ten thousand shields, fell into the enemy's hands, and
were either sent to *Corinth* and there dedicated to *Neptune*, or hung up in the temples
of *Syracuse*. The spoil, which was exceeding rich, and consisted of gold and
silver plate, and other furniture of great value, he divided among the soldiers, f
retaining nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory.

Timoleon after this victory returned to *Syracuse*, where he was received with all
possible demonstrations of joy, and attended to his house by the magistrates and
chief citizens, the people, as he passed through the streets, throwing flowers upon
him, and paying him such honours as were due to heroes or demi-gods. Soon
after his arrival he banished the thousand mercenaries, who had deserted him, or-
dering them to leave *Syracuse* before sun-set. This was all the punishment he in-
flicted upon them [q].

Assoon

[p] PLUT. ibid. & DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 12. [q] PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi supra.

Peace concluded with the Carthaginians

a As soon as the news of this overthrow reached *Carthage*, the people there were seized with such terror, that they immediately dispatched embassadors into *Sicily*, with orders to strike up a peace upon any terms whatsoever. As several new tyrants had already started up and formed a powerful alliance against *Timoleon*, he thought it advisable to conclude a peace with the *Carthaginians*, and turn his arms against those unjust usurpers. A peace was accordingly settled on the following terms: that all the *Greek* cities should be set free; that the river *Halycus*, or, as *Diodorus* calls it, the *Lycus*, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the *Carthaginians* should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to *Syracuse*, with their families and effects; and lastly, that
b *Carthage* should not for the future give any assistance to the tyrants against the *Syracusans*.

Timoleon, having now nothing to fear from the *Carthaginians*, marched against the tyrants, determined to root them quite out of the island. *Icetas* had already taken the field, but was easily routed by *Timeleon*, who, following his victory, made him, his son *Eupolemus*, and the general of his horse prisoners, and put them all to death. His wife and daughter fell likewise into his hands, and were sent to *Syracuse*, where they were sentenced to die, and executed accordingly, the people of *Syracuse* thus revenging the death of *Dion*'s wife and sister, whom *Icetas* had caused to be thrown into the sea, as we have related above. *Mamercus* tyrant of *Catana*,
c *Hippon* tyrant of *Messana*, and all the other tyrants of *Sicily*, met with the like fate, being first overcome by *Timoleon*, and then put to death by those whom they had tyrannically oppressed. Thus *Timoleon*, having intirely purged *Sicily* of the tyrants who had long infested it, given *Syracuse* wise laws, every-where re-established peace and tranquillity, repeopled the cities, and supplied them with means to recover their ancient splendor, resigned his authority to live in retirement. The *Syracusans* had out of gratitude bestowed upon him the best house in the city, and another very magnificent and pleasant one in the country, whither he retired with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from *Corinth*. In this retirement he passed the remainder of his life, enjoying the satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such
d numbers of people, indebted to him for their happiness. He was tried in his old age with a very sensible affliction, which was the loss of his sight. In this condition the *Syracusans* gave him great instances of their gratitude, paying him frequent visits, and carrying all strangers of distinction to visit their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to be examined in the assembly of the people, they never failed to invite him thither, and religiously to follow his advice. He generally came in a chariot, and was attended from the gates of the city to the place of the assembly by the whole city, and reconducted in the same manner beyond the gates with loud shouts and acclamations. He lived in this retirement eight years, and was after his death honoured as a god. He was buried with great pomp and *Timoleon dies.*
e magnificence, the people of *Syracuse* having decreed, that two hundred minas should be laid out on that occasion; but the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered, by every body in honour of his memory, were the chief ornament of his funeral. It was also enacted by a special decree, that annually, on the day of his death, public sports should be celebrated with horse-races and gymnastic games; and that whenever the people of *Syracuse* should be engaged in a war with the *Barbarians*, they should send to *Corinth* for a general[r].

The *Syracusans* enjoyed for the space of twenty years the fruits of *Timoleon*'s victories. But it was impossible that a nation, which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey, should be long free from tumults and sedition. Great disturbances
f daily arising, the citizens were again involved in the same calamities, from which *Timoleon* had with so much trouble delivered them. A new tyrant started up among *The parents of Agathocles.* them, who exceeded all those who had gone before him in cruelty and all other vices. This was *Agathocles*, of whose birth and parentage *Diodorus* gives us the following account. He was the son of one *Carsinus*, who, being banished from *Rhegium* his native city, settled at *Thermæ* in *Sicily*, at that time subject to the *Carthaginians*. There he married a woman of the place, who being troubled with strange dreams, while she was with child of *Agathocles*, imparted them to some *Carthaginians* who were going to *Delphos*, desiring them to consult the oracle in his name about

[r] Plut. & Diodor. ibid

about the child ſhe was big with. The *Carthaginians* complied with her requeſt, a
and the oracle returned this anſwer, that the child would bring dreadful calamities
upon the *Carthaginians* and all *Sicily*. The father, terrified with this prediction,
expoſed the child, aſſoon as it was born, in the open fields, charging one of his
friends to watch it till it died. As the infant continued ſeveral days alive, the per-
ſon placed there to guard it grew weary, and retired home; which the mother
having notice of, immediately repaired to the place, and carrying the child to the
His education. houſe of her brother *Heraclides*, entruſted it with him, calling it after her father's
name *Agathocles*. When he was ſeven years old, *Carſinus* was invited by *Heraclides*
to a ſolemn feaſt and ſacrifice, and on that occaſion ſeeing *Agathocles*, he was greatly
taken with his beauty, for he is ſaid to have been one of the handſomeſt men of his b
age. His wife, laying hold of that opportunity to put him in mind of his ſon,
told him, that the child he had expoſed would have proved as fine a child as that
he ſo much admired, had he not been ſo barbarouſly murdered. At theſe words the
father burſt out in tears, and ſaid that he heartily repented what he had done. Here-
upon the mother ventured to diſcover to him the truth of the whole matter; whereat
he was greatly overjoyed; but ſoon after, out of fear of the *Carthaginians*, removed
with all his family to *Syracuſe*, where, as he was by trade a potter, he brought up
his ſon to the ſame buſineſs. After *Timoleon* had routed the *Carthaginians* on the banks
of the *Cremiſſus*, he promiſed to make all thoſe who ſhould join him free of
Syracuſe; and on this occaſion it was *Carſinus* and his ſon *Agathocles* were inrolled c
among the *Syracuſan* citizens. *Carſinus* died ſoon after; but *Agathocles* being recom-
mended by his beauty to one *Demas*, a rich, but voluptuous and lewd, nobleman of
Syracuſe, he was plentifully ſupplied by him with money and whatever elſe he had
occaſion for. *Demas* was ſoon after created general of the *Agrigentines*, when he
did not forget his favourite, but advanced him to the dignity of a chiliarch, that is,
gave him the command of a thouſand men. He had ſome time before ſerved as a
common ſoldier, and was even then very remarkable for his dexterity in performing
the military evolutions, and the great ſtrength of his body, wearing in the military
exerciſes ſuch heavy armour as no other man in the whole army could bear. After he
was raiſed to the poſt of a chiliarch, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions above d
the other commanders, being quite void of fear, and as ready to expoſe his own life
to the greateſt dangers, as the lives of thoſe he commanded. In the mean time
Demas dying, and leaving his whole eſtate to his wife, *Agathocles* married her, and
His riſe. by that means became at once the moſt wealthy citizen in *Syracuſe*[s].

He was not ſuffered long to enjoy his good fortune in *Syracuſe*, being driven from
thence by *Soſiſtratus*, who, having uſurped the ſupreme power and made himſelf
abſolute maſter of *Syracuſe*, baniſhed all thoſe who gave him any umbrage. *Aga-
thocles* retired to *Italy*, where he had acquired great reputation in the war which the
Crotonians had waged with the *Brutians*. He ſettled at *Crotona*, where he was
kindly entertained; but forgetting the favours ſhewn him by the *Crotonians*, he e
attempted to make himſelf lord of their city, and was on that account obliged to
ſave himſelf by flight from the fury of the incenſed multitude. From *Crotona* he
withdrew to *Tarentum*, but was ſoon driven from that city too, being there con-
victed of the like practices. After this no city would receive him; whereupon,
having got together a band of exiles and robbers, he plundered the country and
lived upon rapine. In the mean time *Soſiſtratus* having croſſed over into *Italy* and laid
ſiege to *Rhegium*, *Agathocles* attacked him unexpectedly, forced his camp, and obliged
him to imbark his men and drop that enterprize. *Soſiſtratus* ſoon after this unſuc-
ceſsful expedition was forced to abdicate the ſovereignty and quit *Syracuſe*. With
him were driven out above ſix hundred of the chief citizens, who were ſuſpected f
by the populace to have formed a deſign of aboliſhing the democrary, and intro-
ducing in its room oligarchy. *Soſiſtratus* and the exiles had recourſe to the *Carthagi-
nians*, who readily eſpouſed their cauſe. Hereupon the *Syracuſans* recalling *Aga-
thocles*, appointed him commander in chief of their forces, which truſt he diſcharged
with more valour than integrity; for having defeated the united forces of *Soſiſtratus*
and the *Carthaginians*, on which occaſion he received ſeven wounds, he began to
exerciſe a ſovereign power over his fellow citizens, and take ſuch meaſures as
plainly ſhewed that he aſpired to the monarchy. Wherefore the *Syracuſans*, not
daring

[s] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. c. 1.

a daring to truſt any of their own citizens, had recourſe anew to the *Corinthians*, who ſent them one *Aceſtorides* to take upon him the command of their forces. *Aceſtorides* was no ſooner veſted with this power, but he formed a deſign of diſpatching *Agathocles*, being ſenſible that *Syracuſe* could never enjoy a perfect tranquility ſo long as *Agathocles* was alive. But, as he was afraid his death might occaſion ſome diſturbance in the city, he commanded him to retire from *Syracuſe* in the cloſe of the evening, and placed on all the roads ſoldiers with private orders to put him to death in the night and bury his body. But *Agathocles*, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, choſe a young man who reſembled him both in ſtature and features, and, having privately delivered to him his horſe, arms, and garment, ſent him before, enjoining him to keep the public road. He was ſcarce out of the gates, when the guards, miſtaking him b for *Agathocles*, killed him and buried the body; nor were they undeceived till news was brought ſome time after, that *Agathocles*, who had eſcaped by private ways, was raiſing troops in the heart of *Sicily*. The *Syracuſans* were not a little alarmed, when they heard, that he was not only alive, but had already got together a conſiderable army, and was preparing to come againſt the city. They therefore ſent embaſſadors to him, and to avoid the evils of a civil war offered to recall him home, provided he diſbanded his forces. *Agathocles* agreed to the propoſal, and on his return being conducted by the citizens to the temple of *Ceres*, he ſwore there, according to cuſtom, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy [t].

The cruelties of Agathocles *in* Syracuſe.

c NOTWITHSTANDING the ſolemn oath he had taken, he no ſooner ſaw himſelf reſtored to his country and eſtate, but he began to court the favour of the populace, and eſpouſe their cauſe againſt the ſenate, which conſiſted of ſix hundred of the chief citizens, with no other view but to ſow diviſions and raiſe new diſturbances, by means of which he hoped to have an opportunity of overturning the government and making himſelf maſter of the city. He pretended to protect the people againſt the oppreſſions and over-grown power of the ſenate, and was on that account, in ſpite of the ſenate, created commander in chief of the forces, which were then raiſing to be ſent againſt the city of *Erbita*, which had revolted from *Syracuſe*. *Agathocles*, ſeeing himſelf again at the head of an army, reſolved to get rid of all thoſe who d were in a condition to thwart his deſigns. Having therefore appointed his troops to meet him early in the morning, at a place near *Syracuſe* called *Timoleontium*, he there told them, that before they employed their arms againſt the inhabitants of *Erbita*, they muſt clear *Syracuſe* of the ſix hundred tyrants, who were far more dangerous enemies than either the inhabitants of *Erbita*, or the *Carthaginians* themſelves; that *Syracuſe* could never enjoy a perfect tranquility ſo long as one of them was left alive; that it was not enough to diſpatch the tyrants, unleſs at the ſame time all thoſe who ſided with them underwent the ſame fate. This was encouraging his ſoldiers, who were, for the moſt part, the ſcum of the populace, to murder the whole body of the nobility at once. For their further encouragement, he gave them e leave to plunder the houſes, and ſeize on all the wealth of thoſe they ſhould put to death. When he had ended his ſpeech, the ſoldiery ſhewed an eager deſire to be led againſt the tyrants, as they called them, and to deliver *Syracuſe* from the oppreſſions it groaned under. *Agathocles* then entering the city, commanded the trumpets to ſound the charge; whereupon the ſoldiers falling upon all thoſe they met with, murdered them without diſtinction of rank, ſex, or age, plundered their houſes, and committed all ſorts of cruelties. In a few hours four thouſand and upwards were killed, and the ſtreets covered with dead bodies. But this was not enough for *Agathocles*; his deſign was not only to diſpatch the nobles, but to leave few of the other citizens alive to oppoſe him. Wherefore, when the ſlaughter was once begun, he f encouraged his men to purſue the bloody maſſacre, giving them free liberty to plunder, raviſh, murder, and commit what enormities they pleaſed for two whole days and nights. The third day he ſummoned an aſſembly of the few who had outlived the general ſlaughter, and told them, that for the violent diſtemper, with which the ſtate had been long affected, he had been obliged to adminiſter a no leſs violent remedy; that he had nothing elſe in view but to reſtore the democracy, and reſcue the city from the cruel oppreſſions of a few tyrannical magiſtrates, and that for the future he would lead a private life free from further cares and toils. This he did to have the crown

[t] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xxii. VAL. MAX. l. vii.

crown placed upon his head, as it were, by force; for he knew, that he had left a none alive fit to govern, and on the other side was well assured, that those who had assisted him in spoiling and murdering their fellow citizens, would never suffer him to resign his authority, having no hopes of impunity but in vesting him with the supreme power, at whose instigation they had committed so many enormities. He therefore had no sooner ended his speech, but they all with one voice proclaimed him king, and decreed, that he should thenceforth govern with an absolute and uncontrolled power [u].

Agathocles proclaimed king.

Being thus raised to the throne, the first law he enacted was, that all former debts should be made void, and the lands equally divided among the rich and the poor. By this unjust decree he gained the affection of the common people, and b so weakened the opposite party, that the very few nobles, who had outlived the general slaughter, were now upon a level with the meanest of the people. *Agathocles*, having thus triumphed over all his enemies, began to change his behaviour, and treat his subjects with a great deal of humanity and moderation, allowing every one to come freely into his presence, and hearing patiently their complaints, which, when it lay in his power, he never failed to redress. He likewise published several wholesome laws, seeking by all means to gain the love of his subjects, that he might be able to turn his arms against the other cities of *Sicily*, having a design to make himself master of the whole island. His subjects seemed disposed to second his ambitious views, which encouraged him to make war first on the neighbouring c states, and afterwards to carry his arms into the very heart of the island, which in the space of two years he brought intirely under subjection, except a few cities that were held by the *Carthaginians* [w].

Reduces the greatest part of Sicily.

When news was brought to *Carthage* of the progress *Agathocles* made in *Sicily*, *Amilcar* was immediately dispatched with a numerous fleet and a mighty army to put a stop to his conquests. The fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, in which *Amilcar* lost sixty ships of war and two hundred transports, with a great number of men. However, being joined on his arrival by such of the *Sicilians* as hated *Agathocles*, his army was in a few days increased to the number of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near the city of *Himera*, d where *Agathocles* attacked him, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches, and cut most of his forces in pieces. But while the *Syracusans* were busy in plundering the camp, a powerful supply arrived unexpectedly from *Carthage*, which revived the courage of those who had fled to such a degree, that they returned to the charge, and finding the *Syracusans* in disorder, attacked them in front, while the new supplies fell on their rear. Thus was the fortune of the day changed, and *Agathocles*, who thought himself sure of the victory, obliged to save himself first in *Gela*, and afterwards within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursued him, and laid close siege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would have put them in possession of the whole island.

Agathocles defeated by the Carthaginians.

Syracuse *besieged.*

e

Agathocles, being reduced to such straits, and abandoned by all his allies in *Sicily* from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, formed a design of so bold, and, in appearance, so impracticable a nature, that nothing but the success, with which it was attended, could justify the undertaking of it. This design was to transfer the war into *Africa*, and besiege *Carthage*, at a time when he himself was besieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in *Sicily*. He communicated his design to no person whatsoever, but only told the *Syracusans* in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the losses they had sustained to that day. He then chose the most daring and intrepid among the soldiers and citizens of *Syracuse*, ordering the f foot to be ready with their arms at the first call, and the horsemen to carry each along with him, besides his arms, a saddle and a bridle. He set at liberty all the slaves, who were able to bear arms, and incorporated them among his troops. Having embarked all his forces, he appointed his brother *Antandrus* governor of *Syracuse*, with forces and provisions sufficient to hold out a long siege, and taking with him his two sons *Archagathus* and *Heraclides*; he went last on board himself. His fleet consisted of sixty gallies, but the *Carthaginian* squadron, far more numerous than his, blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that he was obliged to wait for some

[u] Diodor. Justin. ibid. [w] Idem, ibid.

a ſome favourable opportunity to ſet ſail. After he had attended a long time, and was ready to drop his deſign, a large fleet of tranſports appeared laden with corn and other proviſions for *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe, the *Carthaginians* put to ſea, and *Agathocles* no ſooner ſaw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewiſe hoiſted ſail. The *Carthaginians* at firſt imagined that the enemy's fleet was ſent to defend the tranſports, and therefore tacking about prepared to engage. But *Agathocles* continued his courſe towards *Africa*, being cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*, till night coming on they loſt ſight of him. In the mean time the tranſports, unexpectedly eſcaping the danger, plentifully ſupplied the city with corn and all other proviſions. The *Carthaginian* admiral, finding, that by purſuing two fleets at once

b he had miſſed them both, and that *Agathocles* did not return, reſolved to purſue him cloſe, and to prevent him from kindling the war in ſome other place. Having therefore failed ſix days and ſix nights ſteering his coaſt towards *Africa*, he at laſt came up with the *Syracuſan* fleet and engaged them. But as his men were quite tired out with rowing, the *Syracuſans* gained the victory, and, having diſperſed the enemy's fleet, landed ſafe on the coaſt of *Africa* at a place called *the quarries* [x].

Agathocles *lands in* Africa. *Year of the flood* 2685. *Before Chriſt* 319.

Agathocles, having thus landed his men in the heart of the enemies country, aſſembled his troops, and acquainted them in a few words with his deſign, and the motives which had prompted him to it; he told them, that the only way to divert the enemy from the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, and drive them quite out of *Sicily*, was, to carry

c the war into their own country; that he led men inured to the hardſhips of war againſt an enemy ſoftened and enervated by eaſe and luxury; that the natives of the country, who hated the *Carthaginians*, by whom they were treated rather like ſlaves than allies, would join them on the firſt news of their arrival; that the boldneſs of the attempt would ſtrike the *Carthaginians* with terror, who were altogether unprepared to engage an enemy at the very gates of their metropolis; finally, that from no other enterprize they could reap more advantage and glory than from this, which would put them in poſſeſſion of the whole wealth of *Carthage*, and tranſmit their names and fame to the lateſt poſterity. The ſoldiers fancied themſelves already maſters of *Africa*, and applauded this ſpeech with loud ſhouts of joy and acclama-

d tions. *Agathocles*, finding his ſoldiers ſo well diſpoſed, reſolved to ſet fire to his fleet, and burn all his ſhips except one or two for the carrying of diſpatches. Many reaſons determined him to ſo bold, or, as our hiſtorian calls it, ſo deſperate, an action. He had not one good harbour in *Africa* where his ſhips could lie with ſafety; wherefore as the *Carthaginians* were maſters at ſea, they would not fail to poſſeſs themſelves of his whole fleet, which was no ways in a condition to cope with theirs. As he had but a ſmall army, if he divided it, leaving troops ſufficient to defend the ſhips, he would not be ſtrong enough to encounter the enemy, and thereby be deprived of all the advantages of this unexpected diverſion. But what chiefly inſpired him with this reſolution was, that, the fleet being once deſtroyed, his men would be under

e a neceſſity of conquering, having no other hopes of ſafety remaining, ſave only in victory. Having therefore gained over before-hand ſuch of the officers as were entirely at his devotion, he aſſembled the ſoldiery, and appeared among them in his royal robes with a crown on his head, as if he were going to perform ſome religious ceremony. Then addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, he told them, that when they left *Syracuſe*, and were warmly purſued by the enemy, in that fatal danger he applied himſelf to *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, the tutelar goddeſſes of *Sicily*, and promiſed to burn all the veſſels of the fleet in their honour, if they delivered them from the enemy, and helped them to land ſafe in *Africa*. Aid me therefore, O fellow ſoldiers, ſaid he, to diſcharge this vow, for the goddeſſes can eaſily make us amends for this

f ſacrifice. Having uttered theſe words, he took a torch in his hand and led the way, flying on board his own ſhip, and ſetting it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the ſoldiers. The trumpets ſounded from every quarter, and the whole ſhore ecchoed with joyful ſhouts and loud acclamations. The ſoldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on what they were doing, being hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardor; but when they had leiſure to weigh every particular, and were appriſed of the danger they were in, being ſeparated from their own country, by the vaſt ocean, and in the midſt of the enemy's, without the leaſt hopes or means of eſcaping, a ſad and melancholy ſilence ſucceeded that

Burns his ſhips.

tranſport

x Diodorus. l. xx. c 1. Justin. l. xxii.

tranſport of joy and thoſe acclamations, which, but a moment before, had been ſo general in the army [y]. a

Here again *Agathocles* left no time for reflection, but to raiſe again the drooping ſpirits of his ſoldiers, he led them againſt an important place called the *Great City*, which was ſubject to *Carthage*. The country through which they marched offered the moſt agreeable proſpect imaginable. On either ſide was ſpacious meadows, covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houſes, built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues, planted with all ſorts of fruit-trees, delicious gardens, of a prodigious extent, and kept with all poſſible care and elegance. *&c.* This proſpect re-animated the ſoldiers, who were again willing to run any danger in hopes of obtaining ſo pleaſant and wealthy a country as a reward of their toils and labour. b
They marched full of courage to the *Great City*, took it by ſtorm, and enriched themſelves with the plunder, which was entirely abandoned to them. Thence they advanced to *Tunis*, which they likewiſe took ſword in hand and plundered. The ſoldiers were for gariſoning theſe two cities, that they might have ſome place to retire to in caſe of any misfortune; but *Agathocles*, that they might have no hopes of ſafety but in victory, cauſed them both to be levelled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields [z].

In the mean time the news of this unexpected deſcent, reaching *Carthage*, threw the whole city into the utmoſt terror and confuſion. They all concluded, that their army before *Syracuſe* was entirely cut off and their fleet loſt. The people haſten- c
ed with trembling hearts to the market place, while the ſenate aſſembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might ſave the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to beſiege. They had no army in readineſs to make head againſt the enemy, and their preſent danger did not allow them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. It was therefore reſolved after long debates, that the citizens ſhould be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, with two hundred armed chariots. They appointed *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* to command the forces, notwithſtanding the ancient grudges that ſtill ſubſiſted between their families, hoping, that they would ſtrive to outvie one another in the defence of their common d
country, and by that means turn their private quarrels to the public advantage. The generals immediately took the field, and, poſſeſſing themſelves of an eminence not far from the enemy, drew up their troops in battle array. *Agathocles* had only fourteen thouſand men, and was therefore not a little ſurprized when he ſaw ſo numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he diſſembled his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite diſpirited and under great apprehenſions of the enemies horſe and chariots, he let out ſeveral owls, which he had before prepared for that purpoſe. Theſe, flying about the camp and lighting on the ſoldiers ſhields, ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that of their own accord they began to advance againſt the enemy, not doubting, but by the aſſiſtance of *Minerva*, to whom that bird e
was ſacred, and therefore looked upon by all the *Greeks* as a good omen, they ſhould gain a complete victory. *Agathocles* willingly ſeconded their ardor, and putting himſelf at their head charged the *Carthaginians* with incredible vigor. *Hanno* with *the ſacred cohort*, which conſiſted of the flower of the troops, ſuſtained a long time the fury of the *Greeks*, and even put them in diſorder, but being overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and covered with wounds, he fell fighting bravely to the laſt. *Bomilcar*, underſtanding that his rival was ſlain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity of poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty, to which he had long aſpired. But, as he was ſenſible that he could not accompliſh his deſign, if the army of *Agathocles* were deſtroyed, but might eaſily put it in exe- f
cution if the enemy conquered, he reſolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting, but he ſhould be able to get the better of *Agathocles* whenever he pleaſed. Accordingly acquainting his men with *Hanno*'s death, he ordered them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to eſcape the fury of the victorious enemy. But as their retreat looked like a flight, the *Greeks* purſued them ſo cloſe, that they put them in diſorder, and gained a compleat victory. *The ſacred cohort* fought with great bravery, even after the death of *Hanno*, and couragiouſly advanced over the dead bodies

The Carthaginians *defeated by the treachery of* Bomilcar.

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Justin. l. 22. [z] Idem, ibid. Oros. l. 4. c. 6. Polyb. l. 22. Athen. l. 3. c. 2.

a bodies of their fellow ſoldiers, till they ſaw themſelves abandoned by the whole army; and in danger of being ſurrounded by the enemy. They then retired in good order, and gained an eminence, where they halted, and anew made head againſt thoſe who purſued them; but, not being ſupported by *Bomilcar*, they were either cut off, or forced to ſave themſelves by flight, after having diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner. Two hundred *Greeks* were ſlain in this battle, and a thouſand, or according to ſome ſix thouſand, *Carthaginians*; ſo that the ſlaughter on neither ſide was conſiderable. *Agathocles*, after having purſued the enemy ſome time, returned and allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the *Carthaginian* camp, where they found twenty thouſand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided, not doubting
b but they ſhould take many priſoners [a].

The *Carthaginians*, now giving all up for loſt, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, with the news of what happened in *Africa*, and expreſs orders to haſten over to the relief of his country. When the meſſengers arrived, *Hamilcar* commanded them not once to mention the victory of *Agathocles*; but on the contrary to noiſe it abroad in the camp, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet taken by the *Carthaginians*. The ſenate of *Carthage* had ſent to *Hamilcar* by the meſſengers all the beaks of the *Syracuſan* ſhips, that this report might more eaſily gain credit, for it was by their orders that he had cauſed it to be ſpread abroad. *Hamilcar* therefore immediately diſpatched embaſ-
c ſadors to *Syracuſe* with the beaks of the ſhips, ſummoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, ſince their army and fleet in *Africa* were utterly deſtroyed. This ſad news was commonly believed, and the whole city thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. But the leading men, to prevent the miſchiefs that might attend ſo general a conſternation, not only diſmiſſed the meſſengers without any anſwer, but drove out eight thouſand of their citizens, who ſeemed inclined to capitulate with the enemy. *Hamilcar* entertained the exiles with great kindneſs, and underſtanding from them the miſerable condition the city was in, he reſolved to aſſault it on all quarters at once, but firſt ſent new deputies, promiſing to ſpare *Antandrus* and all thoſe who ſided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a
d council of war was ſummoned, when *Antandrus*, who was very unlike his brother, was for capitulating: But *Eurymnon* the *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left to aſſiſt his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the reſt to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. The aſſembly was ſcarce diſmiſſed, when a galley with thirty oars arrived from *Africa*, and brought the agreeable news of *Agathocles*'s victory, which immediately flew through the city, and reſtored life and reſolution to the inhabitants. *Hamilcar* made a laſt effort to ſtorm the city, but being repulſed with loſs, he raiſed the ſiege, and ſent five thouſand men to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. All his forces he thought it needleſs to ſend, and ſtill
e entertained hopes of obliging *Agathocles* to quit *Africa* and return to the defence of his own kingdom. He ſpent ſome time in reducing ſuch cities as ſided with the *Syracuſans*, and, after having brought all their allies under ſubjection, he returned again to *Syracuſe*, hoping to ſurpriſe the city by attacking it in the night. But the *Syracuſans*, having timely notice of his deſign, made a ſally unexpectedly, routed his army, which was an hundred and twenty thouſand men ſtrong, and took *Hamilcar* himſelf priſoner. We are told, that *Hamilcar* dreamt the night before that he ſhould ſup the next day in *Syracuſe*: his dream proved true, but the entertainment he met with was not much to his ſatisfaction; for thoſe, whoſe parents and relations he had barbarouſly murdered, led him in chains about all the ſtreets of the city, and after having vented their rage on their miſerable captive by all ſorts of torments, ſtruck off his
f head and ſent it into *Africa*, a welcome preſent to *Agathocles*, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and ſhewing them the head of their general, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that their commanders, with the utmoſt difficulty, kept them from abandoning the camp and returning to *Carthage* [b].

The Carthaginians defeated in Sicily, and Hamilcar killed.

Agathocles had already reduced all the cities ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, and was preparing to beſiege *Carthage* itſelf. But, before he ventured upon ſo difficult and hazardous an enterprize, he ſent embaſſadors to all the princes of *Africa*, inviting them to join in the common cauſe, and lend him their aſſiſtance in overturning that imperious

[a] Diodor. & Juſtin. ibid. [b] Idem, ibid.

imperious republic, which, with so much haughtiness, lorded it over them. His chief design was to gain over *Ophellas* prince of the *Cyreneans*, who had been one of *Alexander*'s captains, and at that time had on foot an army of ten thousand regular troops, and was contriving how he might enlarge his dominions. The embassadors sent to him were charged to flatter his ambition, by promising him, in their master's name, the sovereignty of all *Africa*, which *Agathocles* had invaded with no other view but to oblige the *Carthaginians* to quit *Sicily*. *Ophellas* allured by this promise set out at the head of twenty thousand men, and after two months march, mostly through sandy deserts, joined at last *Agathocles*. As that prince did not scruple to commit the most enormous crimes to promote his interest, *Ophellas* had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than by the blackest perfidy he caused him to be murdered, and by fair words and large promises prevailed upon his army, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him, and be entirely at his devotion. Such of the *Cyreneans* as he found unfit to bear arms, for many of them had brought along with them their wives and children, he put on board some transports and sent them to *Syracuse*, where few of them arrived, most of the ships being cast away near the *Pithecusan* islands. *Agathocles* seeing himself now at the head of a numerous army assumed the title of king of *Africa*, and as *Carthage* was the only city which still held out, he invested it on all sides, with a design to reduce it by famine [c].

Agathocles returns to Sicily.

While he was lying before *Carthage*, news was brought him, that, after the defeat of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* and death of *Hamilcar*, most of the cities, whether subject to the *Carthaginians* or *Syracusans*, had taken up arms, and entered into an association in defence of their liberties. As his affairs in *Africa* were in a very flourishing condition, he thought he might safely return for a while into *Sicily*. Having therefore built some open vessels with fifty oars apiece, and put two thousand men on board, he set sail for *Sicily*, leaving his son *Archagathus* commander in chief of his *African* army. The fame of his victories flew before him, and the news of his arrival struck the confederates with such terror, that many cities submitted of their own accord; others were reduced by dint of arms, and in a short time the whole island, except some few cities subject to the *Carthaginians*, acknowledged the sovereignty of *Agathocles*.

Sets sail again for Africa.

Having thus settled affairs in *Sicily*, he returned to *Africa*, where he found the face of things quite changed by his absence. His son *Archagathus* had lost a battle, and his army was ready to revolt for want of provisions; the *Carthaginians* had recovered their courage, and were encamped in an advantagious post, whence it was no easy matter to dislodge them; all the avenues to the enemy's camp were guarded by strong detachments, and no pass was left open for the conveying of provisions to *Agathocles*'s army, which was already in the utmost distress. In this critical juncture *Agathocles* attacked the enemy's camp, but was repulsed with the loss of three thousand men.

Is defeated.

After this unsuccessful attempt, all the *Africans* in his army deserted him. Whereupon, not having a sufficient force to contend with the *Carthaginians*, he resolved to leave *Africa*. But as he could not possibly transport his army, both for want of ships and because the *Carthaginians* were masters at sea, he determined to slip away privately, taking along with him only a few of his friends and his younger son *Heraclides*; for as *Archagathus* was a daring young man, he had always entertained some jealousy of him. But *Archagathus*, being apprised of his design, discovered it to the officers and commanders of the army, and these to the soldiery, who, immediately running to their arms, seized on *Agathocles* and committed him to custody. The army being now without a head, there was nothing in the camp but tumult and confusion. The ensuing night a report being spread, that the enemy was advancing to attack them, they were all seized with a panic fear, and having none to command them, every one was preparing to save himself by flight, though they knew not whither to fly. In this confusion *Agathocles* with a small attendance

Deserts his army in Africa.

stole away, and embarking on board a small vessel put to sea, leaving his children to the wild fury of the disappointed soldiers, who immediately putting his two sons to death, chose leaders from among themselves, and concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians*, upon the following terms: That the *Greeks* should deliver up all the places they held in *Africa*, receiving for them three hundred talents; that such of them as were willing to serve under the *Carthaginians* should be kindly treated and receive

[c] Diodor. l. 20. c. 3. Justin. l. 22.

a receive the uſual pay; that the reſt ſhould be tranſported to *Sicily*, and have the city of *Selinus* for their habitation. Theſe articles were agreed to and punctually obſerved by the *Carthaginians*. Our hiſtorian obſerves, that *Agathocles* loſt both his army and his children the ſame month, and the ſame day of the month, on which he treacherouſly murdered *Ophellas* and brought over to himſelf his army [d].

Cruelties in Sicily.

Agathocles was no ſooner landed in *Sicily*, but ſending for part of his forces he marched againſt the *Egeſtines*, who had revolted in his abſence, and having taken the town by ſtorm, he put all the inhabitants to death, without diſtinction of ſex or age. The nobles he cauſed to be firſt tortured with the moſt exquiſite torments rage or malice could invent. When news was brought him of the death of his children b in *Africa*, he ordered his brother *Antandrus*, governor of *Syracuſe*, to put all thoſe to death who were any ways related to ſuch of the *Syracuſans* as had attended him in the *Carthaginian* expedition. His orders were put in execution with ſuch cruelty, that the ſea was died a great way with blood. Such an inhuman butchery had never before been heard of even in *Sicily*, all thoſe who were related to any of the *African* army, from the great grand-father to the ſucking child, being barbarouſly murdered by the tyrant's orders [e].

THIS inhuman cruelty raiſed him many enemies, who joining *Dinocrates*, whom the tyrant had baniſhed, reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was fain to court the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*, and purchaſe a peace with them at a very dear c rate, for he reſtored to them all the cities which they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Sicily*. He even ſent embaſſadors to *Dinocrates*, offering to reſign the ſovereignty, provided two ſtrong holds, which he named, were left in his hands for the greater ſecurity of his perſon. Theſe propoſals were rejected by *Dinocrates*, who aſpired himſelf to the ſupreme power, and had then under his command above twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, which he muſt have diſbanded, and ſubmitted to the democracy, if *Agathocles* had abdicated the tyranny. *Agathocles*, finding he could not upon any terms obtain a peace, reſolved to put all to the iſſue of a battle, and attacking *Dinocrates* in his camp put him to flight, and gained a complete victory with five thouſand foot only and eight hundred horſe. The remains d of the ſhattered army retired to a neighbouring eminence, whence they ſent deputies to capitulate with the conqueror, who promiſed to ſpare their lives, provided they delivered up their arms. But they were no ſooner diſarmed, than the tyrant cauſed them to be hemmed in, and all to a man put to the ſword. As for *Dinocrates*, who was a man of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf, he received him into his friendſhip, and ever after entruſted him with his moſt weighty affairs. After this victory, *Agathocles* in two years time brought the whole iſland under ſubjection, ſave thoſe cities only, which by the late treaty he had reſtored to the *Carthaginians* [f].

Agathocles, having nothing more to do in *Sicily*, paſſed over into *Italy*, where he ſubdued the *Brutii*, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From *Italy* he paſſed over to the *Lipari* iſlands, and obliged the inhabitants, who lived e in perfect peace and ſecurity, to pay him an hundred talents of gold. After he had received this ſum, which was all they had, he plundered the ſacred treaſure, ſtripp'd the temples, and then ſet ſail for *Syracuſe*, with eleven ſhips laden with the gold and ſpoils of the temples. But, a violent ſtorm ariſing, all the veſſels were caſt away, except one galley, on which he himſelf eſcaped to ſuffer a more miſerable end. He was poiſoned by one *Mænon*, whom he had unnaturally abuſed, at the inſtigation of his grandſon *Archagathus*. It was the tyrant's cuſtom always after his meals to prick his teeth with a quill, which *Mænon* having dipp'd in poiſon, his teeth and gums putrified, and his whole body was tortured with moſt racking pains, f in the height of which he was hurried away to the funeral pile and burnt, while he was ſtill alive, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign and ninety-fifth of his age. He was a man of great boldneſs and reſolution, but of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper; for he is ſaid to have put more perſons to death in the three laſt years of his life, than all the tyrants before him during the whole time of their reſpective reigns. He never forgot his mean extraction, but rather gloried in the contemptible calling of a potter, which he had followed in his youth, ſaying, that it ſet off with more luſtre the high ſtation to which his own valor had advanced him; nay, even in public

His death.

[d] DIODOR. l. 20. c. 3. ÆLIAN. var. Hiſt. l. 2. [e] Idem, ibid. [f] Idem, ibid. JUSTIN. l. 22. OROSIUS. l. 7. c. 6.

public entertainments, while his guests were served in gold and silver plate, he used to eat in earthen ware, saying, that though he wore a diadem, yet he was still a potter (M). From the meanness of his condition *Polybius* endeavours to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to *Timæus*, who tells us, that his rise was entirely owing to fortune, and not to any parts of his own. *Scipio Africanus* agrees with *Polybius*; for that illustrious *Roman* being asked, who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs, answered, *Agathocles* and *Dionysius* the elder [g]. The descent of *Agathocles* into *Africa* prompted *Scipio* to make the same attempt, wherefore in his answer to *Fabius*, who did not approve of his design, he did not forget to mention *Agathocles* as an instance in favour of his enterprize, and to shew, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, but by carrying the war into his country. But how great soever *Agathocles*'s parts may have been, they were far exceeded by his cruelties, which have rendered his memory execrable, and obscured the glory of his greatest conquests.

Messana *seized by the* Mamertini.

It was after the death of *Agathocles*, that the *Mamertini* treacherously seized on *Messana*, and by degrees possessed themselves of a considerable part of the island. According to the *Latin* writers the *Mamertini* were originally *Campani*, and assumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is, *invincible warriors*, from the word *Mamers* or *Mavors*, signifying *Mars the god of war*. As they were a bold and resolute nation, they were invited into *Sicily* by *Agathocles* to assist him in his conquests. But being disbanded after his death they retired to *Messana*, with a design to return into their own country. The inhabitants of *Messana* admitted them into the city, and entertained them with great kindness, which was ill requited by them; for being charmed with an habitation, which greatly resembled their native country, they resolved to settle there, seize on the city, and form themselves into a republic. Accordingly they fell unexpectedly upon the antient inhabitants, put all the men to the sword, and married their wives and daughters. Being masters of the city, they not only maintained themselves in their usurpation, but reduced most of the neighbouring states, and extended their dominions to the middle of the island. *Sicily* was at that time a prey to numberless tyrants, and the *Mamertini* were powerfully assisted by the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, where a *Roman* legion had settled, by following their example in murdering the citizens who had called them to their assistance.

The distracted state of Syracuse.

But to return to *Syracuse*; that unfortunate city underwent many revolutions after the death of *Agathocles*. *Mænon*, who had poisoned him, usurped the supreme authority, but being driven out by *Hycetas* he had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, which gave rise to a new war, wherein *Hycetas* having gained several victories over the joint forces of *Mænon* and the *Carthaginians*, he at last seized on that authority of which he had deprived his rival, and governed *Syracuse* with an absolute sway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himself with that of prætor. In the ninth year of his command, the *Agrigentines* having revolted, he left *Syracuse* and marched out against *Phintias*, who was at the head of the rebels and *Syracusan* exiles. In his absence one *Tænion* possessed himself of the sovereign power, but being opposed by *Sosistrates*, who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city; *Tænion* held the island, and his rival the other quarters of the city. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, taking advantage of these divisions, reduced most of the cities subject to *Syracuse*, and invested that capital itself with a mighty fleet and an army of fifty thousand men. A regard therefore to common good united the two competitors *Tænion* and *Sosistrates*. They were tired of a war, which could only end in their common ruin, and therefore joined together in inviting *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to put an end to the troubles, which threatened the

Pyrrhus *invited into* Sicily.

[g] Polyb. l. 15.

(M) This is elegantly expressed by *Ausonius* in the following verses.

Fama est fictilibus cœnasse Agathoclea regem
Atque abacum Samio sæpe oneravisse luto.
Fercula gemmatis cum poneret horrida vasis,
Et misceret opes pauperiemque simul,
Quærenti causam respondit, Rex ego qui sum
Sicaniæ, figulo sum genitore satus.
Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque repente
Dives ab exili progrediere loco.

a the ſtate with utter deſtruction. Many reaſons prompted them to have recourſe to *Pyrrhus*, rather than to any other of the many ſovereigns, who reigned at that time in *Europe* and *Aſia*. *Pyrrhus* had married *Laneſſa* the daughter of *Agathocles*, and had by her a ſon, whom the *Syracuſians* thought it reaſonable to place on the throne of his grandfather, ſince they could not by any other means rid themſelves of their domeſtic tyrants. Beſides, he had already given ſignal proofs of his courage, and therefore ſeemed the beſt qualified of any to make head againſt the *Carthaginians*, and ſtop the great progreſs they were making towards the reduction of the whole iſland. The *Leontines* and *Agrigentines* joined with *Tænion* and *Soſiſtrates* in preſſing the king of *Epirus* to come and take upon him the defence of their reſpective ſtates,
b offering to deliver up the cities into his hands. *Pyrrhus*, who wanted but an honourable pretence to withdraw from *Italy*, where he was engaged in a war with the *Romans*, willingly complied with the requeſt of the *Sicilians*, and, leaving a ſtrong gariſon in *Tarentum*, imbarqued for *Sicily*, where he landed among the acclamations of a numberleſs multitude, which on the news of his approach had flocked to ſee him. *Tænion* and *Soſiſtrates* immediately put him in poſſeſſion of the city, the fleet, and public treaſure. All the cities on that coaſt followed the example of *Syracuſe*, the name of *Pyrrhus* reſounding every-where, as if victory had landed with him. His inſinuating and affable behaviour at firſt arrival gained him the hearts of all the *Sicilians*; and as he had an army of thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, *His conqueſt.*
c with a fleet of two hundred ſail, he drove the *Carthaginians* from place to place, till he diveſted them of all their acquiſitions in the iſland, except the two important places of *Eryx* and *Lilybæum*. The former he took by aſſault, and was himſelf the firſt man who mounted the wall, after having killed a great many of the *Africans* with his own hand. The *Mamertini* likewiſe felt the effects of his courage, being defeated by him in a pitched battle, driven from all the places they poſſeſſed, and ſhut up within the walls of *Meſſana*. The *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the rapidity of his conqueſt, ſent embaſſadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantagious terms; but he, puffed up with his great ſucceſs, anſwered them, that the only means to obtain what they deſired was, to abandon *Sicily*, and let the *Lybian*
d ſea be the boundary between *Carthage* and *Greece*. He depended ſo much on the reduction of the whole iſland, that he ſtiled his ſon by the daughter of *Agathocles* king of *Sicily*, and cauſed him to be acknowledged as ſuch by the *Syracuſians* and their confederates. Having thus put his ſon in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Sicily*, he began to entertain thoughts of paſſing over into *Africa*, and making war on the *Carthaginians* in their own territories, though they were ſtill maſters of *Lilybæum*, which was a key to the whole iſland. This deſign was no-ways agreeable to the *Si-*
cilians, who were ſenſible, that they could not enjoy a perfect tranquillity, ſo long as the *Carthaginians* had any footing in the iſland. Beſides, *Meſſana* was ſtill in the hands
e of the *Mamertini*, who, as they were a warlike people, would not fail to take advantage of the king's abſence and raiſe new diſturbances. They therefore did all that lay in their power to diſſuade him from his *African* expedition: But, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, he perſiſted in his new reſolution, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for the conqueſt of *Africa*, which he hoped to ſubdue with as little trouble as he had done *Sicily* [h].

Pyrrhus had ſhips enough of his own for this expedition, but, as he wanted ſea- *He diſobliges the* Sicilians.
men, he obliged the maritime cities in his intereſt to furniſh him with ſailors and mariners, and even forced into the ſervice perſons of rank, who had any experience in maritime affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard
f to their complaints. However, the *Sicilians* bore theſe outrages with patience, as they carried ſome appearance of zeal for the public welfare. But the king, who could bear no contradiction, taking offence at their oppoſing his new ſcheme, began to treat them more like an arbitrary tyrant, than a prince who was come to deliver them from the oppreſſions they groaned under; which ſoon drew upon him the hatred of the whole nation. In defiance of the cuſtoms of the country, he conferred the firſt dignities and the goverments of the cities on foreigners, and continued them in their employments as long as he thought proper, without any regard to the time preſcribed by law. As to judicial proceedings with reſpect to private property and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary ſentence,

h Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. l. i. Justin. l. xviii. Dion. Halic. in excerpt.

or

or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves. A conduct so different from that, by which he had at first succeeded so well in all his enterprizes, could not but estrange the minds of the people from him; and when he plainly saw that he was universally hated, and that the *Sicilians*, not able to brook his arbitrary government, were contriving how to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garisons as he knew to be entirely at his devotion, under pretence, that the *Carthaginians* were preparing to renew the war. He likewise seized the most powerful and illustrious citizens of each city, and, charging them with treasonable practices, either put them to death, or banished them the island. Full of jealousy, as all tyrants are, he would have forced *Sosistrates* to attend him into *Africa*, not thinking it safe to leave him in *Syracuse*, during his absence. But *Sosistrates*, to avoid complying with his commands, revolted from him and retired from his native city. As for *Tænion*, he was more complaisant and continued with the king; but, while he believed himself one of his chief favourites, he was by his order cruelly assassinated. *Tænion* had crowned him king of *Syracuse* on his first landing, and contributed more than any other person to the reduction of *Sicily*; but all the important services he had rendered the king were not sufficient to exempt him from the cruel effects of his jealousy. Such tyrannical proceedings put an end to the success of *Pyrrhus* in *Sicily*. The aversion, which the cities conceived against him, was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines* his avowed enemies. His troops were soon reduced to his *Epirot Phalanx*, the *Sicilians* daily deserting in crowds and encreasing the enemies forces. When *Carthage* heard of this change, new troops were raised all over *Africa*, and a numerous army sent into *Sicily* to recover the ancient conquests of the *African* republic; whilst a mighty fleet cruised round the island to prevent *Pyrrhus* from making his escape[i].

He abandons Sicily *and returns to* Italy.

This was the situation of *Pyrrhus*'s affairs, when deputies came to him from the *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, *Brutians*, and *Lucanians*, whom he had abandoned to pursue new conquests in *Sicily*. They represented to him the dangers they had been in, and the losses they had sustained since his departure, and remonstrated, that without his assistance their cities and liberties must fall a sacrifice to the *Romans*, who had already dispossessed them of their lands, and shut them up within their walls. This embassy furnished him with an honourable pretence for his departure; he was glad to have an opportunity of making the world believe, that he had abandoned *Sicily*, not out of fear of the enemy, but to comply with the requests of his allies. He therefore seemed at first to deliberate what part to chuse, being, as it were, divided between *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Italy*. But *Italy* prevailed, and he began to prepare for his voyage, from which his new subjects in *Sicily* did not offer to divert him. When he was on the point of setting sail, he cried out, at the sight of that wealthy country which he was abandoning, *What a fine field of battle do we leave to the* Carthaginians *and* Romans! A prediction, which was soon fulfilled. He imbarqued on the ships which he had brought with him from *Italy*, but was met at sea by the *Carthaginians*, who attacking him sunk seventy of his gallies, and dispersed or took the rest, so that he saved himself in the ports of *Italy* with only twelve vessels, the poor remains of a fleet of two hundred sail. Nor was this all: The *Mamertines* no sooner heard of his departure, but they detached a body of eighteen thousand men to harass him after his landing. These, having passed the streights before him, posted themselves in the road, which *Pyrrhus* must take in marching by land to *Tarentum*, and, lying concealed among the woods and rocks, attacked him unexpectedly and with great resolution. But *Pyrrhus* behaved himself on this occasion with his usual bravery. The attack being made on his rear, he hastened thither, and at the head of his men made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, till a wound he received on the head obliged him to retire. But he soon returned to the charge with fresh fury. As he was supposed to be disabled by his wound, a proud *Mamertine*, of an extraordinary size and shining in bright armour, advanced out of the ranks, and with a loud voice challenged the King of *Epirus*, if he was yet alive, to a single combat. *Pyrrhus* immediately turned about, and making a dreadful appearance by reason of the blood which ran down his face, flew upon this new champion, and discharged such a blow on his head, that he cleaved him in two, one part of his body falling to the right, and

[i] Plut. in Pyrrh. Dion. Hal. apud Vales.

a and the other to the left. This feat, which has been ſince aſcribed to other warriors, perhaps with as much truth as to *Pyrrhus*, filled the *Mamertines* with terror, who ſuffered the *Epirots* to continue their march to *Tarentum* [k].

Upon the Departure of *Pyrrhus*, *Hiero* was appointed to command the *Syracuſian* forces, and make head againſt the *Carthaginians*, who had regained moſt of the places which they poſſeſſed before the arrrival of the *Epirots*. *Hiero* was the ſon of *Hierocles*, one of the deſcendants of *Gelon* the firſt king of *Syracuſe*, of whoſe glorious reign and exploits we have already given a full account. His deſcent was not ſo honourable by the mother's ſide; for ſhe was a ſlave and of a very mean extraction. Wherefore *Hierocles*, or as *Juſtin* calls him *Hieroclytus*, thinking it beneath

b him to take care of the education of a ſon, who was the fruit of an unlawful intercourſe, cauſed him, according to the barbarous cuſtoms of thoſe days, to be expoſed ſoon after his birth in a foreſt, where a ſwarm of bees is ſaid to have nouriſhed him ſome days with their honey. Upon the report of this prodigy, *Hierocles* conſulted the ſoothſayers, who told him, that this ſon of his would one day mount the throne of his anceſtors, and reſtore its family to its ancient ſplendor. The father being pleaſed with this anſwer, owned him, and cauſed him to be brought up in a manner ſuitable to his birth. When he came to man's eſtate, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, prudence, and addreſs in all military exerciſes. He made his firſt campaigns under *Pyrrhus*, who had a great value for him, and honoured him with ſuch

c rewards as generals uſed to beſtow on thoſe who excelled the reſt in valour. In his firſt campaign an eagle is ſaid to have perched upon his helmet and an owl upon his lance; and theſe two birds, the former being the ſymbol of valour the latter of wiſdom, ſeemed to confirm the firſt prediction. And indeed young *Hiero* did not belie thoſe prognoſtics, he ſo improved in the art of war under the direction of ſo great a maſter as the king of *Epirus*, that he was looked upon as the beſt commander in the army, when he was but twenty-five years of age. But his great moderation, affability, and engaging behaviour gained him more honour than his military exploits. He ſeemed to have been born for virtue, and to be governed by no other paſſion but the love of glory. *Juſtin* draws the following picture of this brave

d youth. He was exceeding handſome, of a robuſt conſtitution, and an extraordinary ſtrength. His affability in converſation, equity in the management of affairs, and moderation in the government of the people were ſuch, that he wanted nothing but a crown to be a great king. And this his great merit ſoon procured him, as we ſhall ſee anon.

Hiero *appointed general of the* Syracuſians

His birth and education.

When *Pyrrhus* left *Sicily*, the city of *Syracuſe*, being deſtitute of a governor, fell into the greateſt diſorders. To put a ſtop to this confuſion, the troops choſe *Hiero* and *Artemidorus* for their commanders; and the two generals had nothing more

e at heart than to re-eſtabliſh good order in the capital. With this view they entered the city at the head of the army, and *Hiero* on this occaſion firſt diſcovered an uncommon talent and genius for governing. By the arts of inſinuation and addreſs, without ſhedding of blood or hurting one ſingle citizen, he calmed the minds of the people, reconciled the factions, and ſo gained the hearts of all, that the *Syracuſians*, though highly diſſatisfied with the ſoldiery for aſſuming the right of chuſing their own generals, yet unanimouſly confirmed him in the command, inveſting him with all civil and military power during the interregnum [l].

Hiero, being now at the head of the army, began to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould prevent any further diſturbances in the city. He obſerved, that the generals and troops no ſooner left the city to take the field, but *Syracuſe* was involved in new troubles by ſeditious ſpirits and lovers of novelty. He thought it therefore neceſſary to have

f ſome perſon of merit and rank, upon whom he might rely for retaining the city in its duty, during his abſence and that of the army. *Leptines* ſeemed very fit for this purpoſe, being a man of great intereſt and authority among the people. In order therefore to attach him to his intereſt, he married his daughter, and always left his father-in-law governor of the city when he took the field; by which means he ſecured both himſelf and the public tranquillity. Another thing that gave *Hiero* great uneaſineſs and raiſed frequent diſturbances was, the ungovernable temper of the mercenaries in the ſervice of the republic. They had no reſpect for their commanders, nor affection for a ſtate of which they were no part, and therefore always ready

[k] Plut. ibid. [l] Justin, l. xxiii. c. 4.

ready to revolt, and even join the enemy, when their unjuſt demands were not complied with, and their hopes of gain not anſwered. They were ſo united among themſelves, that *Hiero* could not by any means get the better of them; if he undertook to puniſh the moſt criminal among them, the whole corps took his part; ſo that the general was rather governed by them than they by him. He therefore concluded, that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occaſioned, was utterly to extirpate that ſeditious body, whoſe licentiouſneſs and rebellious diſpoſition could only corrupt others, and incline them to the ſame pernicious practices. Accordingly he came at laſt to this reſolution, which was contrary to his natural inclination, but judged by him neceſſary for the tranquillity of his country and ſafety of his own perſon. He took the field under pretence of marching againſt the *Mamertines*; but when he came within ſight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, the one compoſed of *Syracuſians* the other of mercenaries; he ordered the latter to begin the charge, putting himſelf at the head of the former as if he deſigned to ſupport them. The mercenaries fell upon the enemy with the utmoſt fury, but, being abandoned by the *Syracuſians*, were all cut to pieces. The *Syracuſian* troops he brought back ſafe to the city, having taken care to poſt them ſo as to have a river between them and the enemy [m].

Hiero, having thus purged his army of thoſe mutineers, revived the military diſcipline among the *Syracuſians*, took other mercenaries more tractable into his ſervice, and by degrees rendered his army formidable both to the *Carthaginians* and *Mamertines*. He firſt made trial of their valour againſt the latter, who, elated with the advantage they had gained over the mercenaries, marched into the territories of *Syracuſe*, deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. Hereupon *Hiero* took the field, engaged them in the plains of *Mylæ* (N), utterly defeated them and took their general by name *Cios* priſoner. *Cios*, being carried to the *Syracuſian* camp, ſaw there the horſe which his ſon had rode in the battle, and taking it for granted that he was killed, reſolved to live no longer; and accordingly looſening the ligatures of his wounds, he ſoon after expired. By his death the *Mamertines* being deſtitute of a head, *Hiero* invaded their territories, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the cities of *Mylæ*, *Amaſela*, *Alæſa*, and *Abacænum* (O), and then returned loaded with glory and booty to *Syracuſe*, where he was declared king by the unanimous conſent of the citizens, and ſoon after acknowledged as ſuch by all the allies. This happened ſeven years after he had been inveſted with the command of the army [n].

The Mamertines *reduced to great ſtraits by* Hiero.

Some time after his acceſſion to the throne he again worſted the *Mamertines*, and reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that they began to entertain thoughts of ſurrendering their city to him. Accordingly they ſent embaſſadors inviting him to a parley, wherein it was agreed, that the city of *Meſſana* ſhould be put into his hands, and that he ſhould maintain the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their ancient rights and privileges, and protect them againſt any foreign invaſion. But as *Hiero* was advancing to take poſſeſſion of the place, he was deceitfully prevented by *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* forces in *Sicily*. The cunning *African* came, as it were, to congratulate *Hiero* on his late victory, and amuſed him, till ſome troops, which he had kept concealed in the *Lipari* iſlands, drew near *Meſſana*. The officer, who commanded that detachment, aſſured the *Mamertines* that he came as a friend, and that his only deſign was to aſſiſt them againſt the *Syracuſians*, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemies hands. The *Mamertines*, ſeeing themſelves ſupported with a new reinforcement, ſummoned an aſſembly to

[m] Justin. l. xxiii. Polyb. l. i. c. 16. [n] Justin. & Polyb. ibid.

(N) *Mylæ*, now *Milazzo*, was formerly a colony of the *Tyndaritani*, who ſettled in that part of *Sicily*. It was ſituated in a peninſula in the north point of the iſland, and had a very convenient harbour. *Pliny* ſpeaks of a fountain near *Mylæ*, which dried up in winter, and was full of water during the hotteſt part of the ſummer (39). *Fazellus* tells us, that he obſerved the ſame thing. The ſituation of the city of *Amaſela* is altogether unknown.

(O) *Abacænum* ſtood in the north part of *Sicily*. *Cluverius* places it near the little city of *Tripio*. As for the city of *Tyndaris*, it was not far diſtant from *Abacænum*, and the name of it is ſtill preſerved in the place called at preſent *Santa Maria di Tyndaro*. It was originally a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, who are ſuppoſed to have given it the name of *Tyndaris*, from *Tyndarus* the father of *Leda*. In this city was anciently a temple dedicated to *Mercury*, and a ſtatue of that god, which was looked upon as a maſter-piece of art. *Pliny* tells us, that a great part of *Tyndarus* was ſwallowed up by the ſea (40).

(39) *Plin. l.* xxxi. *c.* 4.

(40) *Plin. l.* ii. *c.* 92.

a to deliberate on what measures they should take in so critical a juncture. The members of the assembly were divided in their opinions; some were for accepting the protection *Carthage* offered them, others for surrendering to *Hiero*, with whose mild government and strict honour they were well acquainted; but the greatest part were for calling the *Romans* to the assistance of a city, whose inhabitants were originally *Italians* °.

The Mamertines call in the Romans

THE *Mamertines*, before they fought the last battle with *Hiero*, had sent deputies to *Rome*, imploring the assistance of the *Roman* senate and people against the invasions of their neighbours; and the people, at the instigation of the consuls, had promised to comply with their request. But the senate, having more regard to honour b and equity than the people, were not yet come to any resolution. They considered, that the *Sicilians* were only endeavouring to recover a city which the *Mamertines* had taken by the blackest treachery, and thought it altogether unworthy of the *Roman* virtue to undertake openly the defence of traitors, who were guilty of the same perfidy, which they had lately punished in the *Rhegians* with the utmost severity. The senate therefore could not be prevailed upon to come into the measures of the people, so long as the *Mamertines* had no enemies to contend with except the *Syracusians*. But when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Carthaginians* had entred *Messana*, and offered to defend it, the conscript fathers changed their mind. They were sensible, that *Carthage* undertook the defence of that important place only with a design to c seize it for herself, and therefore, as they did not care to be so near neighbours to that powerful republic, they forgot the strict regard they had hitherto had to probity, came readily into the people's measures, and agreed to send the consul *Appius Claudius* to attempt the deliverance of *Messana*, and stop the progress of the *Carthaginians* P.

Appius Claudius did not go at first in person to *Messana*, but sent thither one of his military tribunes, who was also named *Claudius*, in his stead. The tribune was a man of extraordinary boldness, and at the same time of great prudence and address, fit for the carrying on of any great enterprize, and incapable of being terrified at the greatest dangers. He immediately set out for *Rhegium*, and his first care d there was, to get together what vessels he could in order to cross over into *Sicily*. But before he ventured to sea with the few *triremes* he had under his command, he thought it advisable to discover first the disposition of the *Mamertines*; and accordingly going on board a fisher-boat, he passed undiscovered through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and arrived safe at *Messana*, which he found possessed by the *Carthaginians*, who had entered it with the consent of some of the inhabitants, and contrary to the inclinations of others. The tribune convened the *Mamertines* in the place where they usually met, in order to acquaint them with the motives of his coming among them. But at first the clamours of the *Carthaginians*, who assisted at the assembly with the inhabitants, prevented him from being heard. However, he ob- e tained at last a moment's silence, and then he addressed the assembly thus: "*Ma-*
"*mertines*, I come hither, as a deputy from the *Romans*, to offer you the assist-
"ance you have desired. The senate and people concur in granting it, and have
"nothing more at heart than to defend *Messana* from the oppression which threatens
"her. We engage our words, that we will withdraw our forces as soon as your city and
"fortunes are safe." These few words made a deep impression on their minds; but, as they had already introduced the *Carthaginians* into their city, they were no longer their own masters, and therefore returned such an answer as would have discouraged any one less bold than *Claudius*: "It is a great pleasure to *Messana*, they replied, to
"be able to spare the *Romans* the trouble of assisting her. *Carthage* is beforehand
f "with them, and her protection is sufficient. Wherefore, if you have no other pro-
"posals to make, you may withdraw. Every free city has a right to call in to her
"assistance whom she pleases." A free city! replied *Claudius*; Are you not in the
"power of the *Carthaginians*? Are you not, even in this place, besieged by a foreign
"force? Does not *Carthage* already lord it over you, and make you feel the weight of
"that yoke, which you must, if not relieved by us, bear for ever? Answer me, if you
"dare." Upon these words the *Mamertines* held their peace for fear of the *Carthaginians*; and the *Carthaginians* were struck dumb with the truth of the tribune's speech, who taking advantage of this general silence: "You *Carthaginians*, said he, know
"not

° POLYB. l. i. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 8. P POLYB. ibid.

" not what to answer, becauſe you are conſcious of your own injuſtice; and you, a
" *Mamertines*, are dumb, becauſe you dare not ſpeak; if fear had not ſhut your
" mouths, I am confident, you would not reject my offers, and therefore I interpret
" your ſilence as a tacit conſent to my propoſal." Upon theſe words a murmur aroſe in the aſſembly, and *Claudius* crying aloud, " *Mamertines*, I underſtand your mean-
" ing, you implore the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, we will comply with your requeſt," left the aſſembly and the city without further delay, and returned to *Rhegium* [q].

The Romans *undertake the defence of* Meſſana.

Upon his report the ſenate judged, that the *Mamertines* were diſpoſed to receive ſuccours from *Rome*, and ordered the ſame tribune to ſet ſail with his fleet to *Meſſana*. His fleet was no-ways in a condition to cope with that of *Carthage*, the *Romans* having at that time only a few *triremes*, and their men being quite ingnorant of ſea-affairs; b whereas the *Carthaginians* were maſters at ſea, had numerous fleets cruiſing off the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and were furniſhed with expert mariners. However, the tribune deſpiſing all danger, had the boldneſs to weigh anchor and ſteer his courſe to *Meſſana*; but being met by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* admiral in the ſtreights between *Regium* and *Meſſana*, ſome of his ſhips were taken by the enemy, others by a violent ſtorm daſhed in pieces againſt the rocks on the coaſt of *Italy*; inſomuch, that he was obliged to return to *Rhegium*, after having loſt the beſt part of his fleet. *Claudius*, not at all diſcouraged by his bad ſucceſs, began to refit his fleet in order to put to ſea again, ſaying, that he did not expect to learn the art of navigation without paying dear for it. Before he ſet ſail, the *Carthaginians* ſent him back the ſhips c which they had taken in the late engagement, hoping by means of this artful preſent either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, and ſo divert them from ſending ſuccours to *Meſſana*, or at leaſt to lay the whole blame of a rupture upon them. When *Hanno*'s deputies reſtored the ſhips, they reproached the *Romans* with having infringed the treaties agreed on by both republics, and pretended, that the ſtreights belonged to *Carthage*. This ſo incenſed *Claudius*, that he rejected the preſent with indignation, and purſued his former reſolution with more vigour than ever. *Hanno*'s deputies before they left *Rhegium* told *Claudius* in an imperious ſtile, that *Carthage* would not ſuffer a *Roman* even to waſh his hands in the ſtreights. But this ſerved only to make *Claudius*, who was undaunted in the greateſt dangers, more eager to d force out of the neighbourhood of *Italy* ſo proud and encroaching an enemy. Soon after the departure of the deputies he ſet ſail again, and timed his enterprize ſo well, that he eluded the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* admiral, and arrived ſafe in the port of *Meſſana*. *Hanno*, who had exchanged the command of the fleet for that of the land-forces in *Meſſana*, upon the arrival of the *Romans* retired into the citadel, abandoning the city to *Claudius*, who immediately deſired the *Mamertines* to call an aſſembly and invite *Hanno* to it. It was not without the utmoſt difficulty that *Hanno* was prevailed upon to leave his citadel, and truſt himſelf among the *Romans* and *Meſſanians*. However, he came at laſt, but hard words ariſing between him and *Claudius*, the bold *Roman*, who no longer appeared as an envoy, but was backed e by his legionaries, was ſo provoked, that he ordered his ſoldiers to ſeize him, and kept him under confinement, till he prevailed upon him by menaces and fair promiſes to deliver the citadel up to the *Romans* and evacuate the city. This piece of cowardice coſt him dear; for he was tried by his countrymen, found guilty, and condemned to be crucified [r].

Hiero, king of *Syracuſe*, had already made the neceſſary preparations to beſiege *Meſſana*, which city he looked upon as a ſure conqueſt, after the victory he had gained over the *Mamertines*. But when he heard that it was defended by the *Romans*, thinking himſelf too weak to enter the liſts againſt two ſuch warlike nations, as the *Romans* and *Mamertines*, he ſent embaſſadors to the *Carthaginians*, offering to join f them, provided they would aſſiſt him in the ſiege of *Meſſana*, and help him in driving out the *Romans*. Such an embaſſy was, as we may well imagine, very acceptable to the *Carthaginians*, who were determined to venture all, rather than ſuffer the *Romans* to get any footing in *Sicily*. A treaty therefore was immediately concluded between *Carthage* and *Syracuſe*, whereby they were to aſſiſt each other in driving the *Romans* quite out of the iſland; *Meſſana* was to be delivered up to *Hiero*, and ſome places ſubject to *Syracuſe* were to be put into the hands of the *Carthaginians*.

Great

[q] Polyb. l. i Zonar. l. viii. c. 8. Auctor. vit. illuſtr, vir. [r] Polyb. l. i. c. 11. Val. Maximus, l. ii. c. 7.

a Great preparations were carried on both at *Syracuse* and *Carthage*, new forces were raised, and a mighty fleet sent from *Africa* under the command of another *Hanno*, the son of *Hannibal*, who was charged with the whole management of the war. This fleet put in at *Lilybæum*, whence the land-forces marched to *Selinus*, and encamped there, while their general went to *Agrigentum* and caused the fortifications of that place to be repaired. The *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians* being now ready to enter upon action, *Hanno* before he began hostilities sent an herald to the *Romans*, summoning them to leave *Sicily*, and surrender up *Messana* to him, or to the king of *Syracuse*, if they desired to live in amity with their respective republics. *Claudius* answered, that he was determined to defend the place and the allies of the people b of *Rome* to the last drop of his Blood. Hereupon the *Carthaginian* and *Syracusian* armies joined, and invested *Messana*. The *Carthaginians* posted themselves near cape *Pelorus* and lined the coast, whilst *Hiero* with his troops blocked up the city on the land-side, and encamped round mount *Chalcis*; so that *Messana* was surrounded on all sides, and no succours or provisions could be conveyed into it either by sea or land [r].

Assoon as the tribune *Claudius* had refused to quit the place, *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* general, ordered all the *Italians*, who served in his army, to be massacred. When the murder of these unfortunate men was heard at *Rome*, the consul *Appius*, who had not appeared yet in this dispute, set out with all speed and went to *Rhe*c *gium*, with a design to cross over into *Sicily*. Upon his arrival at *Rhegium*, he sent deputies to king *Hiero*, conjuring him by his ancient friendship to the *Romans* not to persist in the siege of *Messana*, which alone could create a quarrel, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him. *L. Genucius* was the first of the *Romans* who began a correspondence with *Hiero*. *Genucius* was consul, and charged with the siege of *Rhegium*, which was held by the rebellious *Campanian* legion. While the consul carried on the siege, his provisions falling short, he applied to *Hiero*, who not only supplied him with what he wanted, but moreover sent him some *Sicilian* forces; and this was the first time the *Romans* had any troops in their service from beyond-sea. *Claudius*, mindful of his former kindness to the *Romans*, proceeded at first with d him in a friendly manner. But *Hiero*, taking it very much amiss, that the *Romans* should undertake the defence of a city, which must have otherwise fallen into his hands, broke out into invectives against the ingratitude of a republic, which he had assisted in her distress. As he was himself a man of strict equity, he thought it surprizing, that the *Romans*, who had lately punished with the utmost severity one of their legions for treacherously seizing on *Rhegium*, should now protect those, who in the very same manner had made themselves masters of *Messana*. He therefore answered the deputies sent to him by the consul *Claudius*, that the events of war were indeed uncertain, but should he in his attempt against the rebellious city prove unsuccessful, all men would agree, that though the ambition and power of the e *Romans* prospered, yet *Hiero* fell in a just and honourable cause. The *Romans* themselves were very sensible, that his integrity was the only motive which prompted him to take up arms against the *Mamertines*. But, as he had joined the *Carthaginians*, the consul was little affected with his answer, and only said, that good king *Hiero* was not aware of the intention of his new allies, since their design in seizing *Messana* was only thereby to pave themselves a way to the conquest first of *Sicily*, and then of *Italy* [s].

Claudius, finding the king of *Syracuse* determined to carry on the siege of *Messana*, resolved to sail thither in person, but, as the *Carthaginian* fleet watched all his mo- tions, he dissembled his design, and gave out, that it was not in his power to make f war upon *Hiero* without fresh orders from the senate, and that he must therefore return to *Rome*, and lay the matter before the senate and people. This report soon reached *Messana*, and the *Carthaginians*, hearing it, left off cruising in the streights. Whereupon *Claudius*, having first ordered his troops to repair to several ports of *Italy*, and be there in a readiness to sail, went on board a gally built unskilfully and in great haste, pretending only to coast along the shore in order to return to *Rome*. But assoon as he was out of sight he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached the nearest shore in the island, and landed the few troops he carried with him, without being observed by the enemy. The *Romans*, who were then

The consul Claudius passes over into Sicily.

[r] Zonar. l. viii. c. 9. Diodor. Sicul. in Eclog. [s] Idem. ibid.

then unexperienced in sea affairs, thought this so glorious an action, that they gave the consul the surname of *Caudex*, a *Latin* word signifying *a boat unskilfully built* [u]. a

And defeats Hiero.

The consul, having landed his forces, resolved to advance against *Hiero*, who blocked up *Messana* on the side of mount *Chalcis*, in hopes of surprizing him. When the king saw the enemy marching up to attack his camp, he very imprudently left his trenches and went out to meet them, not doubting, but he should get the better of them in the open field, which he thought far more glorious than to fight behind a rampart. The *Syracusians* charged with such fury and resolution, that the *Roman* cavalry was put in disorder at the first onset. But the legions fought with so much bravery, that the *Syracusians* could not with their utmost efforts break through them; nay, they were themselves, after a long and obstinate dispute, forced to give b way, and leave the *Romans* an open passage into the city. The consul, overjoyed at his gaining the first victory which *Rome* had ever obtained out of her continent, entered *Messana* in triumph, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable by the inhabitants, who now began to entertain hopes of being soon delivered from a siege, which had already reduced them to great straits. Neither were they disappointed in their expectation; *Hiero* could not continue any longer before the place after his overthrow, being distressed for want of provisions; and besides, he thought himself betrayed by the *Carthaginians*; for if they had guarded the straits, the *Romans* could never have attacked him so unexpectedly, nor even ventured out of the ports of *Italy*. He could not help thinking, that the *Carthaginians* had suffered the *Romans* to enter the island on purpose to destroy him, and full of his distrusts c he decamped hastily in the night and retired to *Syracuse* [w].

The progress of the Roman *arms in* Sicily.

Appius, having now but one enemy to contend with, sallied out of the city and attacked the *Carthaginian* camp, but as it was in a very advantagious post, and strongly fortified, he was obliged to withdraw his legions and retire into *Messana* after having sustained a considerable loss. His retreat looked like a flight, and this encouraged the *Carthaginians* to quit their trenches and pursue him. But the legions unexpectedly facing about fell upon the pursuers, put them in disorder, and made a dreadful havock of the broken troops. Thus the advantages of the day were equal; but *Claudius*, not thinking it advisable to attempt the enemies camp a second time, laid d waste all the neighbouring country, and made excursions to the very gates of *Syracuse* itself. *Hiero*, finding that the *Carthaginians* were not in a condition to protect his dominions, began to entertain some thoughts of abandoning them and siding with the *Romans*. But the sudden departure of the consul *Claudius* for *Rome* prevented him, for the present, from entering into any treaty with that republic.

Next year early in the spring, both the *Roman* consuls, *Manius Valerius Flaccus* and *Manius Otacilius Crassus*, were ordered to transport their legions into *Sicily*, and carry on the war against *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*. They both landed without meeting with the least opposition from the *Carthaginian* fleet, and then parted, *Valerius* undertaking to dislodge the *Carthaginians* from their advantagious post, where e they kept *Messana* blocked up, and *Otacilius* advancing into the heart of the country to spread the terror of the *Roman* arms. What success attended the former, we find no where mentioned; but the surname of *Messana* which was given him on this occasion, and afterwards by corruption changed into that of *Messala*, as some writers inform us [x], is a convincing proof that he signalized himself by some gallant action. As for *Otacilius*, he advanced to the foot of mount *Ætna*, and possessed himself of all the cities in that fruitful country: *Adranum* and *Centuripe* were taken by assault, but many other cities, and among the rest *Alæsa*, submitted of their own accord to the conqueror. Afterwards the two consular armies sometimes joined to fight the united forces of the *Syracusians* and *Carthaginians*, and sometimes separated f to extend their conquests the wider; the enemies were every-where vanquished, and as they took the cities subject both to the *Syracusians* and *Carthaginians*, without distinction, they reduced in a few months time no fewer than sixty-seven places; of which number were *Taurominium* and *Catana*, two cities of great importance. As they drew great reinforcements from these cities, their armies were soon so increased, that they thought themselves in a condition to undertake the siege of *Syracuse*, the capital of the whole island, and at that time one of the greatest and strongest

[u] Zonar. ibid. Front. in Stratag. l. i. c. 4. [w] Zonar. l. viii. c. 9. Eutrop. l. ii. Polyb. l. i. [x] Senec. de brev. vitæ. Macrob. Saturn. l. i.

a ſtrongeſt cities in the world. *Hiero*, being intimidated at the danger he was in, and now more ſenſible than ever, that an alliance with *Rome* would be leſs diſadvantagious to him than one with *Carthage*, loſt no time in endeavouring to ſave his ſtately metropolis from impending ruin. Aſſoon as the two conſular armies appeared before it, he ſent out deputies to treat with the *Romans* of a peace, who on their part were no-ways averſe to it, knowing that, by keeping up a friendly correſpondence with *Hiero*, the *Carthaginians* would be reduced to their own forces only, and the *Roman* armies plentifully ſupplied with all manner of proviſions, for want of which they had been greatly diſtreſſed the year before. A treaty therefore was ſoon concluded on the following terms: that the *Romans* ſhould receive *Hiero* into the number of the b friends and allies of their republic, and protect his capital and dominions, particularly the cities of *Acra*, *Leontini*, *Megara*, *Elorum*, *Netum*, and *Tauromenium*, from all hoſtilities whatſoever; and on the other hand, that *Hiero* ſhould deliver up the priſoners he had taken without ranſom, pay the republic an hundred talents of ſilver, and cultivate her friendſhip by a faithful obſervance of the treaty. This agreement was drawn up by the king and conſuls, and afterwards ratified at *Rome* firſt by the ſenate, and then by the people, at the motion of *Cn. Attilius Halatinus*, then a tribune of the people. It was at firſt only a truce for fifteen years, but the conditions were ſo faithfully performed on both ſides, that it laſted as long as *Hiero* lived [y].

Hiero *concludes an alliance with the Romans.*

From thenceforth *Hiero* ſaw no war in his dominions, nor had any other ſhare c in it but that of ſending from time to time ſupplies of proviſions to his allies the *Romans*, who gratefully acknowledged his generoſity, and with great care protected his dominions from the inſults of their common enemy. During the ſpace of above fifty years he lived after his acceſſion to the throne, while the whole country around him was in flames, occaſioned by the cruel wars which the two moſt powerful republics in the world made upon each other, he was only a ſpectator, and heard the noiſe of the arms, which ſhook all the neighbouring regions, himſelf and his people enjoying the ſweets of a profound peace and tranquillity. The *Romans* perceived on ſeveral occaſions, during the firſt *Punic* war, and eſpecially at the ſiege of *Agrigentum* with which it was begun, how neceſſary it was for them to cultivate the friendſhip of d *Hiero*; for that prince abundantly ſupplied them with proviſions, when without his aid they had been obliged by famine to quit the iſland, their convoys from *Italy* being often intercepted by the enemy's fleet which guarded the ſtreights [z].

The interval between the end of the firſt *Punic* war and the beginning of the ſecond, which was about five and twenty years, was to *Hiero* a time of tranquillity, in which his actions are not mentioned by the hiſtorians. *Polybius* only informs us, that the *Carthaginians* in the war, which they were obliged to ſupport againſt the mercenary troops that had ſerved under them in *Sicily*, had recourſe to king *Hiero*, who kindly aſſiſted them, fearing perhaps leſt the mercenaries, getting the better of the *Carthaginians*, ſhould carry their victorious arms into *Sicily*, which iſland they e were perfectly well acquainted with. *Hiero*'s ſole application during this long interval was to make his ſubjects happy, and to redreſs the many evils, which the tyrannical government of *Agathocles*, and the inteſtine diviſions ariſing upon his death, had occaſioned. Before his reign the ſtate had been divided by two factions, the one of the citizens the other of the ſoldiers; and their differences, ſupported on both ſides with great animoſity, kept up the ſpirit of diviſion in the republic, and gave birth to numberleſs diſorders. But *Hiero*, with his prudent and impartial conduct, ſo rooted out all ſeeds of diſcord and miſunderſtanding, that during a reign of fifty years no revolt or ſedition ever aroſe, or the leaſt commotion either in the army or the city. Both ſoldiers and citizens looked upon him rather as their common f father and protector, than as their lord and ſovereign, and were fully convinced, that he was infinitely averſe from doing any thing that could in the leaſt prejudice their fortunes or liberty. His particular care was to encourage agriculture, which he looked upon as the certain means to diffuſe abundance throughout his kingdom; he did not think it unworthy of the ſovereignty to ſtudy that art, and even compoſe a book on that ſubject, of which we ought much to regret the loſs. As the chief riches of the country, and the moſt certain fund of the prince's revenue, conſiſted in corn, the tenth part of which was paid to him, *Hiero* made ſuch wiſe

[y] Polyb. l. i Justin. l. xxiii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 6. [z] Polyb. l. xviii.

and equitable regulations on this head, that they became, in a manner, the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the *Romans* had reduced the city and dominions of *Syracuse* under their obedience, they imposed no new tributes, but only decreed, that all things should be regulated according to the laws of *Hiero* [z]. a

Hiero's sincere attachment to the Romans.

In the second *Punic* war, *Hiero* gave signal proofs of his attachment to the *Romans*. As soon as he received advice of *Hannibal*'s arrival in *Italy*, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet *Tiberius Sempronius* at *Messana*, and assured him, that, advanced in age as he was, he would shew the same zeal for the *Roman* people as he had done in his youth, if they thought it necessary that he should put himself at the head of his troops and cross over into *Italy*. He supplied the consul's legions with corn and cloaths at his own expence, and was preparing to attend him into *Italy*, when *Sempronius*, receiving news of the advantage gained by the *Romans* over the *Carthaginian* fleet, thanked the king for his advantagious offers, but made no use of them at that time [a]. b

Hiero's sincere affection for *Rome* appeared still more conspicuous, after the victory gain'd by *Hannibal* at the lake *Thrasymenus*. The *Romans* had already lost three battles, and were abandoned by many of their allies. In this mournful conjuncture *Hiero* sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of *Ostia*: The embassadors, who came with the present, being introduced to the senate, told the conscript fathers, "that *Hiero*, their master, had been as sensibly affected with their misfortunes, as c
"if he had suffered them himself; that though he knew the grandeur of the *Roman*
"people displayed itself more in times of adversity, than after the most signal suc-
"cesses, yet he had taken the liberty to send them, as a faithful ally, a victory of
"massy gold weighing three hundred pounds, which the king hoped they would
"vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of his vows for their
"prosperity; that they had also brought three hundred thousand modii of wheat,
"two hundred thousand of barley, and were charged by their master to acquaint
"them, that if they wanted more, he could cause what quantity they pleased to
"be transported to such places as they should appoint; that he knew the *Romans*
"employed no strangers in their armies, except light-armed troops, and therefore d
"he had only sent a thousand archers and slingers, whom they might oppose to the
"slingers of the *Balearic* islands and the *Numidians* in the *Carthaginian* army." To his presents *Hiero* added a wholesome piece of advice, which was, that the prætor, who should be sent to command in *Sicily*, might cross from thence over into *Africa*, and by that means divert the *Carthaginians* from sending any succours to *Hannibal* in *Italy*. *Rome* was touched with the affection good king *Hiero* shewed her, thanked him for his presents and advice, and sent him this obliging letter: *You have ever been a constant and generous friend. No change of times has altered your affection and generosity towards us. We received with pleasure the victory from your hands. It is a pledge of your friendship, which we will carefully preserve; and in order to keep her among us, and prevent her ever leaving us, we will shut her up in the strongest place of* Rome. *We will place her on the capitol our citadel, and even in the temple of* Jupiter. *The gods grant, that she may be as faithful and friendly to us as you.* All the corn and barley on board the ships with the archers and slingers were sent to the consuls. They likewise sent, pursuant to *Hiero*'s advice, from the ports of *Italy* a reinforcement of twenty-five quinqueremes to *T. Otacilius*, who commanded the armies in *Sicily*, impowering him to carry the war into *Africa*, if he thought proper [b]. e

Valerius Maximus observes here the noble and polite liberality of *Hiero*, who did not offer the *Romans* three hundred pounds weight of gold in specie, as being well acquainted with their delicacy in that point; but under the form of a victory, f which they dared not refuse, on account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it. It is uncommon to see a prince, whose dominions were so exposed to the insults of the enemy, continue unalterably faithful to his former allies, even when they were on the brink of ruin. But nothing could shake *Hiero*'s attachment to *Rome*. But it was also his interest to act as he did. For had the *Carthaginians* entirely ruined, or even weakened the *Romans* too much, *Syracuse* must have fallen a prey to the conquerors. That city was situated over-against *Carthage*, and lay mighty convenient for securing its commerce, and gaining the empire of the sea. Wherefore as

[z] Polyb. l. i. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 15. [a] Liv. l. xxi. [b] Liv. l. xxi.

as *Syracuse* must have necessarily fallen after *Rome*, it was absolutely requisite for the king of *Syracuse* to hazard every thing, and either save *Rome* or fall with her.

NEITHER did king *Hiero*'s generosity extend to the *Romans* alone; *Polybius* informs us, that he sent an hundred talents to the *Rhodians*, with other rich presents, after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down the famous colossus. He moreover caused two statues to be erected in the market-place at *Rhodes*, representing the people of *Syracuse* placing a crown on the head of the *Rhodians*, as if, says our historian, *Hiero*, after having made the people magnificent presents, believed himself indebted to them. So great was the modesty with which his presents were always attended.

HOWEVER, there is a pastoral in *Theocritus* [d] bearing the name of *Hiero*, wherein that poet seems to reproach the king, as if he had not acknowledged in a handsome manner the verses made in his commendation. But the mean manner, in which he claims, as it were, a reward for his poetry, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice on the poet than the prince, whose generosity is extolled by all the historians who mention him.

THO' *Hiero* seemed entirely employed in maintaining the peace and tranquility of his kingdom, yet he did not neglect matters relating to war, knowing, that the surest means to preserve the public quiet, was to hold himself always ready to make war upon such as should attempt to disturb it. To him *Syracuse* was indebted for those amazing machines of war, which the *Syracusians* made use of when besieged by the *Romans*, as we shall see anon. The public buildings, such as palaces, temples, arsenals, *&c.* which were erected in *Syracuse* by his order, and under the direction of *Archimedes*, were the greatest ornaments of that stately metropolis. He caused also an infinite number of ships to be built for the exportation of corn, in which the whole riches of the island consisted. We are told of a galley built by his order, which was looked upon as one of the wonders of that age. *Archimedes*, who was the overseer of the work, spent a whole year in finishing it; *Hiero* daily animating the workmen with his presence. This ship had twenty benches of oars, three spacious apartments, and all the conveniencies of a large palace. The floors of the middle apartment were all inlaid, and represented in various colours the stories of *Homer*'s iliad. The ceilings, windows, and all other parts were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments. In the uppermost apartment there was a spacious gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks with gardens and plants of all kinds disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. But the finest of the apartments was that of *Venus*, the floors being inlaid with agates and other precious stones, the inside lined with *Cyprus* wood, the windows adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In this apartment there was a library, and a bath with three great coppers, and a bathing vessel made of one single stone of various colours, and containing two hundred and fifty quarts. It was supplied with water from a great reservoir at the head of the ship, which held an hundred thousand quarts. The vessel was adorned on all sides with fine paintings, and had eight towers of equal dimensions, two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle. Round these towers were parapets, whence stones might be discharged against the enemy's vessels when they approached. Each tower was constantly guarded by four young men compleatly armed and two archers. To the side of the vessel was fastened an engine made by *Archimedes*, which threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of eighteen feet, the distance of a stadium, or an hundred and twenty-five feet. Though the hold of this vessel was exceeding deep, a single man could soon clear it of water with a machine invented for that purpose by *Archimedes*. An *Athenian* poet having composed some verses on this magnificent vessel, *Hiero*, who understood the value of verse, rewarded him with a thousand medimni, that is, six thousand bushels of wheat, which he caused to be carried to the *Pyræus* or port of *Athens*. *Hiero* made afterwards a present of this great vessel to *Ptolemy*, probably *Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, and sent it to *Alexandria*. As there was at that time a great famine in *Egypt*, good king *Hiero* sent along with it several other ships of less burden with three hundred thousand quarters of corn, ten thousand great earthen jars of salt-fish, twenty-thousand quintals of salt-meat, and an immense quantity of other provisions [e].

Hiero's

[c] POLYB. l. v. [d] Theocrit. Idyll. 16. [e] ATHENÆUS. l. v.

Hiero's fidelity to the *Romans* was put to a a severe trial after the battle of *Cannæ*, a which was followed by an universal defection of their allies. The *Carthaginians*, having landed a great many troops in *Sicily*, made a dreadful havock in the territories of *Syracuse*. But nothing could shake the king's constancy. He was only concerned to see some, even of his own family, favour the *Carthaginians*. He had a son named *Gelon*, who married *Nereis* the daughter of *Pyrrhus*, and had by her several children, and amongst others *Hieronymus*, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak. *Gelon*, despising his father's wholsome advice, and looking upon the *Romans* as already subdued by *Hannibal*, openly declared for the *Carthaginians*. He had already armed the multitude, and stirred up the allies of *Syracuse* to join him; but his measures were broken by a sudden and unexpected death, which happened so seasonably, b
Hiero *dies.* that his father was suspected to have been privy to it [f]. *Hiero* did not survive his son long. After he had continued faithful to the *Romans* for fifty years together, he died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fifty-fourth of his reign, infinitely regretted by his subjects, and no less by the *Romans*, who lost in him the most constant friend they had ever had.

Year of the Flood. 2789. *Before Christ* 215. There was none to whom *Hiero* could leave his crown, except *Hieronymus* the son of *Gelon*, on whom he could not depend as to his conduct, the young prince being but fifteen years old at his grandfather's death. The good old king therefore, who had more at heart the happiness of his people, than the aggrandising of his family, had formed a design of abolishing monarchy, and restoring the *Syracusians* c to their ancient liberty. He had two daughters, both married to the greatest lords of the kingdom, *Demarata* the elder to *Andranadorus*, and *Heraclea* to *Zoippus*, a man of a quiet disposition, and who had served *Hiero* with great fidelity, but was in his heart a zealous republican. Wherefore his wife *Heraclea*, whom he suffered to go but very seldom to court, never attempted to divert her father from reinstating the *Syracusians* in their ancient rights. But her sister, at the instigation of her ambitious husband, used her utmost endeavours to engage *Hiero* not to deprive his grandson of a crown which was due to him by right of inheritance. The private views of *Demarata* and her husband were to govern the kingdom, during the minority of *Hieronymus*, and to wait for a favourable opportunity of placing the crown d upon their own heads. It was not easy for an old man of ninety to hold out against the caresses, tears, and intreaties of a daughter, who besieged him day and night. So that he at last gave way to the repeated instances of an ambitious woman, made a will, and bequeathed the crown to his grandson. To prevent as far as possible the evils he apprehended, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council, earnestly desiring them at his death never to depart from the alliance with the *Romans*, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, to teach the young prince to abstain from pomp and ostentation, and to instil into his mind the same principles by which he had acted during his whole reign.

Hieronymus. *Hiero*'s eyes were no sooner closed, but the guardians, summoning the people, e read the king's will in the assembly. As the tastes of the *Syracusians* and their views were different, so were their opinions with relation to the things established by the king. Some did not like the monarchical government; others took umbrage at the crown's being settled in one family; the greatest part were dissatisfied at the perpetual alliance to be made with *Rome* already half subdued by *Hannibal*. In short, the will was liked only by a very few, who were gained over by the court, and artfully placed in several parts of the assembly to shew their approbation of it by shouts and acclamations. However, none had courage enough to protest against it; and therefore the assembly broke up, without either openly contradicting or accepting the will. The king's obsequies were celebrated with great pomp f by the citizens, to whom his memory was dearer than to his relations. A few days after, *Andranadorus*, thinking the young prince securely seated on the throne, because he saw no open opposition, began to take such measures as plainly discovered his intentions, and encreased the number of the enemies of the monarch and monarchy. *Hiero*'s chief aim in appointing fifteen guardians was, to engage so many of the greatest lords in his dominions to be defenders of his crown and family. But *Andranodorus*, out of a selfish view, deprived *Hieronymus* of his chief support

[f] Liv. l. 23.

a support by removing all the other guardians, and under pretence, that the king was of age to take the reins of government into his own hands. By this means that wicked minister, who had gained a great ascendant over the young prince, united in his own person all the power which had been divided among them. The best of princes, succeeding a king so greatly beloved by his subjects, would have found it very difficult to maintain himself in the throne. Whereas *Hieronymus*, under the direction of *Andranodorus*, became quite the reverse of his grand-father. He seemed to take pleasure in increasing the sorrow of the people for the loss of *Hiero*, and they, by comparing the vices of the successor with the virtues of his predecessor, began to conceive a great aversion to the new king. They no longer b saw the throne filled with a prince, who was affected with all the misfortunes of his subjects, and gave the meanest of them a free access to him, being distinguished from the rest of the people, only by the great respect and veneration they all paid him. *Hieronymus* resumed the purple and diadem, and never appeared in public but in a chariot, drawn by white horses, and surrounded by a troop of guards. His whole conduct was suitable to this equipage. He was difficult of access, never gave audience but with an air of contempt, and often added severe jests to his denials. Even his guardians were with great difficulty suffered to approach him. He had no confidants, but the ministers of his pleasures, giving himself up to all manner of debauchery. His cruelty was no-ways inferior even c to that of *Agathocles*, and seemed to have extinguished all sense of humanity in him. This raised an universal alarm both among the people and nobles, insomuch, that some of his guardians laid violent hands on themselves, to avoid seeing the vices of their ward, and others voluntarily withdrew from their country [g].

His vices and cruelty.

Only three men of distinction continued at court, *Andranodorus*, *Zoippus*, both *Hiero*'s sons-in-law, and *Thraso*, surnamed *Charcarus*. The latter was a true courtier, that is a slavish flatterer, and a meer tool; but at the same time a cunning statesman, and one who indeed readily complied with all the inclinations of the prince, but understood better than any other his master's true interest. The king often took pleasure in engaging him in disputes with *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus* about d state-affairs. *Thraso* was a zealous advocate for the *Romans*; but the two others, believing the *Romans* could never recover, after the dreadful overthrows they had received, openly declared for *Carthage*; and their speeches had most weight with the young prince. However, the reasons alledged by *Thraso* kept him in suspence, till a melancholy accident determined him to chuse the worst part. One, named *Solias*, a man of a mean condition, and who had served the king from his infancy in the lowest offices, discovered a conspiracy against the king, but could name none of the conspirators, except *Theodotus*, who was delivered up to *Andrandorus*, and tortured in order to make him discover the whole plot and the names of the conspirators. Being in the utmost agony he confessed the crime as to himself, but, e instead of naming his accomplices, he accused all the king's best friends, though innocent, and amongst others *Thraso*, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize, adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if they had not been countenanced by one in favour with the king, and who had free access into the palace. His deposition was believed, and all the interest *Thraso* had at court could not save his life. As for *Theodotus*, he persisted to the last breath in accusing the innocent in order to save the guilty. And his accomplices depended so much on his secrecy, that none of them left the city, or absconded during the whole time he was kept in prison and racked [h].

Upon the death of *Thraso*, who was the sole support of the *Roman* alliance, f *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus* easily brought the king into their measures, who immediately dispatched embassadors to the *Carthaginian* camp in *Italy*. *Hannibal* received them with great demonstrations of kindness, and sent an embassy to the young king of *Syracuse*, at the head of which he put a young officer of great distinction at *Carthage*, named also *Hannibal*, hoping that the conformity of age and inclinations would make him agreeable to *Hieronymus*. With him he sent two persons advanced in years, who were both great statesmen and experienced commanders; one was called *Hippocrates*, and the other *Epycides*; they were born at *Carthage*, but originally *Syracusians*, their grandfathers having been banished *Sicily*, in the time of

[g] Liv. ibid. [h] Athenæus. l. 24. c. 5.

the tyranny of *Agathocles*. *Claudius Pulcher*, the *Roman* prætor in *Sicily*, took umbrage at the arrival of these embassadors, and immediately sent deputies to the court of *Syracuse* to renew the alliance made with king *Hiero*. But the *Carthaginians* having already had audience of *Hieronymus*, had given him such high notions of *Hannibal*'s victories and reputation, that he had sent away young *Hannibal* to *Carthage* to prepare that senate for the receiving of his embassadors, when they should come to conclude a Treaty of alliance with him [l].

He receives the Roman *embassadors with contempt.*

In this situation of affairs, the envoys of the *Roman* prætor were not received at *Syracuse*, with the respect due to their character. They began their speech with explaining the motives of their deputation. We are come, said they, to renew that alliance and good understanding, which the wise king *Hiero* maintained for so many years with *Rome*. But *Hieronymus*, who was naturally given to raillery, replied, I will ask you but one question: Who were conquerors at *Cannæ*, you or the *Carthaginians*? I am told such surprizing things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it. This severe reproach put the *Romans* out of humour; however, they only made him this reply, that when he would please to be serious they would desire another audience. They accordingly had one some days after, and spoke to the king with as much haughtiness as if they had been conquerors, advising him not to determine upon the choice of his allies from doubtful accounts, nor change sides too rashly, lest he should soon have occasion to repent of the measures he had taken. To this the king replied with an insulting air: Yes, indeed, I suppose it was out of pure friendship, that the *Romans*, upon a false report of my grandfather's death, brought their fleet in sight of *Syracuse*. Did they design to make themselves masters of my dominions, or to protect them? This reproach was wholly founded on an ill turn, which the enemies of *Rome* had given to a step of the *Romans*. A report being spread of king *Hiero*'s death, the *Roman* fleet had advanced as far as cape *Pachynum* to assist the grandson of their faithful ally. But as soon as they understood, that *Hiero* was still alive, the fleet returned to *Lilybæum*. Hence the friends of *Carthage* took occasion to persuade the king, that the design of the *Romans* was to seize on his dominions, and keep them for themselves. The embassadors endeavoured to undeceive him, but he with an air of raillery only replied; Since then you could tack about, give me leave in my turn to take advantage of the wind, from what point soever it blows: it is now set for *Carthage*, and I shall sail thither. Upon this the deputies withdrew without returning any answer, and informed the prætor, who had sent them, of all that had passed [k].

Enters into an alliance with Carthage.

From this time *Rome* looked upon the king of *Syracuse* as her enemy. And truly that prince soon after the departure of the embassadors sent three deputies to *Carthage*, to ratify the alliance he had made with *Hannibal*. The conditions of this treaty were; first, that the *Carthaginians* should send a fleet and a land-army to assist *Hieronymus*: Secondly, that after they had with their joint forces driven the *Romans* quite out of the island, they should divide it into two equal parts, the river *Himera* (Q) being the boundary of the *Syracusians* on one side, and of the *Carthaginians* on the other. Such a treaty could not meet with any difficulty from the senate or *Carthage*, since the whole end of it was first to draw off *Hieronymus* from his alliance with the *Romans*, and then to sacrifice him to their ambition. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* were sensible of this, and therefore, as they had more at heart the interest of *Syracuse* than that of *Carthage*, they opened the young prince's eyes, and gave him to understand how prejudicial the second article might prove to him. Your right to all *Sicily*, said they, is indisputable. You are the son of *Nereis*, the daughter of *Pyrrhus*; and who does not know that *Pyrrhus* was, by the unanimous consent of all the *Sicilians*, declared king of the whole island? Though this discourse was no-ways concluſive, yet the young prince's eyes

[l] Liv. l. 24. [k] Liv. ibid.

(Q) There were two rivers in *Sicily* known by the same name of *Himera*. The smaller fell into the *Tyrrhenian* sea, near the present city of *Termini*. The larger, after having watered the middle of the island, discharges itself into the *Lybian* sea. Both these rivers rise on mount *Nebroda*, now *Madonia*. *Solinus*, *Mela*, and some other geographers, make these two but one river, which afterwards divides itself into two branches (42).

(42) *Solin. c.* 13. *Pompon. Mela l.* 2. *c.* 3.

a eyes being easily dazzled with discoveries that favoured his ambition, he immediately dispatched a new embassy to *Carthage*. The former propofals he had made were just upon the point of being signed, and the *Carthaginians* were not a little surprized to see the king change his mind. The embassadors after a long preamble, wherein they endeavoured to prove their master's right to all *Sicily*, and to shew that he could not divide it without wronging himself, confined the alliance with *Carthage* to mutual assistance. The king of *Syracuse*, said they, will assist *Hannibal* in *Italy*, and *Carthage* shall assist him in *Sicily*. As it was of the utmost importance for *Carthage* to separate *Syracuse* from the *Romans*, and to recover a footing in *Sicily*, the senate consented to the new propofals of *Hieronymus*, and began to raise an army and equip a fleet to be sent into that island. Half *Sicily* was at that time in the hands of the *Romans*, and had been a *Roman* province ever since the b treaty, which put an end to the first *Punic* war; for by that treaty the island was divided into two parts; the one was possessed by the *Romans*, and the other by *Hiero*; so that at this time the *Romans* were in a condition to give *Hieronymus* great trouble. However, they could make no impression on the king, who returned them only this unpolite and provoking answer, Let the *Romans* restore all the gold, presents, and corn that they drew from my grandfather, and consent, that the river *Himera* be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the ancient treaties with them [l].

The *Roman* prætor, being exasperated at these proceedings, took the field, and began hostilities in the territory of *Syracuse*, before the arrival of the *Carthaginians* c in *Sicily*. On the other hand, *Hieronymus* leading his troops to *Leontini* on the confines of his dominions, fixed his residence there. His army amounted in all to about fifteen thousand men, of which he detached two thousand under the command of *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* to dislodge some *Roman* garisons from the posts they possessed.

In the mean time the conspirators, whose names *Theodotus* had concealed even Hieronymus *murdered.* in the midst of torments, after having long watched an opportunity of putting their design in execution, at last appointed a day for the dispatching of a tyrant, whose cruelties and other vices they could no longer bear. They posted themd selves in a narrow street, through which the king, during his residence at *Leontini*, used to ride every day on his return from the forum to the palace. His guards always attended him, but one of them, by name *Dinomanes*, was in the number of the conspirators, and agreed with the rest to make the guards halt, and by that means give them an opportunity of falling upon the king, while he was at some distance from his attendants. Accordingly *Dinomanes*, who was at the head of the guards, stopped as it were to tie the strings of his buskins; upon this signal the conspirators, rushing out of their ambush, stabbed the king in several places before he could receive any assistance. For *Dinomanes*, facing about upon his fellow-soldiers, stood their onset, and though dangerously wounded did not retire till the king was dead. When the guards saw the prince wallowing in his blood, and the conspirators advancing to e attack them, they betook themselves to flight. When the king's death was known in the army, which was encamped under the walls of *Leontini*, the soldiers cried out, that the conspirators ought to be all sacrificed to the manes of *Hieronymus*. But the sweet name of liberty, with which the conspirators filled the city and camp, soon appeased their resentment. Hopes were also given them, that the king's treasures should be divided among them, and that they should soon be headed by more able generals, than the late unexperienced young prince. They were also put in mind of the public crimes and private vices of the late king, which, being artfully represented f and in the worst light, filled them with such horror that they left the dead body to rot in the public street. A remarkable instance of the little dependence, that is to be had on the zeal of an inconstant multitude [m].

The king was no sooner dead, but *Sosis* and *Theodotus*, two of the conspirators, hastened to *Syracuse* to prevent the attempts of *Andranodorus* and the others of the king's faction. But notwithstanding their diligence, *Andranodorus* had notice of what had happened before their arrival, and taken his precautions accordingly. He had already seized on the citadel and the island of *Ortygia*, and filled them with

[l] Liv. l. 24. c. 6. [m] Liv. ibid.

with troops and officers in whom he could confide. Some writers are of opinion, a
that the *Roman* prætor *Claudius* was not entirely unconcerned in a plot, which was so
useful to his republic. But, however that be, he did not fail to give the senate im-
mediate advice of all that had passed, and to take the necessary steps for the preser-
ving of that part of *Sicily*, which belonged to the *Romans* [n].

Disturbances in Syracuse.

While *Andranodorus*, supported by the king's faction, was fortifying himself
in *Ortygia*, *Sosis* and *Theodotus* entered that quarter of *Syracuse* called *Tyche*. The
sun was set before they reached the city, but still there was light enough to see the
king's diadem and bloody robes, which the conspirators carried in their hands and
shewed to the people. This sight drew crouds of the inhabitants round them,
whom they invited into *Acradina*, which was as it were the heart of the city, to b
take there proper measures for the recovery of their liberty. Hereupon all the city
sided with the conspirators; lights were seen in all parts; some took to their arms,
and those who had none in their houses ran to the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*,
where the arms of the *Gauls* and *Illyrians* were hung up, which the *Romans* had
presented to their good ally king *Hiero*. Such citizens as were armed posted them-
selves in all the avenues leading to the citadel, and there kept guard all night.
Andranodorus attempted to possess himself of the public granaries, but the soldiers,
whom he employed on this occasion, revolted from him, and delivered them up to
the magistrates of the city. In this manner the first night was spent after the mur-
der of *Hieronymus* [o].

c
The next morning as soon as it was light, all the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, some
armed and some unarmed, crowded into *Acradina*, where the senate was assembled,
which had not been convened, nor consulted, upon any affair since *Hiero*'s death.
Polyænus, an illustrious citizen, spoke to the people with great freedom and mode-
ration. "*Syracusians*, said he, I am not at all surprized to see you up in arms in
"order to recover your ancient liberty. The sense you have of your past slavery,
"and the calamities you have suffered under a tyrannical government, have inspired
"you with this generous resolution. But, after all, you have heard from your
"fathers, that civil discord is likewise attended with great evils, and that *Syracuse*
"has suffered more from domestic than foreign wars. I commend your readiness in d
"taking arms, but should think you still more worthy of commendation, if you
"only used them in the last extremity. It is my opinion, that you send deputies to
"*Andranodorus*, and that you first try by gentle methods, whether you can prevail
"upon him to open the gates of the citadel, to put the island into the hands of the
"magistrates, and to withdraw his garisons. If he submits, violence is useless;
"but if he persists in maintaining himself upon a throne, to which he has no right,
"his crime is greater than that of *Hieronymus*, and deserves a more severe punish-
"ment." This discourse had the desired effect; deputies were sent to *Andrano-
rus*, who entered into a conference with them. He was sensible, that it would be very e
difficult for him to maintain himself in his usurpation against the unanimous consent
of the people. *Ortygia* was already partly possessed by the citizens, and the public
granaries, on which he had depended, were in the power of the magistrates. These
considerations gave him just apprehensions; but his wife *Demarata*, *Hiero*'s daughter,
a haughty and ambitious woman, taking him aside, put him in mind of the famous
saying of *Dionysius* the tyrant, that no man ought to quit a throne till he is dragged
from it by the heels: she advised him to demand time to consider, and in the interim
to bring the troops from *Leontini*, and endeavour to gain them, by promising them
half the king's treasures [p].

Andranodorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to give into f
it without reserve. He chose a mean between both, and resolved to submit to
the senate in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to bring his designs to
bear. He therefore answered the deputies, that he would open the gates of
Ortygia the next day, come into *Acradina*, and give the assembly an account of his
conduct. Accordingly he threw open the gates the next morning, and repairing
to the market-place of *Acradina*, where the people were assembled, he mounted the
tribunal of harangues, and after excusing his delay, from the apprehensions he had
been under of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, he declared, that he was
come to put his life and fortune into the hands of the senate. Then turning to
Sosis

[n] Liv. ibid. c. 23. [o] Liv. ibid. c. 24, [p] Liv. ibid.

a *Sosis* and *Theodotus*. As for you, said he, illustrious avengers of the public wrongs, don't imagine that the glorious work of establishing your liberty is yet accomplished. What you have done hitherto is but a sketch of what ought to follow. An unrestrained populace is as dangerous in a republic as a persecuting tyrant. *Andranodorus*, having spoke these words, laid down the keys of *Ortygia* and of the king's treasures at the feet of the two chiefs of the conspiracy. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the rest of the day spent in feasting and returning thanks to the gods, for so happy a change.

Andranodorus *submits to the senate.*

The next day the people assembled to elect the chief magistrates to govern the state, when *Andranodorus* was one of the first chosen, and with him the chief con-
b spirators, among the rest *Sosipater* and *Dinomanes*, though then at *Leontini*. They had there seized on the money, which *Hieronymus* had with him to pay the troops, and had caused it to be removed to *Syracuse*, where treasurers were chosen to take care of all the effects of the late king. And lastly, as a sign of their having entirely recovered their liberty, they caused the wall to be beat down between *Acradina* and the island *Ortygia*, which was the retreat of the kings.

In the mean time *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, *Hannibal*'s two agents, whom *Hieronymus* had placed at the head of his troops, endeavoured to conceal the king's death from them, and caused those to be assassinated who first spread the report of it in the camp. But all was to no purpose; they were abandoned by the greater part of the
c troops, and obliged to quit the field and repair to *Syracuse*, in order to carry on there the same negotiations with the republic, which they had begun with the king. But finding that the change of government had changed the dispositions of the *Syracusians*, when they were introduced into the senate, they spoke thus: We came into *Sicily* being sent by *Hanibal* as embassadors to *Hieronymus* his friend and ally. We have only obeyed the commands of our general, and if our abode in the island gives you any umbrage, allow us at least a free passage to our amy. *Locri* is the place where we desire to be set ashore in *Italy*, both sea and land are infested by the *Romans*, we beg therefore you would give us a guard to escort us to that port. The *Syracusians* were
d not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent and factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. But as the senate was too dilatory in appointing the time for their departure and the guards to escort them, they found means to form a party against the senate of *Syracuse* and against *Rome*. They had commanded the king's forces, and therefore being well known to the soldiers, they assembled as many of them as they could in their lodgings, and by seditious speeches stirred them up to rebellion, telling them, that the senate designed to deliver up the state to the *Romans*, and sacrifice the public good to their private ambition. *Andranodorus* was not a stranger to these plots, but favoured them underhand, in hopes of turning them to his own advantage. The seditious *Demarata* was conti-
e nually spiriting him up to re-establish monarchy and place himself on the throne. The time is come, said she, for placing *Hiero*'s daughter on the throne of her father. All is quiet in *Syracuse*, but the republic not yet well settled, the soldiers, who are used to receive the king's pay, are not yet dispersed, nor have they imbibed the republican spirit; two great generals, disciples of *Hannibal* in the art of war, are ready to lend us their assistance; they are acquainted with the troops, and esteemed by them: Let us then seize this happy moment, and not delay, till *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* are forced from *Syracuse*, and we deprived of their concurrence [q].

A plot formed by Hippocrates *and* Epicydes.

This discourse of *Demarata* made no small impression on *Andranodorus*; how-
f ever, he did not think fit to imbark in so dangerous an enterprize, till he had communicated his design to *Themistus*. This noble man had married *Harmania* the late king's sister, and therefore shewed a great readiness to enter into the plot, being well apprized, that, if the republican state were restored, he should be reduced to a private station. Thus the design for usurping the throne was formed, and measures taken for the putting of it in execution; but an indiscreet confidence disconcerted the whole. *Themistus* was very intimate with one *Aristo*, a man of no mean birth, but by profession an actor, which was not deemed dishonourable among the *Greeks*, men of distinction appearing sometimes on the stage, and

[q] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 23.

acting parts in tragedies. As soon as *Aristo* was informed by his friend, that the a
conspirators had resolved to put the magistrates to death, and re-establish the
monarchy, he thought it his duty to prefer the interest of his country to the laws
The plot discover'd. of friendship; and accordingly discovered the conspiracy to the chief magistrates
or prætors, by whom, after he had been examined, sentence of death was privately
passed upon *Andranodorus* and *Themistus* upon his deposition alone; for *Aristo* was
known to be a man of great honour and probity. The sentence was to be exe-
cuted at the door of the senate-house, when these two chief conspirators should
come to the senate, and guards were placed at the entrance with private orders,
Andranodorus *and* Themistus *put to death.* to kill them as soon as they appeared. The guards, pursuant to their orders,
fell upon them as they were entering the senate, and the two conspirators fell down b
dead on the spot covered with many wounds. Their death struck the rest of the
senators with terror, for they were quite strangers to the motives of that execution;
but the prætors, when the tumult was quelled, introduced *Aristo*, who unriddled
the whole secret to them, lamented the unhappy fate of his friend *Themistus*, and
discovered the designs of the conspirators. He told them, that the *Iberian* and
African mercenaries, whom *Hieronymus* had kept in his pay, were to have been the
instruments of this new revolution, and to have been employed in cutting off the
chief citizens of *Syracuse*; that their estates were to have been the rewards of the
assassines, and that the due preparations were made for the seizing of *Ortygia* again
in the name of *Andranodorus*. He then entered into a detail of all the circumstances c
of the conspiracy, and named the persons, who were to have executed each particu-
lar part of that black design. As his evidence carried with it all the appearance of
truth and sincerity, the senate passed a decree, declaring, that the death of *Andrano-
dorus* was as just as that of *Hieronymus*.

In the mean time, the populace, not knowing for what reason two citizens of
distinction had been so unexpectedly put to death, threatened to revenge the vio-
lence offered them. But the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators,
which were dragged out into the porch, appeased the tumult, and then *Sopater*, ap-
pointed by the senate to harangue the people, informed them of their pernicious
designs, ascribing all the misfortunes of *Sicily* to them, and not to *Hieronymus*, d
who, being only a youth, had been led astray by their wicked counsels. He in-
sinuated, that the king's guardians and tutors had reigned in his name; that they
ought to have been exterminated with the tyrant; that impunity had encouraged
them to commit new crimes, and even to aspire to the tyranny; that not being
able to succeed in their design by force, they had made use of dissimulation and
perfidy; that neither favours nor honours could get the better of the wicked dis-
position of *Andranodorus*, whom they had raised to the highest dignities with the
deliverers of their country; that as to *Themistus*, he had been inspired, as well as
his accomplice, with the ambition of reigning by his wife. These furies are the
occasion of all our misfortunes, said *Sopater*; these the first authors of the present e
Sentence of death passed on all the royal family, and cruelly put in execution. conspiracy. At these words, the whole assembly cried out, that none of them ought
to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to root out entirely the race of the
tyrants, without any reserve or exception [r]. This cruel sentence was no sooner passed
by the people, but the prætors, who ought to have checked the fury of the multi-
tude, ordered it to be put in execution. *Demarata Hiero*'s daughter, and *Har-
monia Gelon*'s daughter, the former married to *Andranodorus*, and the latter to *The-
mistus*, were killed first. The executioners went afterwards to the house of *Heraclea*,
the wife of *Zoippus*. That virtuous princess was the only person of the royal family,
who was not concerned in the conspiracy. Her husband, having been sent on an
embassy to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, had remained at *Alexandria* to avoid seeing the f
vices and ill conduct of *Hieronymus*. During his abode there, *Heraclea*, whom he
had inspired with noble sentiments, spent her days in retirement, wholly employed
in the education of the two young princesses her daughters. When she heard
that the executioners, after having murdered her sister and niece, were come to her,
she took refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of her house,
where she worshipped her gods. But the murderers found her out, and *Heraclea*
seeing those who were to embrue their hands in her blood, went to meet them,
and with her hair dishevelled, her face bathed in tears, and, in a condition most
proper

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 24, 25.

a proper to move compaſſion, conjured them in the name of *Hiero* her father, not to involve an innocent woman in the guilt of *Hieronymus*; ſhe repreſented to them, that the king, whom they had ſo much reaſon to hate, had done nothing for her but increaſe her affliction, by ſeparating her huſband from her; that not having any ſhare in the deſigns of her ſiſter and niece, ſhe ought to have none in their puniſhment; that her huſband had always declared for a republican ſtate, and would return with joy to *Syracuſe*, if he knew of the death of *Hieronymus* and the preſent revolution. But, alas! ſaid ſhe, how will his hopes be diſappointed? he will find his zeal for his country rewarded with the murder of his wife and children. Tell me, at leaſt, what my crime is. What have you to fear from me in the forlorn condition, to which I b am reduced, or from my daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or ſupport? We are indeed of the blood-royal, and if that gives you umbrage, baniſh us. At *Alexandria* I ſhall find a kind huſband, and my daughters a tender father [c].

Her ſpeech made no impreſſion on the minds of the executioners; they drew their ſwords to ſacrifice thoſe innocent victims, and then *Heraclea*, forgetting her own danger, interceeded only for her daughters; but her intreaties and tears were to no purpoſe; they firſt ſtabbed her in the ſight of her daughters; and then with innumerable wounds diſpatched them already ſtained and covered with the blood of their mother. They were ſcarce dead when an order came from the people to ſuſpend the execution; but when they underſtood that the innocent princeſſes were al- c ready executed, they exclaimed with the utmoſt rage and fury againſt the magiſtrates, who had been ſo ready to put that cruel ſentence in execution, without allowing them time to reflect on the injuſtice of it. The death of *Andranodorus* and *Themiſtus* had occaſioned two vacancies in the college of prætors, and the people took hold of this pretence to come to a new election. The day was fixed for the aſſembly, and all the *Syracuſians* met in the public market-place to give their ſuffrages. Compaſſion for the unfortunate *Heraclea* had greatly abated the hatred of the people to the king's party; inſomuch, that *Hannibal*'s embaſſadors, who had always been zealous for the late king, did not deſpair of being elected. They were originally *Syracuſians*, highly eſteemed by the ſoldiery, and beſides had gained over to their in- d tereſt ſuch among the people, as were moſt touched with compaſſion for the death of *Heraclea* and her daughters. They had alſo the addreſs to place ſome among the crowd, whom they had hired to act and ſpeak in their favour; and theſe, when the people came to vote, cried out, ſome *Epicydes*, and others *Hippocrates*, whoſe names being repeated in ſeveral places, the aſſembly took theſe ſcattered votes for the unanimous conſent of the multitude. The prætors indeed were for bringing the cauſe before the ſenate, but were prevented by the clamours of the people; ſo that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* were declared duly elected.

Epicydes *and* Hippocrates *elected prætors.*

Hannibal was at the bottom of all theſe diſturbances, and had good grounds to hope that they would both ſecure his conqueſts in *Italy*, and give *Carthage* an oppor- e tunity of recovering her ancient dominions in *Sicily*, where *Rome* would find it more difficult to maintain a war, than in her own neighbourhood. The *Romans*, who had been put in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of this iſland, at the end of the firſt *Punic* war, had divided their dominions there into two provinces, under the government of two prætors. *Appius Claudius* ruled in that which bordered on the territories of *Syracuſe*; and *Cornelius Lentulus*, at the head of two legions, commanded in the province which was neareſt to *Lilybæum*. Beſides, *Otacilius* was cruiſing on the coaſt with a fleet of an hundred ſail, and ready to act according to the reſolutions that ſhould be taken at *Syracuſe*. However, the forces of the two prætors were not thought ſufficient by the ſenate of *Rome* to make head againſt the *Syracuſians*, when f ſupported by the numberleſs troops, which in all likelihood would be ſent into the iſland from all parts of *Africa*. It was therefore reſolved, that *Marcellus* ſhould tranſport the army he commanded at *Nola* into *Sicily*, and aſſiſt *Claudius* and *Lentulus*. As *Hannibal* was no longer ſo formidable as he had been, *Marcellus*, though juſt recovered from a fit of ſickneſs, ſet out for *Sicily* on the firſt orders, leaving *Fabius* to keep the *Carthaginian* in awe on the continent, The greateſt part of the *Syracuſian* prætors were ſtill inclined to keep up a good underſtanding with *Rome*, and had ſent deputies to *Claudius* to renew the ancient treaties, which had been violated by

[c] Liv. ibid. c. 26.

by *Hieronymus*. But *Claudius*, who knew that the consul *Marcellus* would soon arrive in *Sicily*, came to no conclusion with them, referring the whole matter to the consul; who, upon his arrival having heard their proposals, and finding them advantagious to his republic, dispatched an embassy to *Syracuse* to confirm the treaty. But the embassadors found the state of affairs much altered. A report had been industriously spread by the emissaries of *Hannibal*, that a *Carthaginian* fleet appeared off cape *Pachynum*, and this report gave new confidence to the enemies of *Rome*. Besides, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* left no stone unturned to inspire the populace with an aversion to the *Romans*. By means of the mercenaries and *Roman* deserters they spread a report, that *Syracuse* was to be delivered up to the *Romans*, and that this design was carrying on by the prætors, who had sold themselves to *Rome*. These suspicions were confirmed by the approach of some ships of *Otacilius*, which *Appius* had ordered to draw near to *Syracuse*, to encourage the party in the *Roman* interest. Nay, the populace, at the instigation of *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, had already taken up arms, to oppose the pretended descent of the *Romans* [t].

a

b

Apollonides *exhorts the* Syracusians *to join the* Romans.

In this confusion the wisest among the prætors thought proper to summon an assembly of the people. Hot debates arose, and there being reason to fear some sedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the occasion. He represented, that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than *Syracuse* was at that time; that if they unanimously joined either the *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, they might escape the dangers that threatened them; but if they were divided, the war would not be more cruel and bloody between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, than between *Syracusians* and *Syracusians*, as having different troops and commanders within the narrow compass of their own walls; that it was therefore absolutely necessary in the first place to agree among themselves, and then to consider which of the two alliances was to be preferred, since they could not possibly stand neuter, while the two rivals were making war under the very walls of *Syracuse*. As for me, said *Apollonides*, if I may be allowed to declare my private opinion, the love I bear my country inclines me to the *Romans*, who have shewed us a steady friendship, and protected us for fifty years together. *Hiero* sided with the *Romans*, and how happy were we during the whole time of his long reign? *Hieronymus* entered into an alliance with *Hannibal*, and hence his untimely end, and our present disturbances. In what then have the *Carthaginians* deserved the preference? He added to this one very material consideration, which was, that if they declared against the *Romans*, they would have the war immediately upon their hands; whereas on the side of *Carthage* the danger was more remote. This discourse made no small impression on the minds of the people, who ordered, that a certain number of military officers should be joined in commission with the prætors and the chief men in the senate to deliberate on the matter. Accordingly the council was held, and, after long and warm debates, it appeared, that *Syracuse* had no just cause to break with *Rome*. So that it was declared, that the treaty of peace concluded with the *Romans* should be continued, and an embassy sent to *Marcellus* to renew it. But the consul would not accept of the alliance, unless *Leontini* and the other cities, which had been subject to the kings, were included in the treaty. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* were overjoyed to hear that the signing of the treaty was put off, being resolved to imbroil matters, and create a misunderstanding between *Rome* and *Syracuse* on the first opportunity; and one offered in a few days. The *Leontines*, being harassed by their neighbours, send to demand aid of the *Syracusians*, who willingly granted them their request, thinking this a favourable opportunity to discharge their city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and to remove their no less dangerous leaders. *Hippocrates* was therefore charged to march at the head of the mercenaries and *Roman* deserters, to the number of four thousand men, into the territory of *Leontini*, and cover their borders against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. *Hippocrates* was not at all displeased with this new commission; he immediately left *Syracuse*, and, not content to defend the *Leontines* and ravage the territories of their enemies, made incursions into the *Roman* province, and laid waste the lands belonging to *Rome*, which bordered on the country of the *Leontines*. In this he acted contrary to the orders he had received; but his only view was to provoke the *Romans*, and oblige them to commit hostilities in the territories of *Syracuse*, wherein

c

d

e

f

Hostilities committed against the Romans *by* Hippocrates.

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 27.

a wherein he ſucceeded; for *Appius Claudius*, who was then the *Roman* prætor in that part of *Sicily*, not being able to bear the inſults of *Hippocrates*, marched his troops to the frontiers of his province, and there poſted them in different places, with orders to oppoſe the *Syracuſian* prætor, and repel force by force. This was what *Hippocrates* wanted, and accordingly, pretending that the *Romans* were come to attack him, he fell upon one of *Appius*'s detachments, and cut the whole body in pieces. *Marcellus*, upon advice of theſe proceedings, ſent deputies to *Syracuſe*, enjoyning them to declare before the ſenate and people, that no alliance was to be expected with *Rome*, ſo long as theſe two enemies to the *Roman* name continued in *Sicily*, and therefore to inſiſt upon their being baniſhed the iſland. The *Syracuſians* ſhewed a great readineſs to
b comply with the conſul's requeſt, and orders were given for the apprehending of *Epicydes*, *Hippocrates* being at that time in the territory of the *Leontines* at the head of an army. But *Epicydes*, having timely notice of the deſign of the *Syracuſians*, made his eſcape, and took ſanctuary in *Leontini*, where he hoped to create new troubles. He was there received by his collegue, and both together uſed their utmoſt endeavours to embroil the *Leontines* with the *Syracuſians*, by ſtirring them up to reſume their ancient liberty. The city of *Leontini* had been always ſubject to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*; but in more ancient times an independent ſtate, and was now inclined to throw off the yoke, and recover its ancient rights and privileges. This diſpoſition of the people *Epicydes* made uſe of to attach them to his intereſt, openly de-
c claring, that neither he, nor his collegue *Hippocrates*, would ever abandon them, till they were as free as *Syracuſe* herſelf. What, ſaid he, ſhall *Leontini* be in a worſe condition than *Syracuſe*? Shall that imperious city ſhake off the yoke of her kings, and at the ſame time keep you in ſlavery? That liberty, which *Syracuſe* is ſo proud of, took birth within your walls. The blood of *Hieronymus* was ſhed here; the cry of liberty was firſt heard among you. What then prevents you from procuring that freedom for yourſelves, which *Syracuſe* found in your city? *Hippocrates* and I will aſſiſt you to the utmoſt of our power, and promiſe you, in the name of our republic, and in that of the great *Hannibal*, that you ſhall be ſoon in a condition to act as independently of *Syracuſe*, as that city has done of you. The name of liberty was
d ſo agreeable to the *Leontines*, that with one conſent they declared *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* their generals, proteſting, that whatever meaſures *Syracuſe* might take, they would enter into none, but ſuch as were approved of by their new commanders. Hence, when the *Syracuſians* ſent to complain of the hoſtilities committed againſt the *Romans*, and to demand, that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* ſhould be expelled *Sicily*, neither their complaints nor demands were heard. They received only this proud anſwer, that the republic of *Leontini* had not empowered that of *Syracuſe* to comprehend her in their alliance with the *Romans* [u].

Hippocrates *and* Epicydes *elected generals of the* Leontines.

The *Syracuſian* deputies informed the conſul of the revolt of the *Leontines*, and not only left him at liberty to declare war againſt them without any infraction of the
e treaty made with their republic; but even offered to aſſiſt him in ſo juſt a war, on condition, that the *Leontines*, when ſubdued, ſhould again be ſubject to the *Syracuſians* their ancient maſters. *Marcellus* immediately took upon him the command of the troops which ſerved under *Appius* the prætor, whom he appointed his lieutenant, and marched againſt the city of *Leontini*. The legionaries were ſo enraged at the remembrance of the unexpected maſſacre of their companions by *Hippocrates*, that they took the place at the firſt aſſault. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had time to ſave themſelves in the citadel, whence they withdrew the night following, and retired to *Erbeſſus* or *Herbeſſus* on the river *Anapus*, near the frontiers of the *Syracuſian* territories. In their retreat they were informed, that a body of eight thouſand men was marching from *Syracuſe* under
f the command of *Soſis* and *Dinomenes* to join *Marcellus*. Whereupon the two cunning partizans of *Hannibal* hired men of their faction to meet thoſe two commanders on the road, and to pretend, that they had eſcaped from the general ſlaughter at *Leontini*, where the *Romans* had put all the inhabitants to death, and burnt the city to the ground. *Marcellus* indeed had cauſed all the *Roman* deſerters found in the place, to the number of two thouſand, to be beheaded; but had treated both the inhabitants and the mercenary troops with his uſual clemency; nay, he was buſy at that very time in reſtoring the inhabitants their goods; and ſcarce any thing had been taken out of their houſes but what the ſoldiers had ſeized in their firſt fury. However, this

Leontini *taken by* Marcellus.

[u] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 30. Plut. in Marcell.

false report made such an impression on the soldiers, that their officers could not pre- a
vail upon them to march any farther, but were forced to lead them to *Megara*, a
city in that neighbourhood. There they had a more certain account of what had
passed at *Leontini*, and having discovered the cheat *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had put
upon them, they resolved to be revenged, and pursued them to *Erbessus*. The two
chiefs of the *Carthaginian* party, hearing that the *Syracusians* were on full march to
Erbessus, and dreading the resentment of the two commanders, whom they had ex-
asperated with the false reports which had caused a tumult in the army, took this
desperate step. Remembering that they had formerly acquired great reputation
among the *Syracusian* troops, that had served under them in the time of *Hieronymus*
and consisted chiefly of foreigners and mercenaries, they resolved to leave their asy- b
lum, meet the army, and throw themselves upon the mercy of the soldiers. It
happened luckily for them, that a body of *Cretans*, who were greatly addicted to the
Carthaginians, were marching at the head of the *Syracusian* army. These *Cretans*
had formerly served the *Romans* as auxiliaries; but being taken prisoners at the
battle of *Thrasymenus*, had been kindly treated by *Hannibal*, and sent home without
ransom. To them therefore *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* addressed themselves as suppli-
ants, and presenting them with olive-branches, which were the symbols of peace,
Cretans, said they, we now expect you will shew us some marks of your friendship
and gratitude, not suffering the *Syracusians* to give us up to the fury of the *Romans*.
The *Cretans*, affected with their speech, immediately took them under their protecti- c
on, and promised either to share their danger, or deliver them out of it. *Sosis* and *Di-*
nomenes ordered the two prisoners to be put in irons as enemies of the state, but the sol-
diers refused to obey their orders, protesting, that they would stand by them to the
last drop of their blood. So that the two generals were forced to let the criminals
escape unpunished, and guard as well as they could against new intrigues. And
now *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, seeing the disposition of the army, invented a stra-
tagem worthy of *Hannibal* himself. They counterfeited a letter from the two ge-
nerals to *Marcellus*, and hired a courier, who was to suffer himself to be taken in the
road from *Megara* to *Syracuse*. The letter was couched in the following terms: Sosis
and Dinomenes *to the consul* Marcellus, *greeting*. *We are overjoyed to hear that you* d
have put all the Leontines *to the sword, especially the mercenaries who were commanded*
by Hippocrates. *Our republic will never be at rest while we have any of these foreigners*
amongst us. Turn then your arms towards Megara, *and deliver* Syracuse *from the*
mercenaries we command. It is easy to imagine what effect the reading of this letter
must have had on the minds of the soldiers. They immediately cried, *to arms*, and
would have fallen on their generals, if they had not saved themselves by flight to
Syracuse, whither the calumny followed them. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, having
corrupted one of the soldiers who had been shut up in *Leontini*, sent him away to
Syracuse, that he might appear there as an eye-witness of the pretended cruelties prac- e
tised by *Marcellus* at the taking of the city. He exaggerated the inhumanity of the
Romans, and declared that every thing had been destroyed by fire and sword. This
report found credit not only among the common people, but even among some of
the magistrates. The informer was brought into the senate, and being examined,
his deposition raised a jealousy among the leading men of the republic, who thought
it necessary to shut the gates of *Syracuse*, and guard the city against the *Romans*, as an
enemy, whose avarice and cruelty would spare nothing. However, this falsehood did
not take with all; there were but few, besides the populace and soldiery, who gave
into it; the rest were undeceived by *Sosis* and *Dinomenes* [w].

In the mean time *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, taking advantage of the absence of f
Sosis and *Dinomenes*, made themselves masters of the army, and so incensed them
against their generals, that they were for cutting in pieces the few *Syracusian* troops
that served among them, as privy to their design of destroying all the foreigners. But
the two *Carthaginians* stopped their fury, not so much out of compassion as policy.
They were sensible, that the massacre of those innocent men would have provoked
the citizens of *Syracuse* against them; whereas by protecting them they secured to
themselves both their friendship and that of their relations. Having taken these
precautions, they began their march to *Syracuse*, and finding the gates shut, they
prevailed

[w] Liv. ibid. c. 34, 35.

a prevailed upon the officers of the guard to open one, declaring, that their only deſign was to defend the city againſt the *Romans*. Some part of the army was already entered, when the *Syracuſian* prætors haſtening to the gate, commanded it to be ſhut. But the ſoldiers without and populace within conſpiring together, the few *Syracuſian* troops, that were then under arms, could not prevent the whole army from entering the city, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the quarter called *Tyche*. The prætors retired to *Acradina*, but as they had only a handful of young citizens to defend it, that poſt was ſoon forced, and all the prætors who were there maſſacred, except *Soſis*, who eſcaped in the tumult, and took ſanctuary in the *Roman* camp. Thus the two partizans of *Carthage* became maſters of *Syracuſe*, and, having the people and troops at their devotion, ruled with as abſolute and arbitrary a ſway
b as any tyrants had done before them. And now, foreſeeing that *Marcellus* would ſoon lay ſiege to the city, they neglected nothing that was neceſſary to put it in a poſture of defence. They gave the ſlaves their liberty, and enrolled them in the troops. They ſet free all priſoners, aſſembled the people to elect new prætors, and prevailed upon the blind multitude to elect them only, which was confirming the ſovereignty they had uſurped.

Hippocrates and Epicydes enter Syracuſe

Marcellus no ſooner heard that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* were become maſters of *Syracuſe*, but he left *Leontini*, and, at the entreaties of the prætors, who had fled for refuge to his camp, came and inveſted the city. The *Roman* prætor *Appius* ſtill endeavoured to bring about an accommodation, and with this view ſent two gallies
c to *Syracuſe*, with embaſſadors to negotiate a reconciliation between the *Romans* and the citizens. But one of the gallies being by a violent ſtorm driven into the port, the *Syracuſians* ſeized it, and by that act of hoſtility declared war. The other galley, which had the embaſſadors on board, returned without landing them, left the law of nations ſhould be violated in their perſons. However, *Marcellus*, who was encamped near the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, about a mile and a half from the city, in order to bring the *Syracuſians* to reaſon, ſent in a new embaſſy. But *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, hearing of their approach, went out to meet them with a numerous attendance, not caring they ſhould come into the city. The *Roman*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, addreſſing the *Syracuſians*, told them, that the *Roman*
d conſul was not come as an enemy to deprive them of their liberty, but to reſcue them from the oppreſſion they groaned under, and to revenge the death of their murdered prætors; and that if they ſuffered their magiſtrates, who had ſheltered themſelves in the *Roman* camp, to return and live at home quietly, if they delivered up into the conſul's hands the authors of the late ſlaughter, and reſtored the city of *Syracuſe* to its ancient liberty, the *Romans* would have no occaſion to make uſe of arms, or employ any violence. But, if they did not comply with theſe juſt demands, they ſhould be obliged to treat them as enemies, and make them feel the moſt dreadful effects of war. To this *Hippocrates* haughtily replied, that if they intended to beſiege *Syracuſe*, they ſhould ſoon be made ſenſible of the difference between that city
e and *Leontini*, and that as for their demands, they would grant none of them. Having made this ſhort reply, he turned his back upon the deputies, returned into the city with his attendants, and cauſed the gates to be ſhut. *Marcellus* therefore determined to beſiege the place by ſea and land, and made the neceſſary preparations for ſo great an undertaking *.

Syracuſe *beſieged by* Marcellus.

When the *Romans* had taken their poſts, they hoped to carry the city of *Syracuſe* by aſſault, as they had lately done that of *Leontini*. The attack was general, on the ſide of *Acradina* by ſea, and of *Tyche* by land. *Marcellus* took upon him the command of the fleet, leaving the land-forces to be conducted by *Appius*. The
f city was twenty-two miles in compaſs, and nevertheleſs *Marcellus* cauſed machines of various ſorts to be raiſed all round it, in hopes of finding ſome weak place in ſo vaſt a compaſs of walls. But to his great ſurprize he found all places equally defended by the wonderful induſtry of a ſingle man. This was the celebrated *Archimedes*, who, at the requeſt of king *Hiero*, to whom he was related, had framed ſuch engines of war, as quite diſconcerted the meaſures of the *Romans*. That pacific prince had no occaſion to make uſe of theſe maſter-pieces of art, during the whole length of his reign, nor, probably, did he ever imagine, that they would be firſt uſed againſt his faithful allies the *Romans*. But *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, finding how uſeful both the

Archimedes *defends* Syracuſe *with his ſurprizing machines.*

* Liv. l. xxiv. c. 24. Polyb. l. viii. Plut. in Marcell.

the machines and the contriver might prove in so critical a conjuncture, prevailed upon that great mathematician to undertake the defence of his country; and to his genius alone it was owing, that the city, though of so large a compass, held out near three years against the utmost efforts of a consular army. The immense preparations, which the consul made for the taking the city by storm, could not have failed carrying it, had it not been defended by *Archimedes*. The *Roman* fleet consisted of sixty quinqueremes, besides a far greater number of other ships. The decks were covered with soldiers armed with darts, slings, and bows, to drive the besieged from the ramparts, which on the side of *Acradina* were washed by the sea, and to facilitate the approach to the walls. But a machine of *Marcellus*'s own invention was what he chiefly depended on. He had fastened together side-ways eight gallies of different lengths, which made but one large body, and were rowed only by the oars of the outermost gallies. These eight gallies, thus joined, served only as a basis for a machine, which was raised up higher than the highest towers of the walls, and had at the top a platform, guarded with parapets in front and on each side. This machine was called a *sambuca*, from its resemblance to a musical instrument of that name, not unlike a harp. The consul's design was to bring his *sambuca* to the foot of the walls of *Acradina*; but while it was still at a considerable distance (and it advanced very slow being moved only by two ranks of rowers) *Archimedes* discharged from one of his engines a vast stone, weighing, according to *Plutarch*'s account (R), twelve hundred and fifty pounds, then a second, and immediately after a third, all which, falling upon the *sambuca* with a dreadful noise, broke its supports, and gave the gallies, upon which it stood, such a violent shock, that they parted, and the machine, which *Marcellus* had raised upon them, at a vast trouble and expence, was battered to pieces. At the same time several other machines, which were not visible without the walls, and consequently did not lessen the confidence of the *Romans* in the assault, played incessantly upon their ships, and overwhelmed them with showers of stones, rafters, and beams pointed with iron. Insomuch, that *Marcellus*, being at a loss what to do, retired with all possible haste, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same; for the attack on the land-side was attended with no better success, the ranks being broke and thrown into the utmost confusion by the stones and darts, which flew with such noise, force, and rapidity, that they struck the *Romans* with terror, and dashed all to pieces before them [y].

Marcellus surprised, though not discouraged, at this artificial storm, which he did not expect, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, the next day before sun-rise, to come up close under the wall and keep there. They were in hopes by this means to secure themselves against this terrible storm of stones and darts, which fell on the ships when at a distance. But *Archimedes* had prepared engines, which were adapted to all distances. When the *Romans* therefore had brought their ships close under the wall, and thought themselves well covered, they were unexpectedly overwhelmed with a new shower of darts and stones, which fell perpendicularly on their heads, which obliged them to retire with great precipitation. But they were no sooner got at some distance, than a new shower of darts overtook them, which made a dreadful havock of the men, while stones of an immense weight, discharged from other machines, either disabled or broke in pieces most of their gallies. This loss they sustained without being able to revenge it in the least on the enemy. For *Archi-*

[y] Liv. Plut. Polyb. ibid.

(R) It is not easy to conceive, how the machines formed by *Archimedes* could throw stones of ten quintals, or of ten talents weight, as *Plutarch* expresses it (43), at the fleet of *Marcellus*, when it was at a considerable distance from the walls of *Syracuse*. If what *Plutarch* affirms be true, our artillery falls short of those frightful machines. Some have therefore questioned that author's account, and adhered to *Polybius*, who reduces the stones, that were thrown by the *Balistæ* made by *Archimedes*, to the weight of ten pounds. If we suppose that each of these stones, or rather rocks, weighed ten quintals, we cannot compute them at less than twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight each, at the rate of an hundred and twenty-five pounds each quintal or talent, according to the custom of computing received among the ancient *Greeks*, and here used by *Plutarch*. *Livy* seems to agree with *Polybius*, and only says, that the machines of *Archimedes* threw stones of a great weight on the gallies of *Marcellus*. If we reckon the talents mentioned by *Plutarch*, according to the talents used in *Sicily*, the stones will be reduced to the weight of 125 pounds only; nay, some authors infer from various passages of *Suidas*, *Pollux*, and *Festus*, that the talent of *Sicily* scarce weighed ten pounds.

(43) *Plut. in Marcell.*

a *Archimedes* had placed most of his engines behind the walls, and not only out of the reach, but even out of the sight of the enemy; so that the *Romans* were repulsed with a dreadful slaughter, without seeing the hand that occasioned it, as if they had been fighting, to use *Plutarch*'s expression, not with men, but with the gods themselves. What most harassed the *Romans* in the attack by sea was, a sort of crow with iron claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the gallies. Then the besieged by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley, to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at
b the same time into the water. After this the crow letting go its hold all on a sudden, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water and sunk. At other times the machines dragging ships to the shore by hooks, dashed them to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls. Other vessels were quite lifted up into the air, there whirled about with incredible rapidity, and then let fall into the sea, and sunk with all that were in them. How these stupendous works were effected, few, if any, have hitherto been able to understand. Some writers are of opinion, that *Plutarch* and *Polybius*, from whom we have these accounts, had no better authority for their relations than a tradition, founded only on the ignorance of those who handed it down to them. The *Romans*,
c say they, in the time of *Marcellus*, did not value themselves upon diving into the secrets of mechanism, and therefore to extol the conqueror of *Syracuse* took pleasure in magnifying every thing, and making miracles of the most common effects of mechanics. Thus some authors reason, and chuse to lessen the credit of venerable writers, and of *Archimedes* himself, rather than honestly confess, that the machines, as described by *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and *Livy*, were wonders of mechanism, which all mankind are not capable of understanding.

The troops under the command of *Appius* suffered no less in this second attack than the fleet. In the whole space of ground, which the army, when formed, took up, the last files, as well as the first, were overwhelmed with showers of darts and flints,
d against which they could not possibly defend themselves. When they had with infinite trouble brought the mantelets and coverd galleries, under which they were to work the rams, near the foot of the wall, *Archimedes* discharged such large beams and stones upon them as crushed them to pieces. If any brave *Roman* ventured to draw too near to the wall, iron hooks were immediately let down from above, which taking hold of his cloaths, or some part of his body, lifted him up in the air, and dashed out his brains with the fall. Thus one single man repulsed two *Roman* armies, by mere dint of genius, without having any occasion to make use of the sword, The *Syracusians* were no more than his instruments in managing the machines according to his directions, while he himself was the soul that presided over all their powers and operations. *Marcellus*, though at a loss what to do, could not, however, forbear expressing himself with pleasantry; shall we persist, said he to his workmen, in making war upon this *Briareus*, upon this giant with an hundred hands? But the soldiers were so terrified, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they immediately turned their backs and fled, crying out, that *Archimedes* was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them[z].

Marcellus and *Claudius*, seeing their troops thus disheartened, and having no hopes of making a breach in the walls, called a council, in which it was resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, shut up all the avenues to the place both by sea and land, and force it to surrender by famine. But in the mean time, that so great an army might not continue inactive before one single city, *Marcellus*, leaving *Appius* before
f *Syracuse* to intercept all convoys to it, put himself at the head of two-thirds of the *Roman* troops, and set out to reconquer the cities, which, in this general disturbance of *Sicily*, had deserted the *Romans*. *Elorum* and *Herbessus* surrendered of their own accord, and were kindly treated by the conqueror; but *Megara*, having stood a siege, was taken and razed to the ground, which struck no small terror into the *Syracusians*, who now began to fear the like fate. After *Marcellus* had reduced a great many cities without opposition, there being no army in the field to oppose him, at last *Hamilco* entered the port of *Heraclea* with a numerous fleet sent from *Carthage*, and

Marcellus *reduces several cities.*

[z] Plut. Polyb. Liv. ubi supra.

landed twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. His forces were no sooner set ashore, but he marched against *Agrigentum*, which he retook from the *Romans*, with several other cities lately reduced by *Marcellus*. Upon the news of his arrival and progress, which were soon known at *Syracuse*, the garison, which was yet entire and had suffered no hardships from the siege, was very impatient to take the field and join *Hamilco*. Accordingly it was resolved, that *Epicydes* should command in the city, during the blockade, and *Hippocrates* march out at the head of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, to carry on the war in concert with *Hamilco*, and stop the progress of *Marcellus*. This design was executed in the night without difficulty, *Hippocrates* at the head of his detachment broke through the *Roman* lines, and encamped at *Acrillæ*, a small town to the south of *Syracuse*.

In the mean time *Marcellus*, after having made a vain attempt upon *Agrigentum*, which was held by *Hamilco*, was returning with his army to *Syracuse*. He did not know that *Hippocrates* had broke out of the besieged city, and was so near him; but nevertheless marched in good order for fear of a surprize. As he drew near *Acrillæ*, he unexpectedly discovered the enemy busy in fortifying their camp, in order to pass the night there. Whereupon he advanced in great haste, and falling upon them, before they had time to draw up, cut eight thousand of them in pieces. The cavalry with a small body of infantry made their escape, under the conduct of *Hippocrates*, to *Acræ* (S), a city belonging to *Syracuse*; and *Marcellus*, after this victory, which kept several cities steady in the interest of *Rome*, pursued his march to *Syracuse*, and kept it more closely blocked up than ever [a].

And defeats Hippocrates.

While *Marcellus* and *Appius* continued inactive before *Syracuse*, succours were brought both to the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, the two republics being resolved to make their utmost efforts in *Sicily*. *Bomilcar* arrived at *Syracuse* with a fleet of fifty sail, and about the same time a *Roman* fleet brought a whole legion to *Panormus*. This legion *Hamilco* hoped to surprize before they reached the *Roman* camp, but they luckily kept along the coast, and arrived safe at cape *Pachynum*, while *Hamilco*, expecting they would have crossed the country, lay in wait for them at a great distance from the shore. At *Pachynum Appius* met them with a large detachment, and conducted them to the main body of the army before *Syracuse*. As for *Bomilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, soon after his arrival he put to sea again and returned to *Carthage*, upon advice, that the *Roman* fleet, which was far more strong than his, was advancing to attack him. *Hamilco*, being joined by *Hippocrates* and the few troops that had escaped the late slaughter, advanced to *Syracuse* in order to draw *Marcellus* to a battle. But, finding the *Roman* general kept close in his lines, which were well fortified, he left *Syracuse*, and marching about the country drew several cities off from the *Romans*. *Murgantia* betrayed the *Roman* garison into his hands and surrendered. *Enna*, a city of great importance, intended to follow the example of *Murgantia*. But *Pinarius*, the commander of the garison, being alarmed at the reports which were spread of the revolt of many cities, after having massacred the *Roman* garisons, kept part of his men under arms night and day, so that all the *Sicilian* artifices to deceive him proved ineffectual. He set and relieved the guards himself, and was ever ready against all events, as if *Hamilco* had been at the gates. The inhabitants therefore, who had promised to deliver up the city to *Hamilco*, finding that *Pinarius* could not be surprised, resolved to attempt something by open force, and assembling in crowds demanded of him the keys of their city. *Pinarius* calmly told them, that he had received the keys of the city, and his commission to guard it, from his general; that it was in vain to apply to him while the consul was within reach; and lastly, that he could not disobey the orders of his general, without drawing upon himself and his family the severest punishments. The *Ennenses* answered,

Several cities revolt to the Carthaginians.

[a] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 35.

(8) *Acræ* was built, according to *Thucydides* (44), by the *Syracusians* about the fourth year of the eighth *olympiad*, seventy years after the foundation of *Syracuse*. *Cluverius* plainly proves from the march which *Hippocrates* here takes, and from the old itineraries, that this city stood near the monastery, which the *Sicilians* call *Santa Maura d'Arcia*, between the cities of *Noto* and *Avula*, about twenty-four miles from *Syracuse*.

(44) *Thucyd. l.* vi.

a answered, that if he did not of his own accord comply with their request, they would deliver themselves from their present slavery by force. To which *Pinarius* replied, that since they would not be at the trouble of recurring to *Marcellus*, he desired they would at least suffer an assembly of the people to be called, that he might know, whether this was the motion of a few only, or of the whole city. This being granted, and the assembly appointed to meet the next day, *Pinarius*, perceiving that the multitude were determined to come to some violent resolution, took his measures accordingly. In order to secure himself against their furious attempts, he retired with his garison into the citadel, and there acquainted them with the danger that threatened them. The perfidious *Ennenses*, said he, design to put us all to death, and then b surrender themselves up to the *Carthaginians*. An assembly of the people is appointed to meet to-morrow. By Break of day therefore our fate or that of the treacherous *Sicilians* must be determined. If we are not by that time masters of their lives and fortunes, they will be of ours. Let us not then suffer them to prevent us. Arm yourselves, and wait for a signal from me. I shall be at the assembly, and when I give you a signal with my robe, make a great shout, fall on the citizens, and cut them in pieces without giving any quarter. Having thus spoke, he posted some of his troops in the avenues to the market-place, and others in the theatre, where the assembly was held. As soon as it was day, *Pinarius* came to the place appointed, and represented to the multitude, that he could not surrender the keys, c without incurring the displeasure of his general, which would prove fatal to him and his children. Upon this the whole multitude cried out, that he must deliver the keys, and that as to the incurring the displeasure of his general, that was nothing to them. They then crowded round him and began to offer violence, when *Pinarius* starting up, Your blood, said he, shall atone for the affront you offer a *Roman* officer, and immediately gave the signal agreed on, and the soldiers rushing in upon the unarmed multitude began the slaughter. Some posted themselves at the doors that none might escape, others sword in hand fell upon those who had surrounded their commander. The floor and seats of the theatre were in an instant covered with blood, and as many were stifled in endeavouring to escape, as fell by the sword. d The slaughter in the streets was no less dreadful, the dead and wounded lying everywhere in heaps; none were spared, and the city was treated as if it had been taken by assault, and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Thus *Enna* was kept in the hands of the *Romans*, who excused their conduct on this occasion by saying, that they had only been before-hand with those, who designed to treat them in the same manner. And indeed *Marcellus*, who was a man of a very mild and humane temper, approved of this action, and even granted the soldiers all the plunder which had been found in the city. But, as the city of *Enna* was consecrated to *Ceres* and her daughter *Proserpine*, the *Sicilians* were highly offended at the massacre of the *Ennenses*, and their revolts became daily more frequent [b].

Enna *preserved by* Pinarius.

e In the mean-time *Marcellus*, having kept all the avenues to *Syracuse* shut up the whole summer, thought it adviseable to put his men into winter-quarters, in some place near the besieged city; and accordingly retired to *Leon* (T) in that neighbourhood, to watch there the city and keep it blocked up till spring. He sent *Appius Claudius* to *Rome*, that prætor intending to ask the consulship against the next year, a dignity which he had well deserved. *T. Quintius Crispinus*, one of *Marcellus*'s lieutenants, was put in his room, and soon after new consuls being created, viz. *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *Marcellus*, from being consul, became proconsul in *Sicily*, and commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces there.

When the season of the year suffered the proconsul to take the field again, he was f at a loss what to do; some of his officers advised him to attack *Hamilco* in *Agrigentum*, and others to return to his trenches before *Syracuse* and continue the blockade. But the wise proconsul foresaw, that it it would be impossible for him to take the city, either by

[b] Liv. ibid. c. 36.

(T) The town of *Leon* stood north of *Syracuse*, six or seven furlongs from *Hexapylum*, as *Thucydides* informs us (45). *Hexapylum* was a stately building, which served for an entrance into *Syracuse* by the quarter called *Tyche*. *Livy* (46) reckons the distance between *Hexapylum* and *Leon* to be five thousand paces. But this seems very improbable; for *Marcellus* encamped there with a design to continue the blockade of *Syracuse*. Interpreters therefore commonly take for granted, that the text of *Livy* is corrupted, and that we ought to read *Mille & quingentis passibus*, instead of *quinque millia passuum*. By this correction *Livy*'s account agrees better with that of *Thucydides*.

(45) *Thucyd. l.* vi.

(46) *Liv. l.* xxiv. c. 37.

by force, while it was defended by *Archimedes*; or by famine, while the *Carthaginian* fleet, which was returned far more numerous than before, supplied it with provisions. He therefore thought, that the only expedient was to try whether he could make himself master of *Syracuse* by some secret intelligence. There were many *Syracusians* in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. *Marcellus* therefore disclosed his scheme to these faithful allies, and impowered them to offer their countrymen their lives and liberties, if they surrendered to the *Romans*. The *Syracusians* in the camp zealously entered into the proconsul's measures; but as they found it impossible to carry on a correspondence with their friends in the city, they resolved to send into a *Syracuse* a trusty slave, as a deserter, to acquaint their friends with the proconsul's proposals. The slave acquitted himself of his charge with great fidelity, and above fourscore persons of distinction, hiding themselves under the nets in a fisher-boat, came successively to the *Roman* camp and conferred in person with *Marcellus*. But when the conspiracy was upon the point of taken effect, one *Attalus*, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to *Epicydes*, who put all the conspirators to death.

Marcellus, seeing his scheme thus defeated, found himself involved in new difficulties. Nothing came into his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having spent so much time in it, and lost great numbers of men and ships. While he was deliberating what to do, an unforeseen accident revived his hopes of gaining at last the place. *Epicydes* had sent one *Damippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, to demand succours of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who had already entered into a treaty with the *Carthaginians*. *Damippus* was taken by some ships of the *Roman* squadron, and brought to the camp of *Marcellus*. But *Epicydes*, extremely concerned at his detention, expressed a great desire to ransom the prisoner, and the *Roman* general was not averse to it, *Rome* having her reasons to keep up a good understanding with *Lacedæmon* at that time. Conferences therefore were appointed to be held near *Syracuse*, at a place called *Portus Trogilorum* (U). by the foot of a tower called *Galeagra*. As the deputies went to and fro, it came into a *Roman* soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, which were all of an equal size, and examined with his eye the measure of each, he found that the wall was not so high as had been imagined, and concluded, that it might be scaled with ladders of a moderate size. The soldier therefore, without loss of time, gave the proconsul an account of what he had observed, and *Marcellus* did not neglect the hint; he examined the place himself, and found that the soldier's observations were very just. But the difficulty was how to come with his men to the place, which indeed was weak, but well defended with *Archimedes*'s machines, and guarded with extraordinary care. While *Marcellus* was meditating with himself by what stratagem he might surprize the centinels there on guard, a deserter informed him, that the *Syracusians* were on a certain day to begin the celebration of the festival of *Diana* (W), which lasted three days, and that *Epicydes*, who wanted other provisions, designed to distribute wine in great plenty among the people and soldiers. Upon this advice *Marcellus* resolved to attack the city in one of the nights during the festival, not confining the assault to the weak place, but making it general. To this end he held a council with some tribunes of the army, and chose out a certain number of the most resolute centurions, giving them leave to select a thousand men out of the whole army. These were ordered first to take a repast, and then to repose till the trumpet called them. In the mean-time ladders were prepared with great secrecy, to prevent the enemy from being informed by their spies. The *Roman* general determined to make his attack, when the townsmen and soldiers, after having drunk plentifully, were in their first sleep. The scaling-ladders were committed to

(U) *Trogilorum* was a name common both to a suburb and a port near *Syracuse*; both which lay north of *Tyche* and *Acradina*. As to the tower called *Galeagra*, it stood near the *Portus Trogilorum*, where *Tyche* and *Acradina* joined.

(W) This festival was celebrated in honour of *Diana* under the name of *Artemis*, not only at *Syracuse*, but at *Delphos*, and in most cities of *Greece*. On this occasion they offered to the goddess a mullet, as being thought to bear some sort of relation to her; because it is said to hunt and kill the seahare (47). The bread offered to the goddess was called *Lochia*, and the women, who performed the sacred rites, *Lombai* (48). The *Greeks* celebrated no fewer than twenty-two festivals in honour of *Diana*; of which *Johnson* in his work, intitled, *de Festis Græcorum*, gives a minute and distinct account.

(47) *Athenæus*, *l.* vii. (48) *Hesychius* & *Athenæus*, *ibid.*

a to the management of one ſingle manipulus or company, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty men. Thoſe advanced ſilently to the foot of the wall, to which they applied their ladders, and made themſelves maſters of the tower of *Galeagra*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, or even being diſcovered, the ſoldiers being all aſleep after their debauch. When the firſt had gained the top of the ramparts without noiſe or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldneſs and ſucceſs of their leaders. At length this whole detachment, conſiſting of a thouſand choſen men, got ſafe and undiſcovered into the city. In the mean-time another detachment, taking advantage of the enemy's ſtilneſs, for they were all either drunk or aſleep, beat down one of the gates of *Hexapylum*, and gave a free paſſage to a great body b of *Romans* on that ſide. Other detachments ſcaled the walls in different parts, and they all met at *Hexapylum*, which had before been appointed for the place of their general rendezvous. The *Romans* now kept ſilence no longer, but advanced in order of battle, and made themſelves maſters of the quarter called *Epipolæ*, which was encompaſſed with the ſame common wall as *Ortygia*, *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*; had its own citadel called *Euryalum* on the top of a ſteep rock, and was, we may ſay, a fifth city. Here the *Romans* ſpent the night, making a dreadful noiſe with their trumpets in order to ſtrike terror into the enemy. The ſound was not heard all over this vaſt city, but it reached far enough to alarm all *Tyche*, and throw that quarter into the utmoſt conſternation; ſome of the inhabitants there, thinking c the *Romans* already in poſſeſſion of the whole city, leaped down from the walls into the ditch, while others, falling in with the *Roman* guards, were cut in pieces. Notwithſtanding this confuſion, *Marcellus* waited till day-break, and then having beat down the ſtately entrance with ſix gates, called *Hexapylum*, he entered *Tyche* with his army in battalia [c].

Epipolæ *taken*

And Tyche.

In the mean-time *Epicydes*, who was quartered in the fartheſt part of *Ortygia*, at a great diſtance from the places poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, hearing that the enemy had ſeized on *Epipolæ* and *Tyche*, went out of the iſland, and croſſed *Acradina* at the head of a numerous body of mercenaries, with a deſign to drive the *Romans* from their poſts, imagining that only a few deſperate men had ſcaled the walls. But when d he ſaw, to his great ſurprize, all *Epipolæ* full of legionaries, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, he retired into *Acradina*, to allay the people's fears and prevent a tumult. Then *Marcellus* marching from *Tyche* to *Epipolæ* joined the detachment, which had poſſeſſed themſelves of that quarter in the night. As *Marcellus* was now on the point of becoming maſter of one of the fineſt and moſt opulent cities in the world, his officers did not fail to congratulate him on his ſucceſs. But he, conſidering from an eminence the beauty and extent of that great and ſtately metropolis, is ſaid to have ſhed e tears, being touched with compaſſion on the miſeries, to which ſo many inhabitants, formerly rich and fortunate, were going to be reduced. He called to mind the two powerful *Athenian* fleets, which had been ſunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces with the illuſtrious generals who commanded them; the many wars ſuſtained with ſo much valour againſt the *Carthaginians*, the famous tyrants and kings, who had reigned in that ancient metropolis, *Hiero* particularly, who had ſignalized himſelf by the important ſervices he had rendered the people of *Rome*, whoſe intereſts had been as dear to him as his own; moved with theſe reflections and his natural inclination to try gentle methods before he uſed violence, he thought it incumbent upon him to engage the *Syracuſian* noblemen of his party to ſolicit their countrymen to ſurrender of their own accord, that they might thereby prevent the ſacking of the city. The ſoldiers murmured a little at the general's good nature, looking upon *Syracuſe* and its immenſe riches as a ſure booty. Their wiſhes were but too f ſucceſsful, for the *Syracuſians* would hearken to no propoſals, though the *Romans* were already maſters of a conſiderable part of the city. *Acradina*, the ſtrongeſt and beſt part of the city, was not yet taken, and *Epicydes* had appointed the *Roman* deſerters to guard it, who, as they were to die according to the *Roman* laws, though the town were taken by compoſition, watched all the avenues to it with extreme care. *Marcellus* therefore, leaving *Acradina*, turned his arms againſt the citadel of *Epipolæ*, called *Euryalum*, which was not yet taken. This fort ſtood on an eminence, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, and commanded the great road by which the convoys were brought into the city. The governor was an *Argian*, by name *Philodemus*, and

[c] Liv. Plut. Polyb. ibid.

had been entrusted with the defence of the place by *Epicydes*. *Sosis*, who had formerly taken sanctuary in the *Roman* camp, hoped to prevail upon him to capitulate. But the artful *Greek*, having demanded time to consider, put off the surrender of the citadel from day to day, not doubting but *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* would hasten to the relief of *Syracuse* already half taken. Hereupon *Marcellus*, encamping between *Neapolis* and *Tyche*, cut off all communication with *Epipolæ*, hoping to reduce the citadel in a very short time by famine. In this new camp the inhabitants of *Tyche* and *Neapolis* sent deputies to him, entreating him to spare their lives, and preserve their houses from being plundered. Their city had been taken by assault, so that according to the laws of war the conqueror was master of their lives and fortunes. However, *Marcellus* shewed them some clemency. The plunder of the place was due to the soldiers, as a reward of their valour, and he could not deprive them of it without injustice. But he enjoined them under pain of death not to kill, or any ways abuse the inhabitants, and even posted guards in all the avenues to see that his orders were put in execution. No city was ever plundered with so much order or less cruelty. The soldiers, breaking open the houses, seized indeed every thing they found, money, moveables, and provisions; but did not offer the least violence to the vanquished. The booty was immense, but it only raised their expectations of a greater, when *Acradina* and *Ortygia* should be taken. During this military execution, *Philodemus*, governor of the citadel of *Epipolæ*, despairing of being able to subsist in the midst of a plundered city, which could not supply him any longer with provisions, came to terms with the proconsul, and being allowed to march out with his men and join *Epicydes*, put the citadel into the hands of the *Romans*. Then, *Marcellus*, turning all his efforts against *Acradina*, blocked it up so close, that it could not hold out long without new supplies of men and provisions [d].

The quarters of the city that were taken, plundered.

During these transactions, *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* appeared before *Syracuse*, and their arrival gave the *Romans* no small apprehension. *Marcellus*, as we have said, was shut up within the walls, being encamped between *Neapolis*, or *the New City*, and *Tyche*, in a place which was almost destitute of inhabitants; *Crispinus* was not yet entered *Syracuse*, but still continued in the old post of the *Romans*. The two *Carthaginian* generals, after having taken a view of both camps, resolved to divide the attacks between them. *Hamilco* was to fall on *Marcellus*'s camp, while *Hippocrates* endeavoured to force the trenches of *Crispinus*. The *Carthaginian* fleet at the same time was drawn up in line of battle along the coast within reach of *Acradina*, so as to cut off all communication between the forces of *Marcellus*, which surrounded *Acradina*, and *Crispinus*. *Hippocrates* began the attack, and fell with the utmost fury upon the camp of *Crispinus*, but was three times repulsed with incredible bravery. At the same time *Hamilco* without, and *Epicydes* within the walls, attacked the posts of *Marcellus*; but were attended with no better success. *Epicydes* was forced to return into *Acradina* with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by *Marcellus*, who commanded there in person. After these two advantages the *Roman* general pitched three camps round *Acradina*, and kept it blocked up closer than ever, but durst not draw too near it for fear of the machines of *Archimedes*. The unfortunate *Syracusians* were now in the utmost distress for want of provisions, and, to complete their misfortunes, a plague broke out among them. The infection began in the country, being occasioned by the excessive heat of the season, and the unwholesome exhalations of the neighbouring marshes. The two camps of *Hamilco* and *Crispinus* were first infected with it, and from the latter it spread to *Marcellus*'s army, by means of his communication with *Crispinus*. Soon after it began to rage in *Acradina*; so that, within and without the city, nothing was seen but persons dead or dying. None durst relieve or assist the sick, for fear of being infected by them; and the bodies of the dead were for the same reason left without burial, to infect and poison the air with their stench and corruption. Nothing was heard night and day but groans of dying men, and the heaps of dead bodies continually presented mournful objects to the living, who expected every moment the same fate. However, the distemper made less ravage in the two *Roman* armies, than in those of *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates*. As the latter had no place to retire to, and were not inured to the climate and air of the country, being

A plague breaks out in Syracuse.

[d] Liv. l. xxv. c. 24. Plut. in vita Marcell.

a being for the most part but lately come from *Africa*, they died daily in great numbers, and at length *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* themselves were carried off. Upon their death most of the *Sicilian* troops, which had joined the *Carthaginians*, disbanded and returned to their respective cities. Thus *Marcellus* was delivered from a great army, which had besieged him as close as he had done *Acradina*. He had now only a small body of *Sicilians* to contend with, for the *Carthaginians*, both officers and soldiers, were all swept off by the plague. The *Sicilians* retired to two small towns, strong by situation, and at a small distance from *Syracuse*, and there waited for a new reinforcement from *Carthage*, whither *Bomilcar* had sailed to give the senate an account of the death of *Hamilco* and the utter ruin of his army. He

b allay'd the grief, which this news occasioned, by representing, that the *Romans* had imprudently shut themselves up in one city to besiege another, that their troops were greatly diminished by the plague, and that it would be no difficult matter to besiege them, and bring them into the same straits, to which they had reduced *Acradina*. His speech revived the hopes of the senate, who gave him the command of an hundred and thirty gallies, with seven hundred transports, which formed a fleet considerably greater than that which the *Romans* had on the coasts of *Sicily*. With this squadron *Bomilcar* set sail from *Carthage*, and had a quick passage. The news of his return raised the courage of the besieged, and greatly disheartened the *Romans*, who were quite tired out with so long and tedious a siege. But as *Bomilcar* was for several days prevented, by contrary winds, from doubling cape *Pachynum*,

c *Marcellus* had time to recollect himself, and cause his fleet to be got ready with a design to engage that of the *Carthaginians*, though far superior in number to his. In the mean time *Epicydes*, fearing lest the *Carthaginians* should be surprized by the *Romans*, took it into his head to leave *Syracuse* and to go to the fleet, which was designed for his relief. On his arrival he found *Bomilcar* uneasy about the event of a battle, and very backward to engage the *Romans*, of whose preparations he had been already informed. But, nevertheless, he was prevailed upon by *Epicydes* to venture an engagement, and advanced in sight of the *Roman* fleet. *Marcellus*, who commanded it, as soon as the high winds abated, began to prepare for a battle, when all on a sudden,

d *Bomilcar*, doubling cape *Pachynum*, took to the main, and steered his course towards *Tarentum*, after having dispatched expresses to *Heraclea*, with orders to the transports, which lay there, to return to *Africa*. What induced him to take so sudden and unexpected a resolution was never known. *Epicydes*, being thus disappointed in the great hopes he had entertained, was afraid to return into a city already half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to *Agrigentum*, rather with a design to wait the event of the siege in a place of safety, than to make any attempts towards the relief of a city, which he had brought to destruction.

Bomilcar *returns to* Sicily *with a mighty fleet.*

But unexpectedly sets sail again for Africa.

When it was known in the camp of the *Sicilians*, that *Epicydes* had quitted *Syracuse* and the *Carthaginians Sicily*, they sent deputies to *Marcellus*, after having founded the disposition of the besieged, to treat of a surrender. It was unani-

e mously agreed, both by the *Sicilians* in the camp and the *Syracusians* in *Acradina*, to surrender on the following terms, *viz.* that all the demesnes of the kings of *Syracuse* should be delivered up to the *Romans*, and that *Rome* should suffer the *Syracusians* to live according to their own laws, and enjoy their estates and liberties. *Marcellus* was willing to grant them the terms they demanded, in order to prevent the spilling of blood and the ruining of so stately a city. But those, whom *Epicydes* had entrusted with the government of the city during his absence, opposed the wise measures of the inhabitants. As these were all strangers, they were little concerned for the welfare of *Syracuse*, and still retained some hopes of relief, either

f from *Epicydes* or *Bomilcar*. But the magistrates, seeing the city already reduced to great straits for want of provisions, resolved to get rid of their governors, and accordingly assassinated them all, and then having assembled the people in the market-place, introduced to them the deputies from the camp, who had hitherto treated only for themselves. These, in a speech well calculated for the occasion, represented to the people, that they ought not to impute the calamities they groaned under to fortune, since it was in their power to deliver themselves from them when they pleased; that the *Romans* had not undertaken the siege of *Syracuse* out of hatred, but out of affection, to the inhabitants, having no other view but to rescue them out of the hands of their tyrants; that *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had brought

The Syracusians *propose to capitulate.*

brought all their misfortunes upon them, but since one of them was carried off by a
the plague, and the other had deserted them out of fear, what remained but to have
recourse to the clemency of the conqueror? The services, said they, of *Hiero*, and his
faithful adherence to the *Romans*, are not entirely blotted out of their memories. On-
ly consent to be reconciled to *Rome*, and you will be free and happy. *Marcellus* out
of good nature offers you advantagious terms, which if you do not accept, all subse-
quent calamities will be entirely chargeable on ourselves. Seize therefore the present op-
portunity, and since you are delivered from your tyrants, let the first use you make of
your liberty to be return to the *Romans* [c].

Deputies sent to Marcellus.

This discourse was received with general applause; and the assembly thought
proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of the deputies, to make b
the embassy to *Marcellus* more solemn and authentic. Some of the prætors were
in the number of the deputies, and the person who spoke addressed himself to
Marcellus thus: "You see at your feet the deputies of a people, who have been
"unfaithful to you against their will. *Hieronymus*, and not we, broke the alliance
"with *Rome*, wherein he did more hurt to his subjects than to you. When after
"his death our ancient alliance was renewed with *Rome*, it was not infringed by
"the *Syracusians*, but by the emissaries of *Hannibal*, who did not make war upon
"you till they had first made us slaves; and it cannot be said, that we have had
"any times of liberty, which have not been times of peace and alliance with
"you. And at this present, as soon as we are become masters of ourselves by the c
"death of those who held us in subjection, we come to deliver up to you our arms,
"our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to refuse any conditions you
"shall think fit to impose. The gods, illustrious general, have granted you the glo-
"ry of taking the most noble and beautiful city of the *Greeks*, so that all her past
"atchievements, whether by sea or land, will add to the glory of your triumph.
"Make it not then so much a point of honour to destroy it, as to leave it for a
"standing monument of your fame to the world. All strangers, from whatever
"part of the universe they shall come to *Syracuse*, and there observe the monuments
"of our ancient victories over the *Athenians* and *Carthaginians*, will at the same
"time know, that *Marcellus* conquered this victorious people. They will be told, d
"that the *Syracusians* are become perpetual clients of the *Claudian* family, and that
"*Marcellus* made himself their first patron by his valour and clemency. Let not the
"remembrance of *Hieronymus* be of more weight with you, than that of *Hiero*.
"The latter was much longer your friend, than the former your enemy. Permit
"me to say, that you have reaped the fruits of *Hiero*'s friendship; but the ill-con-
"ducted enterprizes of *Hieronymus* have fallen only on his own head."

Disturbances raised in Syracuse *by the* Roman *deserters.*

The supplants were graciously received by *Marcellus*, who was very willing
to grant them their demands; but the greatest difficulty was to preserve tranquil- e
lity and union in the city. The garison consisted of *Roman* deserters and mer-
cenaries, and the former, looking upon all conferences about a surrender as so
many sentences of death against themselves, used their utmost efforts to prevent
the citizens from complying with the terms proposed by *Marcellus*. But finding
all their endeavours unsuccessful, they applied themselves to the mercenaries and
persuaded them that *Marcellus* would give them no quarter. Whereupon the
mercenaries, being inspired with the same fear, joined the deserters, and both take-
ing up arms, while the deputies were still in the camp of *Marcellus*, ran to the
houses of the new prætors, whom they massacred, and then dispersing themselves on
all sides, put to the sword all they met, without distinction, plundering the houses,
and filled the city with blood and slaughter. That they might not be without
leaders, they appointed six officers of their own body, three to command in f
Acradina and three in *Ortygia*. The tumult being at length appeased, the mer-
cenaries were made sensible, that they had been imposed upon by the *Roman* de-
serters; and the deputies, returning at the same time from the camp of *Marcellus*,
assured them, that the *Romans* had not decreed any punishment against the foreign
troops.

Marcellus favourable to Syracuse by Intelligence.

Among the six new governours, chosen by the seditious to command in *Syra-
cuse*, was a *Spaniard*, named *Mericus*, a man of great integrity, and who did not
approve

[c] Liv. l. xxv. c. 29.

a approve of the measures taken by his collegues. This man *Marcellus* took upon him to gain over to the *Romans*, and with this view sent into the city a young *Spaniard* lately come from *Spain*, charging him to make great offers in his name to his countryman, provided he would do him some important service. The young *Spaniard* got safe into the city among the attendants of the *Syracusian* embassadors, and discharged his commission so well, that *Mericus* sent his brother privately to *Marcellus* with the *Spanish* soldier, who having obtained a private audience agreed with *Marcellus*, in the name of *Mericus*, to deliver up one of the gates to the *Romans*. As soon as the two *Spaniards* were returned into *Acradina*, *Mericus* made it his only business to perform his promise. He first feigned an extraordinary zeal for the defence of the
b city, pretending, that the deputies of *Marcellus* were allowed too much liberty, and that it was dangerous to admit any such deputies into *Acradina*, or to send embassies to the *Romans*. Upon the credit of this first step he proposed, that, as they had to deal with so artful an enemy as *Marcellus*, each governor should have his distinct quarter of the city assigned him, and should be responsible for any neglect of duty in it. His advice was followed, and in this division that part of *Acradina* fell to him, which lay between the fountain of *Arethusa* and the great port, not far from the island *Ortygia*. *Marcellus*, being informed in what part *Mericus* commanded, re-
c solved to make an attempt on that side. Accordingly, having filled a transport with soldiers, he ordered them to land at the gate of *Arethusa*, where they were received within the walls by *Mericus*, and put in possession of the gate. A false attack was carried on at the same time in a neighbouring quarter, which drew all the enemies forces out of the island, and diverted them from observing what happened at the gate *Arethusa*. As the island of *Ortygia* was by this means quite abandoned, *Marcellus*, who had foreseen this, sent several transports with a strong detachment to take possession of the island, which they did without opposition, the gate being left open by the garison, while they hastened to repulse the enemy at the place where the false attack was carried on. When *Marcellus* was informed, that his men were in possession
d of the island, which was reckoned impregnable, and also a quarter in *Acradina*, he immediately caused the retreat to be sounded, lest the soldiers should, in the heat of the action, plunder the treasures of the kings of *Syracuse*, which were much magnified by fame[f].

The clemency of Marcellus *towards the conquered.*

End now *Marcellus*, after a three years siege, being at length become master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good nature. The place was taken by assault, and had greatly provoked the *Romans* by joining their most avowed enemies, while they were engaged in a war, that was likely to prove fatal to them. But notwithstanding their infidelity, he would not use all the rights of a conqueror, nor practice that severity which the faithless city perhaps deserved. The first instance he gave of his good nature was, his ordering that the
e *Roman* deserters should be suffered to escape, being unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. Accordingly a gate was left open for them, and all the *Roman* forces withdrawn from thence till they had made their escape. The inhabitants of the two conquered cities sent deputies to him, demanding nothing else but their own lives and the lives of their children. These *Marcellus* received with great humanity, and having assembled a council composed of his own officers and of some *Syracusans* who were in his camp, returned them the following answer. "*Syracu-*
"*sans*, said he to them, the services which good king *Hiero* rendered *Rome* in "a long reign, have been exceeded by the insults you have offered her in a few "years; and now you are going to reap the fruits of your unfaithfulness, and pay
f "dearer for the breach of your treaties than we desire. My aim was not, in sit-"ting down before *Syracuse*, to reduce you to slavery, but to deliver you from "your tyrants, and prevail upon you to deliver up into my hands two men, who "have now abandoned you without sharing the misfortunes they have brought "upon you. Both the examples of your magistrates, who fled to the *Roman* "camp for refuge, and of the most illustrious of your citizens, who came from "time to time to surrender themselves up into our hands, continually excited "you to return to us. And yet a generous *Spaniard* has all the glory of bringing "you back to your duty. As for myself, the glory of having taken *Syracuse*, and

[f] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Marcell.

" the satisfaction of saving it from the entire ruin it deserved, make me sufficient a
" amends for the fatigues and dangers I have undergone in so long a siege." Live then *Syracusans*, live: But let the plunder of your goods be the punishment of your obstinacy, and the just reward of my soldiers. *Marcellus*, having spoke thus immediately ordered the quæstor of his army to take possession of the king's treasures for the use of the republic, and gave the rest of the booty up to his troops without reserving any part of the plunder for himself.

As soon as the trumpets sounded, the *Roman* soldiers dispersed themselves all over *Ortygia* and *Acradina*, and nothing escaped their avarice. Nay, the enraged soldiers went beyond their orders, and, adding cruelty to avarice, put many of the citizens to the sword, and amongst others the great *Archimedes*. During the b
Archimedes *killed by a* Roman *soldier.*
sacking of *Acradina*, he was shut up in his closet, and so intent on a demonstration of geometry, that neither the noise of the soldiers, nor the cries of the people, drew off his attention from it. He was very calmly drawing his lines, when he saw a soldier enter his room, and clap a sword to his throat. Hold, friend, said *Archimedes*, one moment, and my demonstration will be finished. The soldier, surprized at his unconcern in so great a danger, resolved to carry him to the proconsul; but *Archimedes* taking under his arm a small box full of spheres, sun-dials, &c. the soldier thought it contained gold and silver, and not being able to resist the temptation killed him upon the spot. *Marcellus* was exceedingly concerned for his death, but not being able to repair that misfortune, he applied himself to honour his memo- c
ry to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. He likewise caused his funeral to be performed with great pomp and solemnity, and a monument to be erected to his memory, among the great men who had distinguished themselves in *Syracuse* [g].

An account of Archimedes.
As the defence of the city for near three years together was the work of *Archimedes* alone, whose great genius made him, as it were, the intelligence that presided over all the labours of the besieged, it will not be improper to make here a short digression, and give the reader some account of so extraordinary a person. d
He was born in *Syracuse*, and descended of an illustrious family, being related to king *Hiero*. Most of the ancients tell us, that he was no less considerable for his noble extraction, than sublime genius. Yet *Cicero* represents him as a man of a very mean birth, who had nothing to recommend him, but his skill in geometry [h]; and the only elogium he bestows on this famous mathematician is, that he had a fruitful genius, and made many fine discoveries. But the *Roman* orator knew no more of *Archimedes* than what he had learned of *Polybius*, who only mentioned such endowments, as had made his name immortal, and these were not much esteemed by the *Romans* in *Cicero*'s times, who thought no merit equal to that of an orator, a general, or a statesman. And hence it is, that *Cicero* prefers *Archytas* and *Plato* to *Archimedes*. The former had governed *Tarentum*, and, together with e
a singular talent for the mathematics, had all the qualities of an excellent general. The latter was eminent among the ancient legislators, which was enough to gain him the preference in the opinion of the *Romans*. But *Archimedes* was neither a statesman, nor a soldier, nor an orator. But if we consider, that he alone found means to disconcert all the measures of one of the greatest officers of the *Roman* republic, and by the force of his genius rendered all the efforts of two numerous armies unsuccessful, we cannot without injustice degrade him so far, as to place him after an *Archytas*, or a *Plato*. And therefore *Plutarch* speaks of him with admiration: He says, that his great genius made him be looked upon as something more than a mortal, that he excelled all those who had gone before him, and that it was f
hardly credible any should in future ages ever rival him.. His strong passion for mathematics gave room for the report, that he was continually so charmed with the soothing songs of a domestic syren, that he neglected the common concerns of life: For he took delight in no pleasure of life, but in that of study. For the sake of this he despised every thing else. Not to interrupt his studies he often denied himself the necessaries of life, and was dragged from his contemplations, to take a frugal repast. Sensible only to the pleasures of the mind, he so neglected his person, that his friends were obliged in a manner to force him to the public baths,

[g] Liv. & Plut. ubi supra. [h] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5.

a baths, to make him preserve a decency suitable to his rank; and even then he employed himself for the most part in drawing mathematical figures, on the walls of the stoves with the water in which he bathed. In short, the contemplation of the heavens and the earth gave him such delight as rendered all other pleasures quite tasteless to him and insipid. He long confined his thoughts to speculations only, according to the prejudices of that time, when it was thought too low an employment for a great genius to reduce the sublime discoveries of the mind to practice. But king *Hiero* had sufficient power with him to make him descend from those sublime speculations to practice, and to convince him, that no man could, without ingratitude, deprive the public of the fruits of his private studies. One day when *Archi-*
b *medes* was explaining to the king the wonderful effects of the motive powers, he told him, that he had invented, but not made, a machine, by which he could draw the whole globe of the earth to him, provided he could find another globe or earth to stand on. The king, surprized at the proposal, desired him to give a proof of so bold an assertion, by removing some great weight with a small force. *Archimedes* complyed with the king's request, and having caused one of the heaviest gallies in the port to be drawn ashore by a great number of men, he built his machine, and then sitting down at a proper distance from the galley, without trouble or exerting his force in the least, drew the vessel to him, though she had her full lading in her, and was crowded with men. This experiment plainly shewed the king what use he
c might make of the wonderful talents of this great man, if he could only persuade him to put his inventions in practice. This the king undertook to do, and by many intreaties prevailed upon the speculative geometrician to descend to mechanics, and build those wonderful machines for the defending of cities, which we have spoke of above. Besides the warlike machines, amongst his master-pieces was reckoned a sphere of glass, the circles of which represented the periodical and synodical motions of the stars and planets. *Cicero* himself could not help doing justice to the inventor of so fine a work, saying, that we ought to look upon the artificial globe, or rather little world, in which *Archimedes* had so happily imitated the wise hand of the divine architect of the universe, as the effect of a superior genius [i] (X). Some
d have falsly imagined, that *Archimedes* set fire to the *Roman* fleet by means of a burning glass [k]. But the honour of this invention is due to *Proclus*, who first made use of brazen burning-glasses, to set on fire the ships of *Vitalian*, who besieged *Constantinople*, in the 500th year of the christian æra. Those who have the least knowledge of mathematics, understand what kind of demonstration *Archimedes* made use of against a dishonest goldsmith, who having agreed with king *Hiero* for a certain quantity of gold, which was to be formed into a crown for one of the gods, kept some of the gold for himself, and putting silver in the room of it restored to the king of *Syracuse* a crown as heavy as the gold he had received. The discove-
e ry of this fraud, which *Archimedes* made in a bath, gave him so great pleasure, that he ran home, without reflecting he was naked, crying out aloud, *I have found it, I have found it.* But the force of his genius shewed itself to far greater advantage in the structure and direction of the formidable batteries he played against the *Roman* armies and fleets. It is a great misfortune, that neither he, nor any after him, have given us an account of the manner of building and working those machines. Upon his tomb, as he had ordered in his life-time, was placed a cylinder and a sphere, with an inscription shewing the proportion between them, which he first found out. An invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great artist better, than the devising of those machines which made him so famous. The

Syracusans

[i] Cic. Tusc. cul. Quæst. l. 1.

[k] Galien. l. 3. Tzetzes l. 35. chiliad. 5.

(X) This sphere is elegantly described by *Claudian* in the following epigram.

Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Risit, & ad superos talia dicta dedit
Hactine mortalis progressa potentia curæ?
Jam meus in fragili ludditur orbe labor.
Jura poli, rerumque fidem, legesque deorum
Ecce Syracusius transtulit arte senex.
Inclusus variis famulatur spiritus astris,
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus,
Percurrit proprium mentitus signifer annum,
Et simulata novo Cynthia mense redit.
Jamque suum volvens audax industria mundum
Gaudet, & humana sydera mente regit.
Quid falso insontem tonitru Salmonea miror?
Æmula naturæ parva reperta manus (49).

(49) *Claud. Epigram.* 16.

Tomb of Archimedes *discovered by* Cicero.

Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done so much honour to their city. In less than an hundred and forty years after, *Archimedes* was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the eminent services he had done them, that they did not even know he had been buried at *Syracuse*. It is from *Cicero* we have this circumstance, who being led by his curiosity, while he was quæstor in *Sicily*, to make a search after the tomb of *Archimedes*, was assured by the *Syracusans*, that his search would be to no purpose, there being no such monument among them. *Cicero* pitied their ignorance, which only served to encrease his desire of making that discovery. After many fruitless attempts, he at last observed, without the gate of city leading to *Agrigentum*, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, b through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquity, may easily conceive the joy of *Cicero* on this occasion. He cried out with the words of *Archimedes*, *I have found it*, *I have found it*. The place was immediately cleared, when the inscription appeared still legible. So that, says *Cicero*, in concluding this account, the greatest city of *Greece*, formerly the mother of sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man born in *Arpinas* had not discovered the tomb of one of its citizens, so highly distingished by the greatness of his genius [l]. But to resume the thread of our history.

Engyum *taken by* Marcellus.

Marcellus, after having plundered *Syracuse* and stript it of all its valuable monuments, which were sent to *Rome*, advanced to the city of *Engyum*, which was one of c the most ancient colonies the *Cretans* had founded in *Sicily*. The *Engyans* had received a strange superstition from their founders, which it was dangerous to contradict. It was affirmed, that certain goddesses, called *the Mothers*, appeared from time to time in a temple of that city. But one *Nicias*, a man of wit, had talked with some pleasantry of these pretended apparitions, and being likewise a friend to the *Romans*, the inhabitants resolved to put him to death. But he avoided the danger by counterfeiting madness, and then made his escape to the *Romans*, who took him under their protection. This enraged the *Engyans* against them to such a degree, that *Marcellus* thought it necessary to curb their insolence, and punish them for the severity they practised on the friends of *Rome*. He flew to *Engyum*, and took it by assault, but d at the request of *Nicias* spared the inhabitants, and would not even suffer his soldiers to plunder the place. By this clemency *Marcellus* gained the hearts of the *Sicilians*, and his reputation was extended far among the *Greeks* [m].

Mutines *maintains the* Carthaginian *interest in* Sicily.

After the reduction of *Syracuse*, most of the cities of *Sicily*, which had sided with the *Carthaginians*, voluntarily submitted to *Marcellus*; and those which had continued faithful to *Rome*, or had renewed their alliance with the republic without waiting till *Syracuse* was taken, were maintained in possession of their ancient privileges. Nevertheless *Sicily* was not entirely settled in peace: *Epicydes* and *Hanno*, the commander of the *Carthaginian* forces in the island, were fled to *Agrigentum* for refuge; *Mutines*, who had been sent by *Hannibal* to supply the place of *Hippocrates*, e kept the field at the head of a detachment of *Numidians*. This general was a *Phœnician* by descent, and a native of *Hippo* a city of *Africa*, which the *Greeks* called *Diarrhytos*, to distinguish it from another city, bearing the same name of *Hippo*, in *Numidia*. This officer, who was formed by *Hannibal* himself, had acquired great reputation in the army by his valour and conduct. *Epicydes* and *Hanno*, who were well acquainted with his merit, had given him the command of a body of *Numidian* horse, and this brave man answered their expectations. He soon made himself dreaded in all *Sicily*, by the many advantages he gained over the cities in alliance with *Rome*. After he had with surprizing expedition ravaged the enemy's lands, he flew to all the places that still adhered to *Carthage*, and by his presence kept the f wavering people in awe, even after the reduction of *Syracuse*. He secured the fidelity of some by sending them the provisions and succours they wanted; others he encouraged with his presence to hold out resolutely against *Marcellus*, and raised their dejected spirits. He seemed to be in all places where the interest of the republic required his presence. *Epicydes* and *Hanno* had till now shut themselves up in *Agrigentum*; but being encouraged by the successful expeditions of *Mutines*, they ventured to take the field, and advancing as far as the river *Himera*, formed a camp there. *Marcellus*, being informed of the enemy's march, immediately put himself at the head

[l] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. [m] Liv. & Plut. ibid.

a head of his army, and encamped about four miles from the *Carthaginian* troops, with a design to watch their motions. *Mutines* did not give him time to deliberate what part to act; for that brave general, who only wanted an opportunity of signalizing himself, immediately passed the river, and falling on the advanced guards, spread an alarm in the whole *Roman* army. The next day *Marcellus* marched out of his lines and attacked the camp of *Mutines*, but was repulsed with great loss. *Mutines* was preparing to attack the *Romans* in their entrenchments, when news was brought him, that the *Numidian* cavalry, falling out among themselves, had raised great disturbances in the neighbouring country, and that a body of three hundred of them had retired to *Heraclea*. This obliged the general to drop, or rather put off, his enter-
b prize. He instantly flew to suppress a revolt, the consequences of which might defeat his designs, and at the same desired *Epicydes* and *Hanno* not to venture an engagement till he returned. This request was no-ways agreeable to the two generals. *Hanno*, who had been long jealous of the glory and reputation of *Mutines*, could not brook his seeming to impose laws upon him as if he had been a subaltern. What, said he, am I sent into *Sicily* with a commission by the senate and people of *Carthage*, only to be subject to the caprice of a man of no birth or family? *Hanno* found it no difficult matter to instill the same uneasiness into the mind of *Epicydes*. So that they both resolved to pass the river, and give battle without waiting for *Mutines*. Their rage and jealousy made them look upon this brave *African* only as a troublesome
c rival, who would assume to himself all the honour of a victory, which they might gain without him. *Marcellus*, seeing the *Carthaginians* form their army, drew up his likewise in battalia. This great general had four years before humbled the pride of *Hannibal* before *Nola*, and therefore thought it shameful to retire before two commanders, who were much inferior to him, and who had already felt so often the effects of the *Roman* valor. So that the *Roman* accepted the challenge, and while he was preparing for the battle, ten *Numidians* came from the *Carthaginian* army to inform him, that their countrymen were determined to continue inactive during the engagement. They were persuaded, that *Epicydes* and *Hanno* had sent away *Mutines* their commander, and employed him elsewhere, on purpose to rob him of the
d glory of conquering the *Romans*. The report of the revolt of the *Numidians* was soon spread among the legionaries, who looked upon it as a happy presage of victory. The most cowardly took courage when they were no longer to contend with those squadrons, which had been to that time so formidable to them. As to the enemy, they were seized with a sudden terror upon the first report of the revolt. Besides, *Epicydes* and *Hanno* could no longer depend on the *Numidian* cavalry, which was the main strength of their army, and were under no small apprehension, lest, in the heat of the engagement, they should turn their arms against the *Carthaginians*. While they were in this perplexity, the *Roman* army advanced, and falling upon the affrighted troops with the utmost fury, put them to flight at the first onset. The
e fugitives took the road to *Agrigentum*, whither they were pursued by the *Romans*, who killed many thousands of them, and took eight elephants. The *Numidians*, after having been idle spectators of the battle, refused to follow the others to *Agrigentum*, for fear of being besieged there by the *Romans*, and retired to the neighbouring cities. This great advantage raised *Marcellus* to the highest pitch of glory; he returned victorious to *Syracuse*, and soon after set out out from thence for *Rome*, after having delivered up his army and the government of *Sicily* to *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*. He was scarce gone, when a *Carthaginian* fleet landed eight thousand foot and three thousand *Numidian* horse in *Sicily*. By the help of these new forces the *Car-*
New forces arrive from Carthage *in* Sicily.
thaginians began to recover their power in several parts of the island; *Murgantia*
f *Hybla*, and *Macella* went over to them, and after their example some less considerable places fell off from the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he at the head of his *Numidians* destroyed the country with fire and sword, daily returned to the cities of his allies loaded with booty, and laid the whole country waste, with impunity even in sight of the *Roman* army. The *Roman* soldiers were enraged, that they had not been allowed to follow their general to *Rome*, and there share the honours of a triumph with him. Their murmurs increased, when they were forbad to take up their winter quarters in the cities; and they only wanted a head to break out into an open rebellion. All the address of *Marcus Cornelius* was wanting to appease their resentment; some he gained by caresses and fair words, others he intimidated by threatnings, and having brought them to submit again to the laws of military discipline,

Epicydes *and* Hanno *defeated by* Marcellus.

he soon repaired the losses the republic had suffered since the departure of *Marcellus*. a
At the head of his troops he forced all the rebellious cities to return to their duty, and particularly *Murgantia*, which with its territory was bestowed by the senate on the *Spaniards*, as a reward for their zeal in the service of the republic [n].

The Sicilians *complain of* Marcellus.

But the total reduction of *Sicily* was reserved for *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, who, being appointed consul with *Marcellus*, was sent into *Sicily* to settle the affairs of that island. It still continued customary at *Rome* for the two consuls to chuse their provinces by lot; and it now happened, that *Italy* fell to *Lævinus*, and *Sicily* to *Marcellus*. But assoon as this was declared, the *Sicilians*, who were present, expressed as much terror and consternation as they had done at *Syracuse*, when *Marcellus* surprized it. They dressed themselves in mourning, crowded to the houses of the b
senators, and protested, that it would be better for *Sicily* to perish in the flames of mount *Ætna*, or to be swallowed up by the sea, than to fall again under the government of her conqueror and tyrant. These accusers had been suborned by *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, who, being prætor in *Sicily*, sent them to *Rome* with a design to form an accusation against *Marcellus*, and raise his own glory on the ruins of this great man's reputation. In order to this he wrote many letters to the senate, wherein he declared, that there was a great deal to do in the island, before it could be entirely reduced; and thereby prevented *Marcellus* from enjoying the honour of a triumph, which was seldom granted till an expedition was completed. The *Syracusans*, who were c
to accuse *Marcellus*, kept themselves concealed in the villages round *Rome*, till they heard that *Sicily* had fallen to his lot, and then they appeared as suppliants before the senate to demand justice against him. *Marcellus*, who was not a stranger to the secret plots of his enemies, and knew, that some of the senators out of compassion, and others out of jealousy, laid great stress on the complaints of the *Syracusans*, declared, that if his collegue was willing to change provinces, he would not be against it. *Lævinus* consented to the change, and accordingly orders were sent into *Sicily*, enjoining the prætor *Cornelius Cethegus* to deliver up the troops under his command to the consul. But before either *Lævinus* or *Marcellus* set out for their respective

Marcellus cleared.

provinces, the *Sicilians* were heard in the senate, and *Marcellus* cleared. His pro- d
ceedings in *Sicily* were declared regular, the pillage of *Syracuse* approved of, and his regulations ratified. Nevertheless it was decreed, that *Rome* should for the future consult the interest of *Syracuse*, and *Lævinus* was exhorted to shew the *Syracusans* all the lenity that was consistent with the welfare of the republic. When the decree was passed, the *Sicilians* were brought to the senate to hear it, and *Marcellus*, who had retired that the debates of the senators might be more free, came in after them, and took his place as consul. Then the *Sicilians*, confounded at what they had done, threw themselves at his feet, bathed them with tears, and begged him to pardon the attempts, which the present sense of their misery had induced them to make against his honour. *Marcellus* received them very graciously, promised them his protection, and in consequence of this promise obtained of the senate, that the *Sy-* e
racusans should be reinstated in their ancient liberties, and treated as allies of *Rome*. Hence proceeded the eternal gratitude of the *Syracusans* to *Marcellus* and his posterity. They enacted a decree, wherein it was ordered, that whenever any of his family set foot in *Sicily*, the people should walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate that happy day with sacrifices. From thenceforth, the whole island remained under the patronage of the *Marcelli*, the *Sicilians* becoming clients of that illustrious family [o] (Y).

The

[n] Liv. Plut. ibid.

[o] Plut. in Marcell.

(Y) The conduct of *Marcellus* on this occasion was not intirely approved of at *Rome*. Some of the senators, remembering the attachment which king *Hiero* had on all occasions shewn to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his greedy soldiers. The citizens were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries, and therefore were obliged against their will to yield to the times, and obey the ministers of *Hannibal* who commanded the army. But they were no sooner their own masters, first by the death of *Hieronymus*, and afterwards by the flight of *Epicydes*, than they declared for the *Romans*, and put to death such as favoured the *Carthaginian* party; so that they were never willingly unfaithful to *Rome*. *Marcellus* nevertheless plundered the city, and stripped it of all its valuable monuments, as if the citizens had been enemies to *Rome*, not by force, to use *Livy*'s expression, but by inclination. The same writer imputes to *Marcellus* the custom, which prevailed among the *Romans*, of stripping the conquered cities of their richest ornaments, and embellishing their capital with them. It is true, says he, these spoils belonged by right of war to the conqueror; but it must be owned, that this custom gave rise to many evils

a THE cauſe of the *Sicilians* being thus determined, *Lævinus* ſet out for his province, and on his arrival found the whole iſland reduced by the prætor *Cornelius*, except *Agrigentum* and its territory. Having therefore ſettled the government of *Syracuſe* and its dependencies, to the advantage of the *Romans* and the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, he turned his arms againſt the only place that was left to *Carthage* in the whole iſland. The city of *Agrigentum* was defended by a numerous gariſon under the command of *Hanno*; but the conſul with little trouble made himſelf maſter of it, more by the good fortune of *Rome* than his own valor. *Hanno*, growing daily more jealous of the great reputation which *Mutines* acquired, at length deprived that brave ſubaltern of his commiſſion, and put his ſon in his room. But his having no command b did not at all leſſen his credit among the ſoldiers, eſpecially the *Numidians*, who were more attached to him than ever; ſo that all the odium of this removal fell on the general. On the other hand, *Mutines*, not being able to brook the affront put upon him. reſolved, at all events, to be revenged on *Hanno*; and accordingly began to maintain a private correſpondence with the conſul, adviſing him to bring his army before *Agrigentum*. Upon the firſt news of the march of the *Romans*, *Mutines* conſpired with the *Numidians* againſt *Hanno*, put himſelf at their head, and having ſeized one of the gates, put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of it. The *Carthaginian* guard was then cut in pieces, and the legionaries, mixed with the *Numidians*, advanced in order of battle into the center of the city. So that the place was taken before *Hanno* knew c that the *Romans* were before it. He haſtened to the market-place, imagining, that the *Numidians*, who often oppoſed the orders of their generals, had raiſed ſome new commotion. But perceiving, while he was yet at ſome diſtance, that the *Romans* were mixed with the *Numidians*, and not doubting but he was betrayed, he turned ſhort, and made the beſt of his way out of the city, and arriving at the port, he imbarqued with *Epicydes* and a ſmall number of officers on a veſſel which was ready to ſet ſail. The reſt of his army betook themſelves to flight, but, *Lævinus* having poſted guards in all the avenues and paſſages, they were all killed to a man. All the chiefs of the *Agrigentini* were, by *Lævinus*'s order, firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The common people were reduced to ſlavery, and ſold to the beſt bidder. The d ſpoils of the pillaged city were publicly put up to ſale, and the money returned to the public treaſury. After the reduction of *Agrigentum* and flight of *Hanno* and *Epicydes*, moſt of the *Sicilian* cities ſubmitted to the *Romans* of their own accord, and others were either betrayed or taken by force. Thus the *Romans* became maſters of the whole iſland, the conqueſt of which paved them a way to the more diſtant nations in *Africa* and *Aſia*. *Lævinus*, having now no enemies to contend with, ſettled

Agrigentum *taken by* Lævinus.

evils. From that time the people began to be very inquiſitive after theſe maſter-pieces of art, which have been the admiration of all ages. And hence came that unbounded licentiouſneſs, which prevails among us to this day, of ſparing nothing, either ſacred or profane, to gratify our oſtentation and curioſity. Religion itſelf could no longer ſet bounds to the avarice of a greedy conqueror. He laid his ſacrilegious hands on ſacred things. The moſt venerable deities were tore from the places where they had fixed their abode; and the temple, which was built by *Marcellus* himſelf, has met with the ſame fate. The ſtately monuments, with which he enriched it, are now become the prey of an unjuſt uſurper; and there are now but few remains of the fine ſtatues and valuable paintings, which the conqueror of *Syracuſe* reſerved for embelliſhing it. Thus far *Livy* (50). Till the age, in which this general lived, *Rome* had entertained her citizens with no ſights, but what ſuited her martial genius, *viz.* triumphs, trophies, and the military enſigns and arms of conquered nations. This was very ſuitable to the taſte of men, who were enemies to luxury, and had been brought up in the noiſe and hurry of war. The old *Romans* therefore, who were fond of the ancient cuſtoms, thought the conduct of *Fabius* at the taking of *Tarentum* preferable to that of *Marcellus* at the taking of *Syracuſe*. The former was content with the gold and other ſpoils that might fill *Rome* with plenty, and did not touch the famous ſtatues and pictures which adorned the temples and public places, ſaying, *Let us leave the* Tarentines *their angry gods*. *Marcellus*, on the contrary, emboldened by his example the triumphant victors to lead both men and gods in chains after their chariots. From his time, ſays *Plutarch* (51), the citizens were no longer employed as in earlier ages, in forming great deſigns, and conſpiring to promote the glory of their country. The public places were filled only with idle people, who ſpent great part of the day in diſcourſing on ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip, valuable pictures, and thoſe who had excelled in painting and ſculpture. *Polybius* is no leſs ſevere on the *Romans* on this account, than *Livy* or *Plutarch*. Theſe ſtatues, ſays he (52), pictures, baſs-reliefs, and other rich ſpoils of the conquered nations, were indeed a proof the conqueſts of *Rome*, and at the ſame of the injuſtice of thoſe who ſeized them. When theſe monuments were ſhewn to ſtrangers, they perpetuated their hatred to the *Roman* name, and put the conquered people in mind of their misfortunes. This inſpired the ſpectators with indignation againſt the conquerors, and with compaſſion for the oppreſſed nations. The rich ſpoils, which *Marcellus* brought out of *Sicily*, were placed by him in the temples of *Virtue* and *Honour*, which he had built in diſcharge of a vow made in the war with the *Gauls* (53).

(50) *Liv. l.* xxv. (51) *Plut. in Marcell.* (52) *Polyb. l.* ix. (53) *Plut. in Marcell. Cornel. Nepos.*

And all Sicily reduced to a Roman *province.*

tled peace throughout the whole island, and took upon himself the government of it in the name of his republic, making it all but one province. This fruitful country, the cultivating of which had been long interrupted by wars, produced corn an hundred fold; hence from this time it became the granary of *Rome*, and her constant refuge in distress [p]. a

Lævinus, having settled *Sicily* in peace, was recalled to *Rome* to preside in the comitia, which were to be held for the electing of new magistrates. Upon his departure, as he was to return soon, he left the command of his army and the government of *Sicily* to the prætor *Cincius* during his absence. When he came to *Rome*, he gave the senate an account of his expedition and of the present state of the island. After which he introduced to the conscript fathers *Mutines*, and all those who deserted *Hannibal* to adhere to the republic. They had many honours conferred upon them; and all the advantagious terms, which the consul had promised them, were granted by a decree of the senate. *Mutines* himself was admitted to enjoy the rights of a *Roman* citizen, at the motion of one of the tribunes of the people and by the authority of the senate. He ever afterwards served the *Romans* with great fidelity, and accompanied the two *Scipios* into *Asia* against *Antiochus*, on which occasion he is said to have distinguished himself in a very particular manner. b

All *Sicily* being now become a province of the *Roman* republic, it was not treated as the other countries, which *Rome* subdued afterwards, upon which a certain tribute was imposed; but suffered to enjoy its ancient privileges, and retain all its former rights. This distinction, as *Tully* observes, *Sicily* well deserved, since that island was the first of all foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with *Rome*, and the first conquest the republic made out of *Italy*. This island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into *Africa*; and *Rome* would not have so easily reduced the formidable power of *Carthage*, had not *Sicily* served her as a magazine to supply her armies with provisions, and been a secure retreat to her fleets. Hence *Scipio Africanus*, after having taken and destroyed *Carthage*, thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of *Sicily* with some of the richest spoils he had brought from *Africa*, to the end that the *Sicilians* might have some monuments among them of those victories to which they had greatly contributed [q]. c

Besides *Syracuse*, there were several other free cities in *Sicily*, namely, *Leontini*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, *Messana*, *Himera*, *Catana*, *Ætna*, *Apollonia*, *Selinus*, *Tauromenium*, *Agyrium*, and *Centuripe*. These underwent the same vicissitudes as *Syracuse*, being sometimes governed by their own laws, and at others enslaved by their domestic tyrants, till they were at last all brought under subjection by the *Romans*. *Phalaris*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, is one of the most famous on account of his cruelty among the *Sicilian* tyrants. He usurped the sovereignty of that city in the second year of the fifty-second *olympiad*, and maintained it for sixteen years. We have still remaining some letters of *Abaris* to this tyrant, and his answers; though some ascribe them to *Lucian*. *Perillus* the *Athenian*, to flatter the cruelty of *Phalaris*, made the famous brazen bull for tormenting of criminals, and was the first that suffered in it, having demanded too great a reward for his contrivance. The people of *Agrigentum*, unable to bear any longer with his unheard-of cruelties, made a general insurrection, seized on the tyrant and put him to death, some say, by shutting him up in his beloved bull [r]. The most material transactions relating to the other cities of *Sicily* we have delivered in the history of *Syracuse*, with which their respective histories are inseparably interwoven, and therefore shall now proceed to the history of the other islands, beginning with that of *Rhodes*, which, though small in extent, yet makes a very considerable figure in history, perhaps the first after *Sicily*. d e

[p] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 40. Zonar. l. ix. c. 7. [q] Cic. in Verr. Act. 3. [r] Lucian. dial. 3. de Poet. Euseb. in Chron. Cic. l. ii. Off.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The History of RHODES.

THE island before us was formerly known by the names of *Ophiusa*, *Asteria*, *Ætheræ*, *Trinacria*, *Corymbia*, *Poessa*, *Atabyria*, *Macria*, *Oloessa*, *Stadia*, *Telchinis*, *Pelagia*, and *Rhodus*. In latter ages the name of *Rhodus* or *Rhodes* prevailed, which authors commonly derive from the *Greek* word *Rhodon*, signifying *a rose*, that island abounding, as they say, above any other with this sort of flowers. And indeed several *Rhodian* coins are still to be seen representing the sun, and on the reverse a rose. But *Diodorus Siculus* [r] will have it so called from one *Rhoda*, the daughter of *Apollo* by *Venus* (Z). It lies in the *Mediterranean* over-against the coast of *Lycia* and *Caria*, from which it is distant about twenty miles. This island is about an hundred and twenty miles in compass, and blessed with a most fruitful soil, which gave occasion to the fable of those golden showers that were once said to have fallen upon it. It formerly produced, in great plenty, all sorts of delicious fruits, and wines of so exquisite a taste, that they were used by the *Romans* chiefly in their sacrifices, and thought, as *Virgil* informs us [t], too good for mortals. The air is here said to be so serene, that no day ever passes without sun-shine; whence the poets feigned *Phœbus* to be in love with this island, which, say they, was a mere marsh altogether uninhabitable, till loved by *Phœbus*, and raised out of the waters by his powerful influence. *Its names.* *Soil, climate, &c.*

THE island of *Rhodes* had in *Homer*'s time three cities, viz. *Lindus*, *Camirus*, *Ialysus*; to which in after-ages was added a fourth bearing the name of the island. *Lindus*, now *Lindo*, stood on the east coast of the island, and was famous in ancient times for a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whence that goddess had the surname of *Linda*. This temple is said to have been built by *Danaus* king of *Egypt*, landing here on his flight from his own kingdom. A certain festival was celebrated annually in this city, not with blessings and prayers, as *Lactantius* informs us [u], but with curses and imprecations; insomuch, that if one good word escaped any of those that were present, it was deemed a very bad omen, and the whole ceremony begun a new. *Lindus* gave birth to *Chares*, the architect of the colossus, and to *Cleobulus* one of the seven wise men of *Greece*. *Camirus* or *Cameiros* was situate on the western coast of the island, and is barely mentioned by the ancients. *Ialysus*, in the north over-against the coast of *Lycia*, was the most ancient city in the whole island, but we find nothing relating to it worth mentioning. These three cities were, according to *Diodorus* [w], built by *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules* before the *Trojan* war. But *Strabo* [x] and *Cicero* [y] tell us, that they were founded by the *Heliades*, or grandsons of *Phœbus*, *Ialysus*, *Camirus*, and *Lindus*, who imparted their names each to the city he built (A). But the city of *Rhodes* (B), built during the *Peloponnesian* war, soon eclipsed *Cities of Rhodes.* *Lindus.* *Camirus.* *Ialysus.* *Rhodes.*

[r] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 3. [t] VIRGIL. Georg. l. ii. [u] LACTAN. l. i. c. 31. [w] DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. c. 60. [x] STRABO, l. xiv. [y] CIC. de nat. deor. l. iii. c. 21.

(Z) *Bochart* derives the name of *Rhodes* from the *Phœnician* word *Rod*, signifying *a serpent*, and adds, that as the *Greeks* called it *Ophiusa*, because it was once greatly infested by those insects, so the *Phœnicians*, who were once masters of it, named it *Genirath Rod*, that is, *the island of serpents*; to the word *Rod* the *Greeks* adding the termination peculiar to their language formed the name of *Rhodus* (54) Others tell us that it was called *Rhodus* from the *Greek* word *Rhodon*, signifying *a rose*, not that it abounded with roses, but because a rose-bud of brass was found in laying the foundations of the ancient city of *Lindus* (55).

(A) Some writers tell us, that these three cities were built by the *Dorians* not long after their migration, whence they are counted by *Athenæus* among the *Dorian* colonies (56). *Herodotus* says, they were founded by the daughters of *Danaus*, who landed in this island, after having put to death the sons of *Egyptus* their husbands (57). In the city of *Lindus* was a magnificent temple, said by *Plutarch* (58) to have been built by them in honour of the *Lindian Minerva*. *Rosimus* tells us, that in his time were still to be seen at *Constantinople* two statues of exquisite workmanship, the one of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, the other of the *Lindian Minerva*, and adds, that the magnificent temple of that goddess in the city of *Lindus* having been by an accidental fire reduced to ashes, these two statues were found in the rubbish, no ways hurt or damaged (59). *Cadmus*, according

(54) *Bochart. Phaleg. l* i. *c.* 2. (55) *Athenæus, l.* iii. *c.* 4. (56) *Athenæus, l.* iii. (57) *Herodot. l.* ii. (58) *Plut. de soler. Animal.* (59) *Zosimus. l.* v.

eclipſed the other three, and became the metropolis of the whole iſland. It was ſituate on the eaſt coaſt, at the foot of a hill of a gentle aſcent, and in an agreeable plain, environed at ſome diſtance with ſeveral hills full of ſprings, and covered with all kinds of fruit trees. No city, if we believe *Strabo* [z], was in ancient times preferable to it, whether we conſider the ſtateline ſs of its buildings, or the excellent laws by which it was governed. In the *Roman* times it was famous for the ſtudy of all ſciences, and reſorted to by ſuch of the *Romans* as were deſirous to improve themſelves in literature, being by ſome of the ancients equalled to *Athens* itſelf [a]. It had a very convenient haven, at the entrance of which were two rocks, and on thoſe rocks, tho' *The* Coloſſus. fifty foot aſunder, the famous *Coloſſus* is ſuppoſed to have ſtood (C). It was a huge ſtatue

[z] Strab. l. xiv. [a] Suet. in Tiber.

cording to *Diodorus Siculus* (60), preſented the *Lindian Minerva* with a kettle made after the ancient faſhion, on which was an inſcription in *Phœnician* letters. *Amaſis* king of *Egypt* conſecrated, as *Herodotus* informs us (61), to the ſame goddeſs two ſtatues and a linen veſt of a wonderful texture. *Pliny* ſays, that each thread of this veſt conſiſted of three hundred and fifty ſmaller threads, and adds, leſt we ſhould queſtion the truth of what he ſays, that the conſul *Mutianus*, having had the curioſity to untwiſt ſeveral threads both of the woof and warp, found that each of them contained exactly the abovementioned number of other threads, ſo fine that they were ſcarce diſcernible by the naked eye (62). The ſame author tells us, that *Helena* offered to the ſame goddeſs a cup of amber of exquiſite workmanſhip, and ſpeaks of ſeveral pictures in this temple done by *Parrhaſias*, *Zeuxis*, and other great maſters. The other two cities, *Camiros* and *Ialyſus*, contained nothing remarkable; the latter was commanded by a citadel built on a neighbouring hill, and called by *Strabo* (63) *Ochyroma*. *Lindus* and *Ialyſus* were both well fortified in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, as appears from *Thucydides* (46); but *Camiros*, or as ſome write it *Cameiros*, was then without walls. *Diodorus* (65) ſpeaks of another town, which he calls *Achaia*, and ſuppoſes to have been built by *Ochimus* and *Cercaphus*, two of the ſons of *Apollo*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Ialyſus*; but, as no other writer makes mention of this city, we are inclined to believe, that *Diodorus* by *Achaia* meant the caſtle of *Ochyroma*, which perhaps in his time was known by that name. The cities of *Lindus*, *Ialyſus*, and *Camiros* were, as *Strabo* informs us (66), three different republics, and quite independent of each other, governing themſelves by their own laws till the inhabitants abandoned their ancient habitations, and went to ſettle in the city of *Rhodes*, which was built in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, that is many centuries after the other three.

(B) This ſtately city was built by the ſame architect, whom the *Athenians* had employed in building the *Piræus* or port of *Athens*, viz. *Hippodamus*, a native of *Miletus*, and deſervedly counted among the beſt architects of *Greece* ever produced (67). *Iſidorus* was greatly miſtaken in making *Cecrops* king of *Athens* the founder of this city (68), ſince it is manifeſt from all the monuments of antiquity, that *Rhodes* was not built before the *Peloponneſian* war; no mention being made by any writer of ſuch a city till that period. It was built, according to *Strabo* (69) and *Ariſtides* (70), in the form of an amphitheatre, ſurrounded with walls like thoſe of *Munychia*, embelliſhed with moſt ſtately buildings, ſtrait and broad ſtreets, pleaſant avenues, fine groves, large ſquares, &c. *Dio Chryſoſtomus* (71) tell us, that moſt of the *Pagan* deities had temples in this city; among which that of the ſun, called by the *Dorians Haleium*, was one of the moſt noble ſtructures of antiquity. *Strabo* mentions the temple of *Bacchus*, or, as the *Rhodians* ſtiled him, *Thyonidas*, which, as he tells us, was enriched with a prodigious number of pictures done by the celebrated painter *Protogenes*. *Heſychius*, *Appian*, and *Suetonius* ſpeak of the temples of *Iſis*, of *Ocridion*, and *Diana*, as maſter-pieces of art. Each of theſe temples contained immenſe treaſures, votaries flocking thither with rich preſents from all parts of *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Italy*. In the *Dionyſium*, or temple of *Bacchus*, was a ſtatue of *Pluto* of maſſy gold, and an incredible number of other ſtatues and pictures done by the greateſt maſters. *Pliny* tells us (72), that in his time there were in the city of *Rhodes* above three thouſand ſtatues, moſt of them done with great taſte; nay if *Ariſtides* is to be credited (73), there were more valuable ſtatues and pictures in the city of *Rhodes* alone, than in all the other cities of *Greece*. The pictures of *Menander* kin. of *Caria* and of *Anæus* the ſon of *Neptune* by *Apelles*, and thoſe of *Perſeus*, *Hercules*, and *Meleager* by *Zeuxis*, are greatly cried up by *Pliny* and other ancient writers. That *Meleager* was thrice ſinged with lightning, as the ſame *Pliny* informs us (74); but that accident did not in the leaſt deaden the luſtre and brightneſs of its colours.

(C) *Pliny* deſcribes it in the following terms: Of all things that are deſervedly admired, the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, done by *Chares* of *Lindus* the diſciple of *Lyſippus*, is the moſt worthy of admiration. It was ſeventy cubits high, and is ſtill, though lying on the ground, a great prodigy. Its thumb is a fathom in compaſs, and its fingers larger than moſt ſtatues. It was hollow, and had in its cavities vaſt ſtones employed by the artificer to counterballance its weight, and render it ſteady, &c. (75). *Sextus Empiricus* tells us, that it was eighty cubits high, and that *Chares* the *Lindian*, having ſpent the whole ſum which he had demanded for the compleating of the work, before he had half done it, laid violent hands on himſelf, out of ſhame for being ſo groſsly miſtaken in his computation. Upon his death, one *Laches*, a native of the ſame city, undertook the work, ſays the ſame writer, and put the laſt hand to it. That it was done, at leaſt in part, by *Laches*, he proves from the inſcription which was ſtill extant in his time on the pedeſtal of the ſtatue in the following words: Laches *of* Lindus *made the* Coloſſus *of* Rhodes *eighty cubits high*. We will not call in queſtion the veracity of our author; but after all we cannot help thinking it ſomewhat ſtrange, that no writer, either before or ſince his time, ſhould mention this inſcription. He flouriſhed in the reign of *Antoninus* ſurnamed *the philoſopher*.

(60) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* ii. (61) *Herodot. l* ii. (62) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 6. (63) *Strabo l.* xiv. (64) *Thucyd. l.* viii. (65) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* v. (66) *Strabo ibid.* (67) *Strabo l.* xiv. (68) *Iſidor. de Origin. l.* i. (69) *Strabo ubi ſupra.* (70) *Ariſtid. in Rhodiac.* (71) *Dio Chryſoſtom. in Rhodiac.* (72) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 7. (73) *Ariſtid. in Rhodiac.* (74) *Plin. ibid.* (75) *Plin. l.* 34. *c.* 7.

a ſtatue of braſs erected in honour of the *Sun* or *Apollo*, the tutelary god of the iſland, and for its ſize accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world, being ſeventy cubits, or an hundred and five foot high; inſomuch, that ſhips in entering the harbour ſailed between its legs. *Demetrius Poliorcetes* having for a whole year beſieged the city of *Rhodes* without being able to take it, at laſt tired out with ſo long a ſiege was reconciled to the *Rhodians*, and on his departure preſented them with all the engines of war he had employed againſt their city. Theſe the *Rhodians* ſold for three hundred talents, and, with that money and other additional ſums of their own, raiſed this famous coloſſus. The artificer they employed was *Chares* of *Lindus*, who was twelve years in compleating the work. After it had ſtood ſixty years, it was thrown
b down by an earthquake, which did great damage in the eaſt, eſpecially in *Caria* and *Rhodes* [b]. On this occaſion the *Rhodians* ſent embaſſadors to all the princes and ſtates of *Greek* origin to repreſent the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and by that means procured great ſums for the repairing of them, eſpecially from the kings of *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. The money they gathered is ſaid to have exceeded five times the value of the damages, But they, inſtead of ſetting up the coloſſus again, for which end moſt of it was given, pretended an anſwer from the oracle of *Delphos*, forbidding it, and kept the money for themſelves [c]. Thus the coloſſus lay where it
c fell for the ſpace of 894 years, till at length *Moawias*, the ſixth caliph or emperor of the *Saracens*, having taken *Rhodes*, ſold the braſs to a *Jew*, who loaded with it nine hundred camels, ſo that allowing eight hundred pound weight to every camel's load, the braſs of the coloſſus, after the waſte of ſo many years, amounted to ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand pound weight [d]. From this coloſſus the iſland is by ſome authors called *Coloſſa*, and the inhabitants *Coloſſians*, whence ſome have falſely imagined, that St. *Paul's* epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* was directed to the *Rhodians*. But the *Coloſſians*, to whom the apoſtle wrote, were the inhabitants of *Coloſſe*, a city in *Phrygia Major*, of which we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of that antient kingdom.

THE city of *Rhodes* is ſtill a place of no ſmall note, being pleaſantly ſeated on the ſide of a hill, three miles in compaſs, and well fortified with a treble wall. The
d ſtreets, as our modern travellers inform us, are wide, ſtrait, and well paved, and the houſes built after the *Italian* taſte. The chief haven is convenient, ſafe, and well fortified. The city is well peopled, and the inhabitants as wealthy as the *Turkiſh* tyranny permits any to be. It is well known, that this city and iſland belonged in middle ages to the knights of *St. John of Jeruſalem*, who defended it with incredible bravery againſt the mighty fleet and numerous army of *Solyman* II, till the place was betrayed by a traitor in the town. After the reduction of *Rhodes*, the knights, who were denominated from this iſland, retired to that of *Malta*, which was granted to them by the emperor *Charles* V. where they continue to this day.

The inhabitants.

THIS iſland, if we believe *Diodorus*, was firſt peopled by the *Telchinæ*, who were
e originally from the iſland of *Crete*. The *Telchinæ*, who, according to that writer, were well skilled in aſtrology, foreſeeing, that the iſland would be ſoon laid under water and the inhabitants drowned, abandoned their habitations, and made room for the *Heliades* or grandſons of *Phœbus*, who took poſſeſſion of it after that god had cleared it of the mud, with which it had been covered by the deluge. The *Heliades*, as the ſame author informs us, excelled all other men in learning, eſpecially in aſtrology; and were the firſt who found out the art of navigation, and the dividing of the day into hours. One of them by name *Tanges*, continues our author, being through envy killed by his brothers, they were forced to abandon *Rhodes*, and take ſanctuary in other countries. *Macer* fled to *Lesbos*, *Candalus* to *Coos*, *Triopas* to *Caria*,
f and *Actis* to *Egypt*. *Triopas* poſſeſſed himſelf of the promontory in *Caria*, from him called *Triopium*; *Actis* built in *Egypt* a city, which from the name of the ſun he called *Heliopolis*, and taught the *Egyptians* the ſcience of aſtrology. But moſt of the inhabitants of *Greece* being afterwards deſtroyed by the flood, and the ancient monuments loſt, the *Egyptians* took this opportunity of appropriating the ſtudy of aſtrology ſolely to themſelves; and it was generally believed, even by the *Greeks*, that the *Egyptians* were the firſt who found out the knowledge of the ſtars [e]. Thus *Diodorus* derives the ſtudy of aſtrology from the inhabitant of *Rhodes*. But

we

[b] EUSEB. Chron. OROS. l. iv. c. 13. POLYB. l. v. p. 428—429. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 7. STRAB. l. xiv. p. 652. [c] PLIN. POLYB. & Strab. ibid. [d] ZONAR. Cadrew. ſub. regno Conſtantis. Heral. Nepot. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 13.

we ſhould be glad to know how he came to make this diſcovery, after all the ancient monuments, relating thereunto, were loſt. All authors agree, that the *Egyptians* were the firſt who applied themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtrology, and the opinion of *Diodorus*, ſupported by no authentic monuments, is not of weight enough with us to counter-ballance their authority. a

In after-ages the deſcendents of the *Heliades*, who had remained in *Rhodes*, (four of them only being concerned in the death of their brother *Tanges*) being infeſted by great ſerpents, which bred in the iſland, had recourſe to an oracle in *Delos*, which adviſed them to admit *Phorbas* and his followers to ſhare with them the lands in the iſland, if they deſired to be delivered from their preſent calamity. *Phorbas* was the ſon of *Lapithas*, and was at that time, with many of his friends, in *Theſſaly* ſeeking for a convenient place to ſettle in. The *Rhodians*, according to the direction of the oracle, ſent for *Phorbas*, who, being admitted as a proprietor with them in the iſland, deſtroyed the ſerpents, and freed the inhabitants from their former fears. He continued with his followers, who were all *Theſſalians*, in *Rhodes*, where after his death he was honoured as a demi-god [f]. b

Afterwards *Althæmenes*, the ſon of *Catreus* king of *Crete*, conſulting the oracle concerning ſome affairs, was anſwered, that it would be his fate to kill his own father. To avoid this misfortune he of his own accord abandoned *Crete*, and with many *Cretans*, who attended him, paſſed over into *Rhodes*, and ſettled at *Camirus*. There he built a temple on the top of mount *Atamirus* in honour of *Jupiter*, called from thence *Jupiter Atamirus*. He choſe that place becauſe he had from thence a clear proſpect of *Crete* his native iſland. He was greatly honoured by the inhabitants of *Camirus*, and admitted with his followers to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the ancient proprietors. But his father *Catreus* having no other ſon, and being exceeding fond of *Althæmenes*, undertook a voyage to *Rhodes* in order to bring him back to *Crete*. He landed at *Rhodes* in the night with a numerous attendance, which giving jealouſy to the *Rhodians*, they fell upon him, and in this conflict he was killed by his own ſon. *Althæmenes* was ſo concerned for his death, that he ever afterwards avoided all manner of company, wandering in the deſarts till he died of grief; but by the direction of the oracle he was afterwards honoured as an hero or demi-god [g]. c d

Not long before the *Trojan* war *Tlepolemus* the ſon of *Hercules*, having killed unawares one *Licymnius*, fled from *Argos*, and, having conſulted an oracle about planting a colony, was adviſed to paſs over into *Rhodes*, which he did accordingly and ſettled there. He was afterwards created king of the whole iſland, which he governed with great juſtice and equity. Theſe were, according to *Diodorus*, the firſt inhabitants of the iſland of *Rhodes* [h].

After the *Trojan* war, the *Dorians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt part of this iſland, after having driven out the ancient proprietors; and hence it is, that both *Strabo* [i] and *Pauſanias* [k] called the *Rhodians Dorians* and alſo *Peloponneſians*, the *Dorians* being properly the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus*. As the *Dorians* were, according to *Euſebius* [l], deſcended from *Tharſis*, the ſon of *Javan* and grandſon of *Japhet*, that writer by *Tharſis* underſtands the *Rhodians*. On the other hand *S. Jerom* is of opinion, that the iſland of *Rhodes* was firſt peopled by the deſcendants of *Dodanim* the brother of *Tharſis*, whom the *Greeks* corruptly called *Rhodanim*; and hence came the name of *Rhodes* and *Rhodians* [m]. Be that as it will, all the ancients agree, that the *Rhodians* after the *Trojan* war conſiſted chiefly of *Dorians*, and that the *Doric* dialect was commonly uſed throughout the whole iſland. e

Their trade and navigation

The *Rhodians* applied themſelves very early to trade and navigation, and ſoon became ſo ſkilled in maritime affairs and expert in navigation, that for many ages they were ſovereigns of the ſea, their laws, called the *Rhodian* laws, being the ſtandard whereby to decide all controverſies relating to maritime affairs. Theſe laws and conſtitutions were ſo juſt, that they were afterwards incorporated into the *Roman* pandects, and followed in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. f

The

[f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [g] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [h] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [i] Strab. l. xiv. [k] Pausan. l. ix. [l] Euseb. Chron. [m] Hieronym. in quæſt. Hebraic.

Government.

a THE government of *Rhodes* was originally monarchical, and several kings are said to have reigned there long before the *Trojan* war [n]; but as the authors (D), who have wrote of *Rhodes*, have not reached our times, we can give no account of those ancient kings. The names of the princes, who reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, and after that epoch, are *Tlepolemus*, *Dorieus*, *Damagetus*, *Diagoras*, *Evagoras*, *Cleobulus*, *Eraſtides*, *Damagetus* II. *Diagoras* II.

Kings of Rhodes.

Tlepolemus, the ſon of *Hercules*, accompanied *Agamemnon* to the *Trojan* war, leaving the government of his kingdom to *Butas*, who had attended him in his flight from *Argos*. Some ſay, that he was killed before *Troy* by *Sarpedon*, others that he returned home loaded with the ſpoils of the plundered city [o]. *Dorieus* is only mentioned by *Pauſanias*, and ſuppoſed to have reigned, ſince his ſon *Damagetus*
b enjoyed the royal dignity. All we know of *Damagetus* is, that he was commanded by an oracle to marry the daughter of the beſt man among the *Greeks*, and that in compliance with the injunction of the god he took to wife the third daughter of *Ariſtomenes* the *Meſſenian* [p], by whom he had *Diagoras*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and became ſo famous on account of his equity and juſtice, that the princes who ſucceeded him were called *Diagoridæ*, as if he had been the head and firſt of the family [q]. *Evagoras* is mentioned only by *Laertius*, who gives us no account of his reign [r]. *Cleobulus* travelled into *Egypt*, where he ſtudied philoſophy,

[n] Vide PINDAR. Olymp. Od. 7. DIODOR SICUL. l. v. c. 13. STRAB. l. xiv. &c. [o] DIODOR. ibid. DICTYS, PHILOSTRATUS, &c. [p] PAUSAN. l. iv. [q] PAUSAN. ibid. [r] LAERTIUS. in vit. Cleobul.

(D) The *Rhodian* writers, mentioned and quoted by *Diodorus Siculus* (76), *Athenæus* (77), *Suidas*, *Plutarch* and others, are *Clitophon*, who, according to *Hieroclides*, wrote a treatiſe on the government of *Rhodes*. *Ergeas* is quoted by *Athenæus* as the author of a hiſtory containing the exploits of the *Phœnicians*, who in ancient times inhabited the iſland of *Rhodes*. *Jaſon* deſcribed in three books the ſtate of *Greece* and *Rhodes*. *Polyzelus* is ſaid by *Strabo* and *Athenæus* to have wrote ſeveral hiſtorical tracts, among others one on the warlike actions of the *Rhodians*. *Zenon* wrote a geographical account of *Rhodes*. *Eudoxus* is mentioned by *Laertius*, who tells us, that he wrote an hiſtory, and by *Suidas*, *Apollonius*, and the etymologiſt, who quotes the tenth book of this author's hiſtory. Some writers confound *Eudoxius* the *Rhodian* hiſtorian with another *Eudoxius* of *Cyzicum*, who, following *Ptolemy Lathurus*, ſailed from the *Perſian* gulf to *Cadiz*, as *Strabo* relates on the credit of *Poſſidonius* (78), and *Pliny* on that of *Cornelius Nepos*. *Simmias* flouriſhed about the beginning of the *olympiads*, and wrote ſeveral poems on the antiquities of *Samos*, where he was born of *Rhodian* parents. *Tzetzes* cites thirteen verſes from his poem, entitled *Apollo*, on men who had dogs heads. Theſe have all wrote the hiſtory, or part of the hiſtory, of *Rhodes*, and are frequently quoted by the ancients, eſpecially by *Diodorus Siculus*. It would be too tedious to inſert here a catalogue of the many eminent writers, whom this iſland has produced. However, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of thoſe, whom we find to have been moſt admired by the beſt judges of antiquity. Theſe are, *Ariſtophanes*, a native of *Lindos*, whoſe comedies met with ſuch applauſe at *Athens*, that he was declared free of that city, and honoured with a crown made of the branches of an olive tree, which grew in the citadel and was ſacred to *Minerva*. *Eudemus*, counted by *Strabo* among the moſt illuſtrious philoſophers of antiquity (79); he is ſaid to have wrote a learned treatiſe of geometry, aſtronomy, and the power and influence of the ſtars: *Hieronymus*, commended by *Strabo*, *Athenæus* and *Tully*, as the chief *Peripatetic* philoſopher of his time. *Leonidas*, ranked by *Strabo*, *Hegeſias*, and *Vitruvius* among the men, who gained more reputation to their country by the arts of peace, than the greateſt captains by thoſe of war: *Piſander*, a native of *Camiros*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Macrobius* as the author of a poem ſtiled *Heraclea*, which comprehended in two books all the exploits of *Hercules*: he is ſaid by *Suidas* to have been the firſt that repreſented *Hercules* with a club: *Panætius*, who was preceptor to *Scipio Africanus* the younger, and attended him together with *Polybius* in all his expeditions. Upon *Scipio*'s death he retired to *Athens*, where he was highly eſteemed and admitted into the number of *Athenian* citizens. *Cicero* acknowledges that he followed him in his book of offices: *Molon*, or *Apollonius Molon*, who taught rhetoric firſt at *Rome* afterwards at *Rhodes*, and had in both places a great many diſciples of diſtinction, amongſt others *Cicero*, who followed him from *Rome* to *Rhodes*. *Molon* wrote ſome hiſtorical works; for *Joſephus* (80) complains of him as undeſervedly traducing the *Jews*, and diſparaging ſome of the moſt glorious actions of their princes: *Ideus*, who took upon him to correct the *Iliad*, but did not ſucceed ſo well in that undertaking, as he did in an epic poem of his own, wherein he ſet forth the memorable actions of the *Rhodians*: *Timocreon*, a famous poet and wreſtler, who in the *olympic* games was victor in five different ſorts of combats. *Athenæus* tells us, that his epitaph was wrote by *Simonides*, and conceived in the following terms: *Here lies* Timocreon *the* Rhodian, *who of all things liked good eating and drinking, and never ſpoke well of any body*. *Praxiphanes*, a native of *Lindus*, wrote a moſt learned comment on the obſcure paſſages of *Sophocles*, and is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Heſychius*: *Antigas*, born likewiſe in *Lindus*, was the firſt inventor, as *Suidas* informs us, of the *Adonic* verſe, ſo called from *Adonis*, that poet having firſt made them to bewail his death. Many other writers of great note have formerly flouriſhed in this iſland; but, as we cannot pretend to give an account of them all in this place, we muſt refer our readers to *Meurſius*, in his learned treatiſe on the iſland of *Rhodes*, printed at *Amſterdam* in 1675, and publiſhed with thoſe on *Crete* and *Cyprus* by the ſame author.

(76) *Diodor Sicul. l.* v. *c.* 13. (77) *Athenæus. l.* viii. *c.* 11 (78) *Strab. l.* vi. (79) *Idem, l.* xiv (80) *Joſeph. contra. Ap.*

ſophy, and on his return to *Rhodes* was highly eſteemed, not only by his country- a
men, but by all the *Greeks*, and counted among the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*.
His daughter *Cleobulina* is ſaid to have been a woman of great learning, well verſed
in philoſophy, aſtrology, poetry, &c. and to have had an admirable talent in making
ænigmas [r]. *Cleobulus* died in the 70th year of his age, leaving the kingdom, as he
had no male iſſue, to his daughter, who reſigned it to *Eraſtides*, one of the deſcen-
dants of *Diagoras*, and conſequently of the ſame family. *Eraſtides*, it ſeems, per-
formed nothing worth mentioning; he is called by *Pindar* a pacific prince, and ſaid to
have reigned without giving trouble to his neighbours, or being troubled by them.
After him reigned ſeveral other princes of the ſame family, as we gather from the ſcho-
liaſt of *Pindar* [t]; but the only one we find mentioned by the ancients is *Diagoras* II. b
who was cotemporary with *Pindar*. He proved conqueror in the *Olympiac*, *Iſthmian*,
Nemæan, and *Argian* games, and is on that account highly commended by *Pindar*.
He had two daughters *Calipateras* and *Pherenice*, and three ſons, *Acuſilaus*, *Damage-
tus*, and *Dorieus*. Theſe ſons were all three victors at the ſame time in the *olympic*
ſports, *Acuſilaus* in boxing, *Dorieus* in wreſtling, and *Damagetus* in the exerciſe called
Pancration, which conſiſted of the two former. After the judges had paſſed ſentence,
and the public herald proclaimed their names, they flew to embrace their father, who
was preſent, and, placing their crowns on his head, carried him in triumph through the
crowd, all *Greece* extolling with loud acclamations their piety, which made that
numerous aſſembly in a manner forget their victory. The father, not able to bear c
ſuch an exceſs of joy, died in their arms, envied more for his death, as our author
expreſſes it, than for the many victories, which during his life had equalled him to
the gods [u]. *Dorieus* was three times ſucceſſively victor in the *olympic* games, eight
times in the *Iſthmian*, ſeven times in the *Nemæan*, and once in the *Pythic*, no one da-
ring to contend with him. Being driven from *Rhodes*, he retired with his nephew
Piſidorus to *Thurium* in *Italy*. What was laid to his charge, we know not; but
Thucydides informs us, that he was ſoon recalled, and that on his return he not only
openly declared for the *Lacedæmonians*, but ſerved in their fleet with gallies equipped
at his own expence, till he was in an engagement taken priſoner by the *Athenians*, who
at firſt deſigned to put him to death, but afterwards ſent him home untouched and d
without ranſom, in conſideration of the many victories he had gained in the public
ſports [w]. His ſiſter *Pherenice*, after the death of her huſband, privately inſtructed
her ſon *Piſidorus* in the exerciſes uſed at *Olympia*, and attended him herſelf in diſguiſe
to the ſports; for women were not allowed to be preſent at thoſe games; nay, ſo ſe-
vere were the laws in this particular, that if any women was found ſo much as to have
paſſed the river *Alpheus*, during the time of the ſolemnity, ſhe was to be thrown head-
long from a rock on the top of mount *Timæus*. *Pherenice*, after her ſon had won the
prize, diſcovered herſelf, and being apprehended was brought before the judges, who
acquitted her, out of reſpect to her father, brothers, and ſon [x]. From *Diagoras* I. to
Diagoras II. chronologers count two hundred and fifty years; whence it is manifeſt, e
that neither the actions, nor even the names, of ſeveral intermediate kings have reach-
ed us. Upon the death of *Diagoras* II. ſome great revolution muſt have happened;
for we find another family on the throne, *viz.* that of the *Aſclepiadæ*, while his chil-
dren were ſtill alive [y]. But are quite in the dark both as to their names and actions.
All we know is, that they did not long enjoy the ſovereignty, the *Rhodians* having no
king at the time of *Xerxes*'s expedition into *Greece*, which, according to *Diodorus* [z],
happened a few years after the death of *Diagoras*. After the death or expulſion of
the laſt king, the republican government prevailed all over the iſland, during which
The republican form of government introduced. the *Rhodians* applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and, as *Strabo* informs us [a], f
became very powerful by ſea, and planted ſeveral colonies in diſtant countries, namely
Rhodes in *Spain*, and *Parthenope* in the country of the *Opici*. The ſame author adds,
that the *Rhodians* at this time were maſters of the *Balearic* iſlands, called then the
Gymneſian iſlands. During the *Peloponneſian* war, the *Rhodians* firſt ſided with the
Athenians, but, after their great overthrow in *Sicily*, revolted from them and joined
the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they likewiſe abandoned, and renewed their ancient
alliance

[r] Idem, ibid. [t] Scholiaſt. Pind. p. 59. [u] Pausan. l. vi. Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 15. [w] Thucyd. l. iii. & viii. Xenoph. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. Pausan. l. vi. [x] Pausan. in Eliac. p 457. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. x. c. 1. Val. Max. l. viii. Plin. l. vii. c. 41. [y] Aristid. orat. in Aſclepiad. & ad. Rhodios de concordia. [z] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. [a] Strab. l. xiv.

a alliance with the *Athenians*, after the former had been defeated by *Conon* admiral of the *Persian* fleet. In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, and for several years after, the republic of *Rhodes* was rent into two factions, the people favouring the *Athenians*, and the nobles the *Lacedæmonians*; but the latter at last prevailed, the democracy was abolished, and an aristocracy introduced in its room. Under this form of government the state enjoyed a profound tranquility, till the third year of the hundred and fifth *olympiad*, which was the third year of the reign of *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, when that war broke out, which was called the *Social War*, and lasted four years. The *Rhodians*, *Chians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, being weary of their alliance with the *Athenians*, by whom they were treated rather like subjects than allies, resolved to take

b up arms against *Athens*, and reinstate themselves in their ancient independency. To reduce them the *Athenians* employed great forces and the most experienced officers of their republic, viz. *Chabrias*, *Iphicrates*, and *Timotheus*. These were the last of the *Athenian* generals, who distinguished themselves either at home or abroad [b]. The war was begun by the siege of *Chius*, where *Chares* commanded the land-forces, and *Chabrias* the fleet. All the allies, especially the *Rhodians*, exerted themselves in sending aid to the *Chians*. But in spite of their utmost efforts *Chabrias*, having forced the passage, entered the port, and fell upon the enemy's fleet. The other gallies under his command, seeing him in great distress and surrounded by the enemy, betook themselves to flight, leaving *Chabrias* to the mercy of the allies. But he, chusing rather to die, than to retire or surrender, fought with incredible bravery till he received

c a wound, which soon put an end to his life [c].

The social war *Year of the flood* 2613. *Before Christ* 356.

Thus the first attempt of the *Athenians* having miscarried, both sides made vast preparations for renewing the war. The *Athenians* fitted out a fleet of sixty gallies, giving the command of it to *Chares*, and appointed *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus* to command another fleet, consisting of the same number of gallies, which was to be employed against the *Rhodians*, and to prevent their joining the other allies. But the *Rhodians* were before-hand with them, and the confederate fleet to the number of an hundred sail being united early in the spring, they ravaged the islands of *Imbros* and *Lesbos*, took all the ships they met, and, raising contributions among the allies of *Athens*, got

d together such sums of money, as were sufficient to defray all the expences of that campaign. Being encouraged with this success they sailed to *Samos*, which adhered to the *Athenians*, and besieged the place both by sea and land. On the other hand, the *Athenians*, to oblige the allies to raise the siege, invested *Byzantium*, which had the desired effect, the allies making all possible haste to its relief. When the two fleets were in sight of each other, the allies began to prepare for an engagement, but, a violent storm arising, *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* thought it not advisable to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. *Chares*, who was for engaging, after having earnestly pressed, but in vain, his collegues to follow his advice, wrote to *Athens* accusing them of cowardice and treason. Upon his accusation, the people, who were naturally jealous

e of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit, recalled the two generals, and laid a heavy fine upon them, which *Timotheus* being unable to pay, retired to *Cheos*, where he died of grief [d].

Chares, by the recal of his two collegues, having the sole command of the fleet, engaged in a very rash enterprize, whereby he hoped to do his country great service. *Pharnabazus*, having revolted from the king of *Persia*, was upon the point of being attacked by the governors of the neighbouring provinces at the head of seventy thousand men, he himself having but a very small army. In this critical conjuncture he prevailed upon *Chares* to join him with his forces, and by his assistance totally routed the king's generals; for which signal piece of service *Pharnabazus* rewarded him with such sums of money, as were sufficient to pay his fleet and army. When the news of this victory first reached *Athens*, *Chares*'s conduct was highly applauded; but after the king had complained by his embassadors of the injury done him by *Chares*, and it was spread abroad, that the *Persians* designed to join the confederates with a fleet of three hundred sail, the *Athenians* changed their notes, and treated *Chares* as a traitor, who had not only abandoned the service of his country for a foreign war, but infringed the articles of peace with the *Persians*, and thereby provoked

[b] Corn. Nepos. in Timoth. Diodor. Sicul. Justin. ibid. [c] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [d] Corn. Nepos. Diodor.

provoked that mighty monarch againſt the *Athenian* republic. However, the credit of *Chares* ſaved him upon this, as it had done upon ſeveral other occaſions. But the people were ſo terrified with the threatnings of the king of *Perſia*, that they reſolved to conclude a peace with the ſtates which had revolted, almoſt upon their own terms: accordingly a treaty was agreed on very little to the honour of *Athens*, and an end put to the *Social War*, after it had continued for the ſpace of four years [e]. By this treaty *Rhodes*, *Chios*, *Cos*, and *Byzantium*, were to enjoy full liberty, and be quite independent of *Athens*. It was on this occaſion that *Iſocrates* wrote that famous oration which is entitled, *of peace* or *ſocial*, wherein he repreſents to the *Athenians*, that real and laſting greatneſs does not conſiſt in making conqueſts, which cannot be effected without violence and injuſtice, but in governing the people with wiſdom, and rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, and by good offices obliging and gaining over their neighbours, without having recourſe to arms, except when all other means prove ineffectual. This oration is ſtill extant and well worth the reader's peruſal.

The Rhodians *oppreſſed by* Mauſolus *king of* Caria.

The peace, which put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquility they had reaſon to expect. The people of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, who had been declared free by the treaty, ſeemed only to have changed their maſter. *Mauſolus*, king of *Caria*, who had aſſiſted them in throwing off the *Athenian* yoke, declared for an ariſtocracy, and by that means having oppreſſed the people, came by degrees to be abſolute maſter of both iſlands, the nobility not daring, as they were hated by the people, to oppoſe him. But *Mauſolus* dying two years after the treaty of peace with *Athens*, the people and nobility, uniting together, drove out the gariſons of *Mauſolus*, and recovered their ancient liberties. Having thus cleared their reſpective iſlands of foreign forces, the *Rhodians*, to revenge the injuries they had ſuffered from *Mauſolus*, having equipped a fleet, invaded *Caria*, with a deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of that country, which lay very convenient for them. The famous queen *Artemiſia*, who had ſucceeded her huſband in the kingdom of *Caria*, being acquainted with their deſign, ordered the inhabitants of *Halicarnaſſus*, where it was moſt likely they would land, to keep within the walls, and when the enemy arrived, to expreſs by ſhouts and clapping of hands, a readineſs to ſurrender. The inhabitants followed her directions; whereupon the *Rhodians*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, left their fleet without any to guard it, and entered the city. In the mean-time *Artemiſia* came with her galies out of the little port through a ſmall canal, which ſhe had cauſed to be cut on purpoſe, entered the great port, and ſeizing the enemy's fleet without reſiſtance, ſet ſail for *Rhodes*. The *Rhodians*, who had entered the city, having to means to make their eſcape, were all cut in pieces. But before this melancholy news reached *Rhodes*, *Artemiſia* had got poſſeſſion of that city. When the inhabitants ſaw their veſſels approach adorned with wreaths of laurel, they admitted them into the port with extraordinary marks of joy, not doubting but they had taken *Halicarnaſſus*. Then *Artemiſia*, landing her troops, fell upon the unarmed multitude, diſperſed them, and having poſſeſſed herſelf of the city, put the chief citizens, who had promoted the *Carian* expedition, to death. Being now miſtreſs of the metropolis, ſhe cauſed a noble trophy to be erected in the market-place, and two ſtatues of braſs; one of which repreſented the city of *Rhodes*, and the other *Artemiſia* branding it with an hot iron. The *Rhodians* afterwards ſurrounded that trophy with a building, which prevented it entirely from being ſeen, religion forbiding them to demoliſh any monuments which had been once conſecrated [f]. From this, and from what we read in one of *Demoſthenes*'s orations [g], it appears, that *Artemiſia* did not, like a forlorn and inconſolable widow, paſs her whole time in grief and lamentation, as ſome writers would make us believe. A modern author of no mean character [h] ſuſpects, that whatever has been reported of her exceſſive grief is without any foundation, being advanced by ſome, and perhaps believed, on account of the magnificent monument ſhe erected to the memory of her deceaſed huſband, and afterwards copied by others. And truly her whole conduct diſcovers rather the active courage of a queen, than the ſevere affliction and retirement of a widow. The *Rhodians*, being thus reduced by a woman, and unable to bear any longer ſo ſhameful a ſervitude, had

Artemiſia *poſſeſſes herſelf of the city of* Rhodes. *Year of the flood* 2649. *Before Chriſt* 350.

[e] Diodor. Plut. Cor. Nep. ibid. [f] Vitruvius. l. 2. c. 10. [g] Demosthen. de libertat. Rhodior. [h] Bayle Diction. Hiſtor. &c.

a had recourſe to the *Athenians*, and privately ſent embaſſadors to implore their protection. They had but lately provoked the *Athenians* by their revolt, and the many miſchiefs which they had brought upon their republic, during the ſocial war. However, *Demoſthenes* took upon him to back their embaſſadors, and ſpeak to the people in their favour. He began by ſetting their revolt in its full light, and enlarging on their injuſtice and perfidy; inſomuch, that ſome imagined the orator was going to declare againſt them in the ſtrongeſt terms. But all this was only to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of his auditors, and afterwards ſtir them up to compaſſion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, and owned themſelves unworthy of that protection, which they were come to implore. He ſet before them
b the great maxims, which in all ages had gained ſo much glory to *Athens*, the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of their enemies, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory he added thoſe of intereſt, ſhewing how neceſſary it was, that they ſhould declare for a city, that favoured the democratic government, and not abandon, to a foreign power, ſo wealthy an iſland as that of *Rhodes*. This is the ſubſtance of that famous diſcourſe, entitled, *For the liberty of the* Rhodians. What impreſſion this ſpeech made on the minds of the *Athenians* we know not. All we can advance with certainty is, that the *Rhodians* were ſoon after delivered from the yoke they groaned under. Some writers tell us, that they were indebted to the *Athenians* for their liberty, while others affirm, that,
c *Artemiſia* dying the ſame year ſhe poſſeſſed herſelf of the iſland, the *Rhodians* reinſtated themſelves in their former condition with their own forces [l].

Rhodians *reſtored to their ancient liberty.*

From this time the *Rhodians* enjoyed a profound tranquillity till the reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom they delivered up of their own accord their cities and harbours, and were on that account highly favoured by that prince [k]. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander* lodged his laſt will in the archives of the city of *Rhodes*, and ſhewed on all occaſions a greater value for the *Rhodians*, than for any other of the *Greek* nations. However, they no ſooner heard the news of his death, but taking up arms they drove out the *Macedonian* gariſon, and once more became a free people [l]. About this time happened a dreadful inundation at *Rhodes*, which
d being accompanied with violent ſtorms of rain, and hail-ſtones of an extraordinary bigneſs, beat down many houſes, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants. As the city of *Rhodes* was built in the form of an amphitheatre, and no care had been taken to clear the pipes and conduits which conveyed the water into the ſea, the lower parts of the city were in an inſtant laid under water, ſeveral houſes quite covered, and the inhabitants drowned before they got to the higher places. As the deluge encreaſed, and the violent ſhowers continued, ſome of the inhabitants made to their ſhips, and abandoned the place, while others, attempting to remedy the evil, miſerably periſhed in the waters. The city being thus threatened with utter deſtruction, the wall on a ſudden burſt aſunder, and the water diſcharging
e itſelf with a violent current into the ſea, unexpectedly delivered the inhabitants from all danger [m].

They *ſurrender to* Alexander.

An inundation at Rhodes.

The *Rhodians* ſuffered greatly by this unexpected misfortunee, but ſoon repaired their loſſes by applying themſelves more cloſely than ever to trade and navigation, the only ſources of their wealth and power. As the city of *Rhodes* was at this time very powerful at ſea, and, according to *Diodorus* [n], the beſt governed of any city among the *Greeks*, all the princes, who were then at variance with each other, courted her friendſhip. But the *Rhodians* carefully declined favouring one againſt another, and, by thus obſerving a ſtrict neutrality in the wars that were kindled in thoſe times, became one of the moſt opulent ſtates of all *Aſia*; inſo-
f much, that, for the common good of all *Greece*, they undertook the *Piratic war*, and at their own charges cleared the ſeas of the pirates, who had for many years infeſted the coaſts both of *Europe* and *Aſia*. Though they were thus in amity with all the neighbouring princes, yet their inclinations as well as intereſt ſecretly attached them to *Ptolemy*; for the moſt advantagious branches of their commerce ſprung from *Egypt*. Wherefore, when *Antigonus*, engaged in a war againſt *Ptolemy* for the iſland of *Cyprus*, demanded ſuccours of them, they earneſtly entreated him not to compel them to declare againſt their ancient friend and ally. But this anſwer

Antigonus *makes war upon the* Rhodians. *Year of the flood*, 2695. *Before Chriſt*, 304.

[l] Aul. Gel. l. 10. c. 18. Strabo l. 14. [k] Curt. l. 4. [l] Diodor. l. 18. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 19. [n] Diodor. Sicul. l. 20. c. 4.

ſwer, as prudent as it was, drew upon them the diſpleaſure of *Antigonus*, who im- a
mediately ordered one of his admirals to ſail with his fleet to *Rhodes*, and ſeize all the ſhips that made out of the harbour for *Egypt*. The *Rhodians*, finding their harbour blocked up by the fleet of *Antigonus*, equipped a good number of gallies, fell upon the enemy, and obliged him with the loſs of many ſhips to quit his ſtation. Hereupon *Antigonus*, charging them as the aggreſſors and beginners of an unjuſt war, threatened to beſiege their city with the ſtrength of his whole army. The *Rhodians* endeavoured by frequent embaſſies to appeaſe his wrath, repreſenting to him, that not they, but his admiral had begun hoſtilities, by ſeizing their trading veſſels, and interrupting their navigation. But all their remonſtrances ſerved rather to provoke, than allay, his reſentment; and the only terms, upon which he would b
hearken to any accommodation, were, that the *Rhodians* ſhould declare war againſt *Ptolemy*; that they ſhould admit his fleet into their harbour; and that an hundred of the chief citizens ſhould be delivered up to him as hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles. The *Rhodians*, foreſeeing the ſtorm which was then impending, ſent embaſſadors to all their allies, and to *Ptolemy* in particular, imploring their aſſiſtance, and repreſenting to the latter, that their attachment to his intereſt had drawn upon them the danger to which they were expoſed. The preparations on both ſides were immenſe. As *Antigonus* was near fourſcore years of age at that time, he committed the whole management of the war to his ſon *Demetrius*, who appeared before the city of *Rhodes* with two hundred ſhips of war, an hundred c
and ſeventy tranſports having on board forty thouſand men, and a thouſand other veſſels, loaded with proviſions and all ſorts of warlike engines. As *Rhodes* had enjoyed for many years a profound tranquillity, and been free from all devaſtations, the expectation of booty in the plunder of ſo wealthy a city allured multitudes of pirates and mercenaries to join *Demetrius* in this expedition; inſomuch, that the whole ſea between the continent and the iſland was covered with ſhips, which

Demetrius arrives before the city of Rhodes *with a mighty fleet.*

ſtruck the *Rhodians*, who had a proſpect of this mighty armada from the walls, with great terror and conſternation. *Demetrius*, having landed his troops without the reach of the enemy's machines, detached ſeveral ſmall bodies to lay waſte the country round the city, and cut down the trees and groves, employing the timber, d
and materials of the houſes without the walls, to fortify his camp with ſtrong ramparts and a treble paliſade; which work, as many hands were employed, was finiſhed in a few days [o].

The *Rhodians* on their part prepared for a vigorous defence. Many great commanders, who had ſignalized themſelves on other occaſions, threw themſelves into the city, being deſirous to try their skill in military affairs againſt *Demetrius*, who was reputed one of the moſt experienced captains, in the conduct of ſieges, that antiquity had produced. The beſieged began with diſmiſſing from the city all ſuch perſons as were uſeleſs; and then taking an account of thoſe, who were capable of bearing arms, they found that the citizens amounted to ſix thouſand, and the foreign- e
ers to a thouſand. Liberty was promiſed to all the ſlaves, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by any glorious action, and the public engaged to pay the maſters their full ranſom. A proclamation was likewiſe made, declaring, that whoever died in the defence of his country ſhould be buried *&c.* out of the treaſury, that fortunes ſhould be given to his daughters, and his ſons, when they were grown up, ſhould be crowned and preſented with a compleat ſuit of armour, at the great ſolemnity of *Bacchus*. This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crouds with money to defray the charges of the war, and the artificers applied themſelves with indefatigable induſtry to the forging of arms, making of engines, and contriving new ſorts of warlike machines, which did great execution on the ene- f
my. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout all the quarters of the city, the workmen and artificers ſtriving to out-do each other, and the rich ſupplying them with materials at their own charge.

The beſieged firſt ſent out three nimble veſſels againſt a ſmall fleet of merchant ſhips that ſupplied the enemy with proviſions. Theſe falling upon them ſunk ſome, took others, and burnt the greateſt part of them, carrying back with them to *Rhodes* a great number of priſoners. By this firſt expedition the *Rhodians* gained

[o] Idem. ibid.

a gained a conſiderable ſum of money; for it had been mutually agreed between them and *Demetrius*, that a thouſand drachmas ſhould be paid for the ranſom of every freeman, and five hundred for each ſlave.

Demetrius, having planted all his engines, began to batter with incredible fury, the walls on the ſide of the harbour, but was for eight days ſucceſſively repulſed by the beſieged, who ſet fire to moſt of his warlike machines, and thereby obliged him to allow them ſome reſpite, which they made good uſe of in repairing the breaches, and building new walls, where the old ones were either weak or low. When *Demetrius* had repaired his engines, he ordered a general aſſault to be made, and cauſed his troops to advance with loud ſhouts, thinking by this means to ſtrike terror into the enemy b and drive them from the walls. But the beſieged were ſo far from being intimidated, that they repulſed the aggreſſors with great ſlaughter, and performed the moſt aſtoniſhing feats of bravery. *Demetrius* returned to the aſſault the next day, but was in the ſame manner forced to retire, after having loſt a great number of men and ſome officers of diſtinction. He had ſeized at his firſt landing an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and having fortified this advantagious poſt, he cauſed ſeveral batteries to be erected there with engines, which inceſſantly diſcharged againſt the walls ſtones of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. The towers being thus furiouſly battered night and day, began to totter, and ſeveral breaches were opened in the walls. Then the *Rhodians* unexpectedly ſallying out drove the enemy from their c poſt, overturned their machines, and made a moſt dreadful havock; inſomuch, that ſome of them retired on board their veſſels, and were with much ado prevailed upon to come aſhore again.

The ardor of *Demetrius* was not diminiſhed by this loſs, he ordered a ſcalade by ſea and land at the ſame time, and ſo employed the beſieged, that they were at a loſs what place they ſhould chiefly defend. The attack was carried on with the utmoſt fury on all ſides, and the beſieged defended themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity. Such of the enemies as advanced firſt were thrown down from the ladders, and miſerably bruiſed. Several of the chief officers, having mounted the walls to encourage the ſoldiers by their example, were there either killed or taken priſoners. After the d combat had laſted many hours, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, *Demetrius*, notwithſtanding all his valor, thought it neceſſary to retire in order to repair his engines, and give his men ſome days reſt [p].

Demetrius, being ſenſible that he could not reduce the city till he was maſter of the port, after having refreſhed his men, returned with new vigor againſt the fortificaions, which defended the entry into the harbour. When he came within the caſt of a dart, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of burning torches and firebrands to be thrown into the *Rhodian* ſhips which were riding there, and at the ſame time galled, with dreadful ſhowers of darts, arrows, and ſtones, ſuch as offered to extinguiſh the flames. However, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts the *Rhodians* put a ſtop to the fire, and e having with great expedition manned three of their ſtrongeſt ſhips, drove with ſuch violence againſt the veſſels, on which the enemy's machines were planted, that they were ſhattered in pieces, and the engines diſmounted and thrown into the ſea. *Exceſtus* the *Rhodian* admiral, being encouraged with this ſucceſs, attacked the enemy's fleet with his three ſhips, and ſunk a great many veſſels, but was himſelf at laſt taken priſoner; the other two veſſels made their eſcape, and regained the port.

As unfortunate as this laſt attack had proved to *Demetrius*, he determined to undertake another; and in order to ſucceed in his attempt, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, which was thrice the heighth and breadth of thoſe he had lately loſt. When the work was finiſhed, he cauſed the engine to be placed f near the port, which he was reſolved at all adventures to force. But, as it was upon the point of entering the harbour, a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, drove it againſt the ſhore with the veſſels on which it had been reared. The beſieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, while the tempeſt was ſtill raging, made a ſally againſt thoſe who defended the eminence mentioned above, and, tho' repulſed ſeveral times, carried it at laſt, obliging the *Demetrians*, to the number of four hundred, to throw down their arms and ſubmit. After this victory gained by the *Rhodians*, there arrived to their aid an hundred and fifty *Gnoſſians*, and five hundred

[p] Idem. ibid.

dred men ſent by *Ptolemy* from *Egypt*, moſt of them being natives of *Rhodes*, who had ſerved among the king's troops [q].

The Helepolis. *Demetrius* being extremely mortified to ſee all his batteries againſt the harbour rendered ineffectual, reſolved to employ them by land, in hopes of carrying the city by aſſault, or at leaſt reduce it to the neceſſity of capitulating. With this view, having got together a vaſt quantity of timber and other materials, he framed the famous engine called *Helepolis*, which was by many degrees larger than any that had ever been invented before. Its baſis was ſquare, each ſide being in length near fifty cubits, and made up of ſquare pieces of timber, bound together with plates of iron. In the middle part he placed thick planks, about a cubit diſtance from each other, and on theſe the men were to ſtand who forced the engine forward. The whole was moved upon b
eight ſtrong and large wheels, whoſe felloes were ſtrengthened with ſtrong iron plates. In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the *Helepolis*, caſters were placed under it, whereby it was turned in a trice to what ſide the workmen and engineers pleaſed. From each of the four angles a large pillar of wood was carried to about the height of an hundred cubits, and inclining to each other; the whole machine conſiſting of nine ſtories, whoſe dimenſions gradually leſſened in the aſcent. The firſt ſtory was ſupported by forty-three beams, and the laſt by no more than nine. Three ſides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fire that might be thrown from the city. In the front of each ſtory were windows, of the ſame ſize and ſhape as the engines that were to be diſcharged from c
thence. To each window were ſhutters to draw up for the defence of thoſe who managed the machines, and to deaden the force of the ſtones thrown by the enemy, the ſhutters being covered with ſkins ſtuffed with wool. Every ſtory was furniſhed with two large ſtair-caſes, that whatever was neceſſary might be brought up by one, while others were going down by the other, and ſo every thing might be diſpatched without tumult or confuſion. This huge machine was moved forwards by three thouſand of the ſtrongeſt men of the whole army, but the art with which it was built, greatly facilitated the motion. *Demetrius* cauſed likewiſe to be made ſeveral teſtudos or pent-houſes, to cover his men while they advanced to fill up the trenches and ditches, and invented a new ſort of galleries, through which thoſe d
who were employed at the ſiege might paſs and repaſs, at their pleaſure, without the leaſt danger. He employed all his ſeamen in levelling the ground, over which the machines were to be brought up to the ſpace of four furlongs. The number of workmen, who were employed on this occaſion, amounted to thirty thouſand men.

IN the mean-time the *Rhodians*, obſerving theſe formidable preparations, were buſy in raiſing a new wall within that which the enemy intended to batter with the *Helepolis*. In order to accompliſh this work, they pulled down the wall, which ſurrounded the theatre, ſome neighbouring houſes, and even ſome temples, after having ſolemnly promiſed to build more magnificent ſtructures in honour of the e
gods, if the city were preſerved. At the ſame time they ſent out nine of their beſt ſhips to ſeize ſuch of the enemy's veſſels as they could meet with, and thereby diſtreſs them for want of proviſions. As theſe ſhips were commanded by their braveſt ſea-officers, they ſoon returned with an immenſe booty and a great many priſoners. Among other veſſels they took a galley richly laden, on board of which they found great variety of valuable furniture and a royal robe, which *Phila* herſelf had wrought and ſent as a preſent to her huſband *Demetrius*, accompanied with a letter written with her own hand. The *Rhodians* ſent the furniture, the royal robe, and even the letter to *Ptolemy*, which exaſperated *Demetrius* to a great degree. In this proceeding they did not imitate, as *Plutarch* obſerves, the polite conduct of f
the *Athenians*, who having once ſeized one of *Philip*'s couriers, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but that of *Olympias*, which they ſent ſealed as it was to *Philip* [r].

WHILE *Demetrius* was preparing to attack the city, the *Rhodians* having aſſembled the people and magiſtrates to conſult about the meaſures they ſhould take, ſome propoſed in the aſſembly the pulling down of the ſtatues of *Antigonus* and his ſon *Demetrius*, which till then had been had in the utmoſt veneration. But this propoſal

[q] Idem, ibid. & PLUT. in Demetr.

[r] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. PLUT, in Demetri.

a propoſal was generally rejected with indignation, and their prudent conduct greatly allayed the wrath both of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*. However, the latter continued to carry on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigor, thinking it would reflect no ſmall diſhonour on him, were he obliged to quit the place without making himſelf maſter of it. He cauſed the walls to be ſecretly undermined; but when they were ready to fall, a deſerter very opportunely gave notice of the whole to the townſmen, who having with all expedition drawn a deep trench all along the wall, began to countermine, and meeting the enemy under ground, obliged them to abandon the work. While both parties guarded the mines, one *Athenagoras* a *Mileſian*, who had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians* by *Ptolemy* with a body of mercenaries, promiſed to
b betray the city to the *Demetrians*, and let them in through the mines in the night-time. But this was only in order to enſnare them; for *Alexander*, a noble *Macedo-nian*, whom *Demetrius* had ſent with a choice body of troops to take poſſeſſion of a poſt agreed on, no ſooner appeared, but he was taken priſoner by the *Rhodians*, who were waiting for him under arms. *Athenagoras* was crowned by the ſenate with a crown of gold, and preſented with five talents of ſilver.

Demetrius now gave over all thoughts of undermining the walls, and placed all his hopes of reducing the city in the battering engines which he had contrived. Having therefore levelled the ground under the walls, he brought up his *Helepolis*, with four teſtudos on each ſide of it. Two other teſtudos of an extraordinary
c ſize, bearing battering rams, were likewiſe moved forwards by a thouſand men. Each ſtory of the *Helepolis* was filled with all ſorts of engines for diſcharging of ſtones, arrows, and darts. When all things were ready, *Demetrius* ordered the ſignal to be given, when his men, ſetting up a ſhout, aſſaulted the city on all ſides, both by ſea and land. But in the heat of the attack, when the walls were ready to fall by the repeated ſtrokes of the battering-rams, embaſſadors arrived from *Cnidus*, earneſtly ſoliciting *Demetrius* to ſuſpend all further hoſtilities, and at the ſame time giving him hopes, that they ſhould prevail upon the *Rhodians* to ſubmit to an honourable capitulation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was accordingly agreed on, and embaſſadors ſent from both ſides. But the *Rhodians* refuſing to capitulate on
d the conditions offered them, the attack was renewed with ſo much fury, and the machines played off in ſo briſk a manner, that a large tower, built with ſquare ſtones, and the wall that flanked it were battered down. The beſieged nevertheleſs fought in the breach with ſo much courage and reſolution, that the enemy, after various unſucceſsful attempts, was forced to abandon the enterprize and retire [f].

In this conjuncture a fleet, which *Ptolemy* had freighted with three hundred thouſand meaſures of corn and different kinds of pulſe for the *Rhodians*, arrived very ſeaſonably in the port, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the enemy's ſhips, which cruiſed on the coaſts of the iſland to ſurprize them. A few days after came in ſafe two other fleets, one ſent by *Caſſander* with an hundred thouſand
e buſhels of barley, the other by *Lyſimachus* with four hundred thouſand buſhels of corn and as many of barley. This ſeaſonable and plentiful ſupply, arriving when the city began to ſuffer for want of proviſions, inſpired the beſieged with new courage, and raiſed their drooping ſpirits. Being thus animated, they formed a deſign of ſetting the enemy's engines on fire, and with this view ordered a body of men to ſally out the night enſuing, about the ſecond watch, with torches and firebrands, having firſt placed on the walls an incredible number of engines to diſcharge ſtones, arrows, darts, and fire-balls againſt thoſe who ſhould attempt to oppoſe their detachment. The *Rhodian* troops, purſuant to their orders, all on a ſudden ſallied out, and advancing in ſpite of all oppoſition to the batteries, ſet them on
f fire, while the engines from the walls played inceſſantly on thoſe, who endeavoured to extinguiſh the flames. The *Demetrians* on this occaſion fell in great numbers, being incapable in the darkneſs of the night either to ſee the engines, that continually diſcharged ſhowers of ſtones and arrows upon them, or to join in one body and repulſe the enemy. The conflagration was ſo great, that ſeveral plates of iron falling from the *Helepolis*, that vaſt engine would have been entirely conſumed, had not the troops, that were ſtationed in it, with all poſſible ſpeed quenched the fire with water before prepared, and ready in the apartments of the engine againſt ſuch accidents. *Demetrius*, fearing leſt all his machines ſhould be conſumed, called toge-

[f] Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. ibid.

ther by ſound of trumpet thoſe whoſe province it was to move them, and by their help brought them off before they were entirely deſtroyed. When it was day he a commanded all the darts and arrows, that had been ſhot by the *Rhodians*, to be carefully gathered, that he might from their number form ſome judgment of the number of machines in the city. Above eight hundred fire-brands were found on the ſpot, and no fewer than fifteen hundred darts, all diſcharged in a very ſmall portion of the night. This ſtruck the prince himſelf with no ſmall terror, for he never imagined, that they could have been able to bear the charges of ſuch formidable preparations. However, after having cauſed the ſlain to be buried, and given directions for the curing of the wounded, he applied himſelf to the repairing of his machines, which had been diſmounted and rendered quite unſerviceable. b

In the mean time the beſieged, improving the reſpite allowed them by the removal of the machines, built a third wall in the form of a creſcent, which took in all that part that was moſt expoſed to the enemy's batteries; and beſides drew a deep trench behind the breach to prevent the enemy from entering the city that way. At the ſame time they detached a ſquadron of their beſt ſhips, under the command of *Amyntas*, who made over to the continent of *Aſia*, and there meeting with ſome privateers, who were commiſſioned by *Demetrius*, took both the ſhips and the men, among whom were *Timocles*, the chief of the pirates, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction belonging to the fleet of *Demetrius*. On their return they fell in with ſeveral veſſels laden with corn for the enemy's camp, which they likewiſe took and brought c into the port. Theſe were ſoon followed by a numerous fleet of ſmall veſſels, loaded with corn and proviſions ſent them by *Ptolomy*, together with fifteen hundred men, commanded by *Antigonus*, a *Macedonian* of great experience in military affairs. *Demetrius*, in the mean time having repaired his machines, brought them up anew to the walls, which he inceſſantly battered, till he opened a great breach, and threw down ſeveral towers. But when he came to the aſſault, the *Rhodians* under the command of *Aminias* defended themſelves with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that he was in three ſucceſſive attacks repulſed with great ſlaughter, and at laſt forced to retire. The *Rhodians* likewiſe on this occaſion loſt ſeveral officers, and amongſt others the brave *Aminias* their commander. d

While the *Rhodians* were thus ſignalizing themſelves in the defence of their country, a ſecond embaſſy arrived at the camp of *Demetrius* from *Athens* and the other cities of *Greece*, ſolliciting *Demetrius* to compoſe matters, and ſtrike up a peace with the *Rhodians*. At the requeſt of the embaſſadors, who were in all above fifty, a ceſſation of arms was agreed upon, but the terms offered by *Demetrius* being again rejected by the *Rhodians*, the embaſſadors returned home without being able to bring the contending parties to an agreement. Hoſtilities were therefore renewed, and *Demetrius*, whoſe imagination was fertile in expedients for ſucceeding in his projects, formed a detachment of fifteen hundred of his beſt troops, under the conduct of *Alcimus* and *Mancius*, two officers of great reſolution and experience, e ordering them to enter the breach at midnight, and, forcing the entrenchment behind it, to poſſeſs themſelves of the poſts about the theatre, where it would be no difficult matter to maintain themſelves againſt any efforts of the townſmen. In order to facilitate the execution of ſo important and dangerous an undertaking, and amuſe the enemy with falſe attacks, he at the ſame time, upon a ſignal given, ordered the reſt of the army to ſet up a ſhout, and attack the city on all ſides, both by ſea and land. By this means he hoped, that the beſieged being alarmed in all parts, his detachment might find an opportunity of forcing the entrenchments, which covered the breach, and afterwards of ſeizing the advantagious poſts about the theatre. This feint had all the ſucceſs the prince could expect; for the f troops having ſet up a ſhout from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general aſſault, the detachment commanded by *Alcimus* and *Mancius* entered the breach, and fell upon thoſe, who defended the ditch and the wall that covered it, with ſuch vigor, that, having ſlain the beſt part of them and put the reſt in confuſion, they advanced to the theatre, and ſeized on the poſts adjoining to it. This occaſioned a general uproar in the city, as if it had been already taken: But the commanding officers diſpatched orders to the ſoldiers on the ramparts not to quit their poſts, nor ſtir from their reſpective ſtations. Having thus ſecured the walls, they put themſelves at the head of a choſen body of their own troops and of thoſe who were lately come from *Egypt*, and with theſe charged the enemy's detach- g ment. But the darkneſs of the night prevented them from diſlodging the enemy,

and

a and regaining the advantagious posts they had seized. But the day no sooner appeared, than they renewed their attack with wonderful bravery. The *Demetrians* without the walls with loud shouts endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, till they were relieved with fresh forces. The *Rhodians*, being sensible, that their fortunes, liberties, and all that was dear to them in the world lay at stake, fought like men in the utmost despair, the enemy defending their posts for several hours without giving ground in the least. At length the *Rhodians*, encouraging each other to exert themselves in defence of their country, and animated by the example of their leaders, made a last effort, and breaking into the very heart of the enemy's battalion, there killed
b both their commanders. After their death the rest were easily put in disorder, and all to a man either killed or taken prisoners. The *Rhodians* likewise on this occasion lost many of their best commanders, and among the rest *Damotetis*, their chief magistrate, a man of extraordinary valor, who had signalized himself during the whole time of the siege[t].

Demetrius, not at all discouraged by this check, was making the necessary preparations for a new assault, when he received letters from his father *Antigonus*, enjoining him to conclude a peace with the *Rhodians* upon the best terms he could get, lest he should lose his whole army in the siege of a single town. From this time *De-*
metrius wanted only some plausible pretence for breaking up the siege. The *Rhodians*
c likewise were now more inclined to come to an agreement than formerly, *Ptolemy* having acquainted them, that he intended to send them a great quantity of corn, and three thousand men to their assistance, but that he would have them first to try, whether they could make up matters with *Demetrius* upon reasonable terms. At the same time embassadors arrived from the *Ætolian* republic, soliciting the contending parties to put an end to a war, which might involve all the east in endless calamities.

An accident, which happened to *Demetrius* in this conjuncture, did not a little contribute towards the wished-for pacification. This prince was preparing to advance his *Helepolis* against the city, when a *Rhodian* engineer found means to render it quite
d useless. He undermined the tract of ground over which the *Helepolis* was to pass the next day, in order to approach the walls. *Demetrius*, not suspecting any stratagem of this nature, caused the engine to be moved forward, which, coming to the place that was undermined, sunk so deep into the ground, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This misfortune, if we believe *Vegetius* and *Vitruvius*, determined *Demetrius* to hearken to the *Ætolian* embassadors, and at last to strike up a peace upon the following conditions: that the republic of *Rhodes* should be maintained in the full enjoyment of their ancient rights, privileges, and liberties without any foreign garison; that they should renew their ancient alliance with *Antigonus*, and assist him in his wars against all states and princes, except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; and that, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them, they should deliver an
e hundred hostages, such as *Demetrius* should make choice of, except those who bore any public employment[u].

Thus the siege was raised after it had continued a whole year, and the *Rhodians* amply rewarded all those, who had distinguished themselves in the defence of their country; the slaves were set free, and admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens, and many of the freemen crowned with crowns of gold, and honoured with rich presents out of the public treasury. They likewise set up statues to *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, who had greatly contributed to the preservation of the place. But to express their gratitude to *Ptolemy* above the rest, they sent some of their priests to consult the oracle of *Ammon*, whether they should worship him as a
f god, or no; and being answered, that they might pay him divine honours, they consecrated to him a square grove in the city, enclosing it with a sumptuous portico, which was a furlong in length, and from him called *Ptolemeum* or *Ptolemy's portico*; and in order to perpetuate the memory of their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of *Soter*, that is, *Saviour*. By this surname he is distinguished by the historians from the other *Ptolemies*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Egypt*[x]. Some writers have imagined, that the surname of *Soter* was given him for having saved *Alexander* in the city of the *Oxydracans*[x]; but in this particular we chuse with the learned *Usher* to follow *Diodorus*.

The siege of Rhodes *raised Year of the flood.* 2629. *Before Christ* 303.

Demetrius

[t] Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. ibid.
[u] Diodor. & Plut. ibid. Veget. de re militari.
[x] Diodor. Sicul. ibid
[x] Arrian. l. vi. p. 131. Steph. ad verbum Oxydrac.

The commendable conduct of Demetrius *toward* Protogenes *a celebrated painter.*

Demetrius, now reconciled with the *Rhodians*, at his departure presented them with the *Helepolis* and all the other machines he had employed in the siege, which they selling, erected, with the money accruing from the sale, and with some additional sums of their own, the famous colossus, as we have hinted above. We cannot help taking notice here of one circumstance, which greatly redounds to the honour of *Demetrius*. *Rhodes* was, at the time of the siege, the residence of a celebrated painter named *Protogenes*, who was a native of *Caunus* a city of *Caria*. The house, where he lived, was in the suburbs without the city when *Demetrius* first besieged it. But neither the presence of the enemy, who surrounded him, nor the noise of the arms, that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation or interrupt his work. The king, surprized at this, asked him, *Why he did not, like the other inhabitants, save himself within the walls?* *Protogenes* replied, that he was under no apprehension, since he was sensible, that *Demetrius* had declared war against the *Rhodians*, and not against the sciences. The prince was so pleased with this answer, that from that time he took him under his protection, and placed a safe-guard round his house to protect him from the insults of the soldiery. The master-piece of *Protogenes* was the picture of one *Ialysus* (E), supposed by the *Rhodians* to have founded their city. *Pliny* pretends, that the city was saved by this piece; it was lodged, as he informs us, in that quarter of the city, by which alone it was possible for *Demetrius* to storm the place; but he chose rather to retire from before the city, than to expose so valuable a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames [x]. This indeed would have been carrying his taste to a surprizing excess; but we have already intimated the true reasons which obliged *Demetrius* to raise the siege.

a b c

The Rhodians having finished this war, and concluded a peace upon very honourable and advantagious terms, applied themselves entirely to trade and navigation, by which they not only became masters of the sea, as *Polybius* stiles them [y], but the most opulent and flourishing state of all *Greece*. They endeavoured to maintain, as much as lay in their power, a strict neutrality in the wars that broke out in the east, especially after the death of *Antigonus*, but, however, could not help being involved in one with the *Byzantines*, which lasted but a short time, and did not prove very expensive. The ground of this war is thus related by *Polybius*; the *Byzantines*, being obliged to pay a yearly tribute of fourscore talents to the *Gauls*, in order to raise this sum, came to a resolution of laying a toll on all the ships that traded to the *Pontic* sea. This resolution provoked the *Rhodians*, who were a trading nation, above

War between the Rhodians *and* Byzantines. *Year of the flood* 2741. *Before Christ* 258.

d

[x] Plin. l. vi. c. 4. [y] Polyb. l. iv.

(E) This *Ialysus* was but a fabulous hero, the son of *Orchimus* and grandson of *Apollo* and the nymph *Rhoda*. *Protogenes* is said to have employed seven years in finishing this piece, during which time he condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life, eating nothing but lupines, lest the vapours, which a richer food might send up to the brain, should darken his imagination. To make the picture the more lasting, he covered it with four lays of colours, that as time should wear one away, another underneath should still appear fresh. When *Apelles* first saw it, he was so transported with admiration, that his speech failed him for some time; and when he began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, *Prodigious work! wonderful performance! However, it has not all those graces which the world admires in my works.* One of the figures in this picture was a dog, which had cost the painter immense pains without his being able to express to his own satisfaction the idea he had conceived. He endeavoured to represent the dog in a panting attitude with his mouth foaming, as after a long course, and exerted all the skill he could, but still was dissatisfied with what he had done. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been, and he wanted to make the foam appear not painted, but actually flowing out of the dog's mouth. He frequently retouched it, but could not express those simple traces of nature of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. At last finding all his attempts unsuccessful, in a violent emotion of rage and despair he darted at the picture the spunge with which he used to wipe off his colours; and chance accomplished, to use *Pliny*'s expression, what art had not been able to effect (81). In the same piece was a satyr represented with wonderful art leaning against a column, on the top of which was a thrush so well done, that when the picture was exposed to view, some fowlers with thrushes having stopt to see it, their birds, mistaking the painted thrush for a real one, began to sing as soon as they discovered it (82). This piece *Cicero* admired above all the pictures he had ever seen; for in his time it was still in *Rhodes*. It was afterwards carried to *Rome* by *Cassius*, and consecrated in the temple of *Peace*, where it remained in *Pliny*'s time; but was in the reign of the emperor *Commodus*, as *Herodianus* informs us, consumed with the temple by fire. *Protogenes* is censured by the ancients for often retouching his pictures without ever being satisfied with what he had done. Of him it was that *Apelles* said, *Nescit manum de tabula tollere*, as *Pliny* expresses it; a defect to be equally avoided, as *Tully* observes, by painters and writers; we ought, says that great orator, to know how far it is proper to expatiate on every subject: for *Apelles* justly censured some painters, who could never quit the pencil, nor put the last hand to their work (83).

(81) *Plin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 10. (82) *Idem ibid.* (83) *Cic. Orat. n.* 73.

a above all the reſt. Wherefore they immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to the *Byzantines* complaining of this new tax; but as the *Byzantines* had no other means of raiſing money wherewithal to ſatisfy the avarice of the *Gauls*, and redeem their country from the rapines of thoſe barbarians, they perſiſted in their former reſolution. Whereupon the *Rhodians* declared war againſt them, and at the ſame time ſent to ſolicit *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia* to join them, being well aſſured, that *Pruſias* wanted only a favourable opportunity of venting his reſentment upon the *Byzantines* for having endeavoured to reconcile *Attalus* and *Achæus*, who were both declared enemies to the king of *Bithynia*. The *Byzantines* likewiſe diſpatched embaſſadors to *Attalus* and *Achæus* ſoliciting aid from them. They found *Attalus* diſpoſed to aſſiſt them; but

b he was not then in a condition to give them a proof of his friendſhip, having been lately confined by *Achæus* to the ancient limits of his father's kingdom. As for *Achæus*, who was at this time in poſſeſſion of all *Aſia* on this ſide of mount *Taurus*, and had lately aſſumed the title of king, he readily eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Byzantines*, and promiſed to aſſiſt them with the whole power of his kingdom[z].

In the mean time *Pruſias*, taking the field, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Hieron*, which town formerly belonged in common to the merchants trading to the *Pontic* ſea, but had been lately purchaſed by the *Byzantines* with a great ſum of money, by reaſon of its convenient ſituation for protecting their trade. He likewiſe ſeized on all that portion of *Myſia* in *Aſia* which they had enjoyed for many ages. At the ſame time the

c *Rhodians* with their fleet ravaged the coaſts of the *Byzantine* territories, and ſeized all their ſhips trading to the *Pontic* ſea. But theſe loſſes were not ſufficient to make them comply with the requeſt of the *Rhodians*, or to hearken to the terms propoſed to them by *Xenophon* the *Rhodian* admiral. They chiefly depended upon the promiſes made them by *Achæus*, who was both inclined to aſſiſt them, and had a powerful army on foot. The *Rhodians* therefore, to draw *Achæus* off from the *Bzantines*, ſent embaſſadors to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, entreating him to deliver up to them *Andromachus*, the father of *Achæus*, who was at that time a priſoner in *Alexandria*. They hoped, that by ſending him back to his ſon without ranſom, they ſhould ſo gain the good-will of *Achæus*, as to prevent him at leaſt from ſending any ſuccours

d to their enemies. *Ptolemy* did not readily yield to the demand of the *Rhodians*; for *Andromachus*, being both father to *Achæus* and brother to *Laodice* the wife of *Seleucus*, propoſed to make a better bargain of him for himſelf; for the diſputes between him and *Antiochus* were not yet compoſed; and *Achæus* was become very powerful, extending his conqueſts far and wide. However, *Ptolemy* was at length prevailed upon to gratify the *Rhodians* by delivering up *Andromachus* to them. The *Rhodians* immediately reſtored him without ranſom to his ſon, and, by that grateful office and other honours decreed to *Achæus*, gained him over to their party, and ſo deprived the enemy of their chief ſupport. Another misfortune at the ſame time befel the *Byzantines*, which proved no leſs prejudicial to their affairs. They had

e ſent for *Tibites*, who was then in *Macedon*, and had as juſt a claim to the kingdom of *Bithynia* as *Pruſias*, who was his nephew. *Tibites* immediately ſet out from *Macedon* in hopes of raiſing diſturbances in *Bithynia*, and making good his title to that kingdom, when ſupported by the power of the *Byzantines*. But he died on his journey, and his death ſo diſheartened the *Byzantines*, that they began to deliberate how they might extricate themſelves out of their preſent difficulties. *Cavarus*, king of the *Thracian Gauls*, happened to be at that time in *Byzantium*, and, being deſirous to have the glory of putting an end to the war, offered his mediation, which being readily accepted by the contending parties, a peace was concluded between the *Rhodians* and *Byzantines*, upon condition that the *Byzantines* ſhould forbear exacting toll

Peace concluded between the Rhodians *and* Byzantines.

f on ſhips trading to the *Pontic* ſea; which was all the *Rhodians* had in view in declaring war. As for king *Pruſias*, the articles of the treaty with him were, that there ſhould be perpetual peace between him and the *Byzantines*; that *Pruſias* ſhould reſtore to the *Byzantines* all the lands, towns, people, *&c.* which he had taken during the war, and that he ſhould repair all the damages ſuffered by the *Byzantines* and *Myſians* ſubject to them. Thus a period was put to the war between the *Byzantines* on one ſide, and king *Pruſias*, ſurnamed *Cholos* or the *Lame*, and the *Rhodians* on the other[a].

About

[z] Polyb. l. i. p. 158. & l. iv. p. 305, 306. l. vi. c. 6.

[a] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 26. & l. iv. Athen.

The coloſſus and ſeveral public buildings thrown down by an earthquake.

About this time happened that dreadful earthquake, which, as we have hinted above, threw down the famous coloſſus, the arſenal, and great part of the walls of the city of *Rhodes*; which calamity the *Rhodians* improved to their advantage, ſending embaſſadors to all the princes and ſtates of the *Greek* name, who exaggerating their loſſes procured immenſe ſums for the repairing of them. *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe* preſented them with an hundred talents, and beſides exempted from all taxes and duties ſuch as traded to *Rhodes*. *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, gave them an hundred talents, a million of meaſures of wheat, materials for building twenty quinqueremes, and the like number of triremes, and beſides ſent them an hundred architects, three hundred workmen, and materials for repairing their public buildings to a great value, paying them moreover fourteen talents a year for the maintenance of the workmen he ſent them. *Antigonus* gave them an hundred talents of ſilver with ten thouſand pieces of timber, each piece being ſixteen cubits long, ſeven thouſand planks, three thouſand pounds of iron, as many of pitch and roſin, and a thouſand meaſures of tar. *Chryſeis*, a woman of diſtinction, ſent them an hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat, and three thouſand pounds of lead. *Antiochus* exempted from all taxes and duties the *Rhodian* ſhips trading to his dominions, preſented them with ten gallies, and two hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, with many other things of great value. *Pruſias*, *Mithridates*, *Lyſanias*, *Olympicus*, *Limnæus*, and all the other princes then reigning in *Aſia* made them proportionable preſents. In ſhort all the *Greek* towns and nations, all the princes of *Europe* and *Aſia* contributed, according to their ability, to the relief of the *Rhodians* on that occaſion; inſomuch, that their city not only ſoon roſe from its ruins, but attained to a higher pitch of riches and ſplendor than ever [b].

The Rhodians *join with* Attalus, *againſt* Philip *king of* Macedon. *Year of the flood* 2786. *Before Chriſt* 213.

A few years after the *Rhodians* could not help engaging in a war againſt *Philip* king of *Macedon*, which coſt them immenſe treaſures. *Philip*, without any provocation, had invaded the territories of *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and becauſe the *Rhodians* ſeemed to favour their ancient friend and ally, the king of *Macedon* ſent one *Heraclides*, by birth a *Tarentine*, to ſet fire to their fleet, and at the ſame time diſpatched embaſſadors into *Crete* in order to ſtir up the *Cretans* againſt the *Rhodians*, and thereby prevent them from lending any aſſiſtance to *Attalus*. Theſe proceedings ſo provoked the *Rhodians*, that they entered into an alliance with *Attalus*, and proclaimed war againſt *Philip* [c]. That prince at firſt gained an inconſiderable advantage over the *Rhodians*, in a naval engagement fought near the iſland of *Lada*, over-againſt the city of *Miletus*, having taken two of their quinqueremes and diſperſed the reſt. The next year he ventured a ſecond battle off the iſland of *Chios* againſt the united fleets of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; but was defeated with the loſs of three thouſand *Macedonians* and ſix thouſand allies; and beſides, two thouſand *Macedonians* and ſeven hundred *Egyptians*, who ſerved on board his fleet, were taken priſoners, the *Rhodians* having loſt in all but ſixty men, and *Attalus* ſeventy. Notwithſtanding this loſs, which was the greateſt he had ever ſuſtained to that day, either by ſea or land, he gave out, that he had been victorious, becauſe he happened to take the ſhip which carried *Attalus* after it had been driven aſhore. However, he afterwards carefully avoided coming to a ſea engagement either with *Attalus* or the *Rhodians*. After this victory the two fleets ſteered their courſe towards the iſland of *Ægina*, where they came to an anchor, hoping to intercept *Philip*, as he returned on board his fleet into *Macedon*. But failing in their attempt, they ſailed to *Pyræeus* the port of *Athens*, and there renewed their alliance with the *Athenians*, who, having been lately inſulted by *Philip*, paid them extraordinary honours, adding to their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, an eleventh, which they called *Attalis*, in honour of *Attalus*, and preſenting the *Rhodians* with a crown of gold, after having made all the inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens*. The king of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians*, better pleaſed with the treaty than the honours beſtowed upon them, returned on board their gallies and ſet ſail, *Attalus* to the iſland of *Ægina*, and the *Rhodians* to their own iſland. In their paſſage they drew into their confederacy all the *Cyclades*, except *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Cythnos*, where *Philip* kept *Macedonian* gariſons. Nevertheleſs, this ſeparation of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* proved of very bad conſequence for the common cauſe. Had they kept united, and purſued *Philip* in his retreat, or at leaſt ſhut up all the entrances into *Greece*, they

[b] Polyb. l. v. [c] Polyb. l. xiii.

a they would have re-eſtabliſhed its liberty, and deprived the *Romans* of that glory. But while the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* were loſing time in negotiations with the inhabitants of the *Cyclades* and *Ægina*, *Philip*, who knew how to improve the faults of his enemies to his own advantage, having divided his forces into two bodies, ſent one under the command of *Philocles* to ravage the territory of *Athens*; the other he put on board his fleet, with orders to ſail to *Meronea*, a city on the north coaſt of *Thrace*. As for himſelf, he marched by land to the ſame place, attended only by two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. The city, being attacked at the ſame time by ſea and land, was taken at the firſt aſſault. The city of *Ænos*, which ſtood on the ſame coaſt, was betrayed to the *Macedonians* by the governor of the place; and then all the caſtles along the ſhore ſubmitted of their own accord to the conqueror,
b who paſſed on from thence to the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, where he took *Eleus*, *Alopeconeſus*, *Callipolis*, and *Madytos*. From the *Cherſoneſus* the king paſſed over the *Helleſpont*, and laid ſiege to *Abydos*, which city ſtopped the rapidity of his conqueſts, but was at laſt taken by aſſault, as we ſhall relate at length in the hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* [d].

Before *Philip* began the ſiege of *Abydos*, the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* had ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of him, and inform the ſenate, that he was ſoliciting ſeveral ſtates in *Aſia* to take up arms, with a deſign to enſlave the *Greek* cities that refuſed to join him, and then purſue his conqueſts both in *Europe* and *Aſia*. The *Rhodians* had in the very beginning of this war entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and
c on that conſideration their embaſſadors were received with marks of great diſtinction by the ſenate, who promiſed to diſpatch embaſſadors to *Philip*, and employ their good offices with that prince, in behalf of the *Greeks* in *Aſia* and *Europe*. They were as good as their word, but *Philip* diſmiſſed their embaſſadors without ſhewing any inclination to treat of a peace. Whereupon the *Romans*, *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians* having renewed their alliance, war was proclaimed at *Rome* againſt *Philip*, and *P. Sulpitius* the conſul ſent with an army into *Macedon*. On his arrival he found *Athens* beſieged by part of the king's troops, and the king himſelf buſy in making the neceſſary preparations for invading the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Sulpitius* immediately detached a ſquadron of twenty gallies to the relief of *Athens*, under the conduct of
d *Claudius Centho*, who obliged the *Macedonians* to raiſe the ſiege, and performed ſuch exploits in *Greece* as were worthy of the conſul himſelf. *Sulpitius* was not in a condition to undertake any thing elſe the reſt of the year; he had left *Rome* too late, and did not arrive in *Epirus* before the end of *Autumn*, when the ſeaſon did not allow him to keep out at ſea or take the field [e].

Early in the ſpring, the *Rhodians* ſent twenty gallies, under the command of *Ageſimbrotus*, to join *Attalus* and *Apuſtius* the *Roman* admiral, and theſe three fleets ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Macedonians*, that they durſt not venture out of their harbours; ſo that the confederates laying ſiege to *Oreos*, a ſtrong city ſubject to *Philip* on the eaſtern coaſt of *Eubœa*, made themſelves maſters of that important place, and
e afterwards laid waſte all the neighbouring countries which adhered to *Philip*. The enſuing year the *Rhodians*, in conjunction with *Attalus* and *L. Quinctius*, brother to *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*, after having ravaged the country of the *Caryſtii*, laid ſiege to *Eretria*, a city near the *Euripus*, which they took by aſſault; and then returning to *Caryſtus* carried that place likewiſe. From *Caryſtus* they entered the *Saronic* gulf, and appeared before *Cenchrea* one of the ports of *Corinth*, which they likewiſe reduced. But *Corinth* itſelf, being gariſoned by ſome of the choiceſt of the *Macedonian* troops and the *Roman* deſerters, the conſul, who attacked the place by land, while his brother with the *Rhodians* inveſted it by ſea, was forced to raiſe the ſiege after he had made a breach in the walls [f].

f These exploits the *Rhodians* performed in conjunction with the *Romans* and king *Attalus*. But the province of *Peræa* they recovered from *Philip* with their own forces alone. *Peræa* was a ſmall province of *Caria*, ſeparated by the *Carpathian* ſea from the iſland of *Rhodes*, to which it had been formerly ſubject. This province the *Rhodians* undertook to recover, while *Philip*'s forces were engaged with *Attalus* and the *Romans*, committing the whole conduct of this expedition to *Pauſiſtratus*, who was then their prætor or chief magiſtrate. *Pauſiſtratus* put to ſea with his fleet, and landed in *Caria* at the head of two thouſand nine hundred men. With this ſmall army

The Rhodians *recover the province of* Peræa *from* Philip.

[d] Polyb. l. xvi. p. 736, 737, 738. Liv. l. xxxi. [e] Polyb. & Liv. ibid. [f] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 18.

army he encamped in the plain which led to *Stratonice*, one of the richeſt cities in *Caria*, and anciently peopled, according to *Strabo*, by a colony from *Macedon*. The *Rhodian* general on his landing had the precaution to ſeize on a ſtrong hold, called *Tendeba*, where he was reinforced by a thouſand *Achæans* and an hundred horſe, ſent him by the *Achæan* republic. *Dinocrates*, one of the king of *Macedon*'s generals, hearing that the *Rhodians* had made a deſcent in *Caria*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Tendeba*, immediately haſtened thither to recover the place, and oblige the enemy to reimbark. But finding them well fortified, he turned towards *Aſtragon*, a fortreſs on the borders of the territory of *Stratonice*. Under the walls of this caſtle he ſtrengthened his army with all the *Macedonian* gariſons in that neighbourhood, and then marched to *Alabanda*, where the *Rhodians* were encamped, with a deſign to draw them to a deciſive action. The *Rhodians* were ſo far from declining a battle, that they came to meet him, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from his army. The two generals drew up their troops in battalia. *Dinocrates* poſted five hundred *Macedonians* on the right, the *Argives* on the left, and the *Carians* in the center. *Pauſiſtratus* placed moſt of his auxiliaries in the center, and the *Cretans* and *Thracians* in the wings. Both armies advanced in good order, and continued ſome time within reach of each other before they began the attack, being ſeperated by a rivulet. At laſt *Pauſiſtratus*, advancing at the head of his mercenaries, charged the *Macedonian* phalanx with ſuch fury that he put it in diſorder; then the reſt of his army, forcing their way through the ranks, already broken by the confuſion and flight of the *Phalangites*, ſpread terror and ſlaughter every where. *Dinocrates* in vain endeavoured to rally his diſordered troops; the affrighted ſoldiers would not hearken to the voice of their commander, and the general himſelf was forced to retire with the ſmall remains of his army to *Bargyliæ* a city of *Caria*. The *Rhodians* ſpent the reſt of the day in purſuing the fugitives, and in the evening returned to their camp. Nothing now prevented them from marching directly to *Stratonice*, which city they might have made themſelves maſters of without ſtriking a blow. There was no enemy in the field, and *Dinocrates* had drawn out the gariſon to reinforce his army before the battle. But not knowing how to uſe their victory, they loſt a favourable opportunity of extending their conqueſts all over *Caria*. They reduced indeed all the caſtles and towns of *Peræa*; but in the mean time gave the *Macedonian* general leiſure to ſupply *Stratonice* with proviſions, and throw himſelf into it with the remains of his army; ſo that all the efforts of *Pauſiſtratus*, in attempting afterwards to reduce it, proved ineffectual [g].

The Rhodians *give a ſignal proof of their attachment to the* Romans, *and of their zeal for the common intereſt of* Greece.

About this time *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, having reduced in one campaign *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, was making vaſt preparations in order to conquer *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then paſs into *Europe* and join his old ally *Philip*. With this view having raiſed a mighty army, he ſent it under the command of his two ſons, *Ardues* and *Mithridates*, to wait for him at *Sardis*, while he with a powerful fleet, conſiſting of an hundred large ſhips of war and two hundred other veſſels, reduced the cities on the coaſts of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, which were ſubject to the king of *Egypt*. On this occaſion the *Rhodians* gave a ſignal proof of their attachment to *Rome*, and zeal for the common intereſts of *Greece*. *Antiochus* had already taken *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodiſias*, *Selinus*, and ſeveral other caſtles along the coaſt, and was actually beſieging *Coraceſium*, an important place in *Cilicia*, when the *Rhodians* ſent an embaſſy to him, requiring him not to extend his conqueſts beyond *Nephelis*, a famous promontory of *Cilicia*, and threatening him with war in caſe he did not comply with their requeſt. The embaſſadors were ordered to add, that the *Rhodians* were not prompted to take up arms againſt him out of any grudge or hatred to his perſon; but becauſe they would not ſuffer him to join *Philip*, and interrupt the progreſs of the *Romans* in reſtoring *Greece* to its ancient liberty. When the embaſſadors were brought into his tent, for he was then encamped before *Coraceſium*, and acquainted him with their buſineſs, the proud monarch, who was uſed to give law to others, was highly provoked; but, however, had command enough over his temper not to expreſs any reſentment. He only anſwered, that he would take care not to quarrel with the *Rhodians* or the *Romans*, with whom he deſigned always to keep up a good underſtanding; that he would ſend embaſſadors to renew the ancient treaties, which his anceſtors had made with *Rhodes*, and that he had been always deſirous to live in amity

[g] Liv. ibid. Polyb. l. xvi.

a amity with the *Romans*; and, in proof of the friendſhip then ſubſiſting between him and that republic, he gave them an account of the embaſſy he had lately ſent to *Rome*, and of the great honours which had been beſtowed upon his embaſſadors by the ſenate. Soon after *Antiochus* ſent embaſſadors to *Rhodes*, who upon their arrival there heard the news of the entire defeat of *Philip* at *Cynocephalæ*. This news emboldened the *Romans*, and moſt of them were for putting a fleet out to ſea and engaging *Antiochus*. But the *Rhodians* adviſed them rather to ſecure the liberty of the cities in alliance with the king of *Egypt*, which were not yet ſubdued by *Antiochus*. Their advice was followed, and the cities of *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, and the iſland of *Samos* were by this means preſerved from the *Syrian* yoke. However, *Anti-*
b *ochus* reduced *Coraceſium*, *Coricus*, *Andriace*, *Limyra*, *Patara*, *Xanthus*, all which cities belonged to *Ptolemy*, and laſtly *Epheſus* itſelf [h].

In the mean time, a peace being concluded between *Philip* and the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* were, by the articles of the treaty, put in poſſeſſion of *Stratonice* and the beſt part of *Caria*. This regard ſhewn them by the *Romans* encouraged them to aſſiſt the republic to the utmoſt of their power in the war, which was ſoon after proclaimed at *Rome* againſt *Antiochus*. They ſent *Pauſiſtratus* with thirty ſhips of war to join *Livius* the *Roman* admiral, and act in conjunction with him againſt *Antiochus*. But the beſt part of his fleet was, by the artifice of *Polyxenidas Antiochus*'s admiral, ſurprized and deſtroyed. *Polyxenidas* was himſelf by birth a *Rhodian*, but having
c been baniſhed his country, had gone into the ſervice of the king of *Syria*, and was now commander in chief of the *Syrian* fleet. *Pauſiſtratus* had advanced with his fleet as far as the iſland of *Samos*, where he received an expreſs from *Polyxenidas*, telling him, that being now maſter of the *Syrian* fleet, it was in his power to do *Pauſiſtratus* and his country ſignal ſervice, provided, *Pauſiſtratus* would engage in the name of his republic to reſtore him to his native country, and to the honours he enjoyed before his baniſhment. *Pauſiſtratus*, thinking that ſuch a propoſal ought neither to be implicitly believed, nor abſolutely neglected, deſired *Polyxenidas* to explain himſelf more fully, and promiſed ſecrecy. Then the latter ſent a ſecond expreſs, acquainting him, that he was ready to deliver up *Antiochus*'s fleet, provided
d only, he might be permitted to return to his country, and be reinſtated in his former condition there. This *Pauſiſtratus* thought a propoſal of too much importance to be rejected, and in order to give *Polyxenidas* time to follow him, he retired with his ſquadron to a port of *Samos*, called *Panormus*, and there waited to ſee the concluſion of the affair. From thence he ſent an expreſs to *Polyxenidas*, promiſing him whatever he demanded; and *Polyxenidas* on his ſide ſent him a letter written with his own hand, wherein he promiſed to deliver up the whole *Syrian* fleet. Upon this open declaration *Pauſiſtratus* was no longer in ſuſpence. He had it in his power to ruin *Polyxe-*
nidas; and he could not believe, that a wiſe man would make a promiſe, which might coſt him his life, without deſigning to perform it. Nothing therefore re-
e mained but to take the proper meaſures for putting the deſign in execution. To this end *Polyxenidas* promiſed to cauſe all duty to be neglected on board the *Syrian* fleet; to ſeparate the ſoldiers and ſeamen under ſeveral pretences, to ſend them away from the port of *Epheſus*, where his fleet was then at anchor, and by that means expoſe them to be taken without the leaſt difficulty. This method pleaſed *Pauſiſtratus*, who affected the ſame negligence, which he was aſſured he ſhould find in the enemy's fleet, and quietly waited for notice when he ſhould go and attack them in the port of *Epheſus*. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, the better to cover his real deſign, ſent away ſome of his gallies, ordered the harbour to be cleanſed, and ſeemed in no haſte to put to ſea. While *Pauſiſtratus* was daily expecting to be called to *Epheſus*, a pri-
f vate perſon happened to come from that city to *Samos*, who being examined by *Pauſiſtratus* concerning the proceedings of *Polyxenidas* and the condition of his fleet, ingenuouſly told him, that the port of *Epheſus* was full of ſhips, that the ſoldiers and marines were all aſſembled at a place within reach of it, and that the *Syrian* admiral was making great preparations as if he had ſome great enterprize in view. Notwithſtanding this ſincere report of an indifferent perſon, *Pauſiſtratus* was ſo prepoſſeſſed with the promiſe of an artful enemy, that he ſtill continued at *Samos*, in hopes of being ſoon ſent for to take the *Syrian* fleet. But *Polyxenidas* took quite different meaſures; he ſailed from *Epheſus* with ſeventy ſhips of war, ſteering his courſe to *Pygela*,

The Rhodian *fleet ſurprized by the artifice of* Polyxenidas.

[h] Liv. l. xxxiii. Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11.

Pygela, a city on the coaſt of *Ionia*, whence the *Aſiatic* fleets generally ſet out for *Greece*. But before he weighed anchor, he ordered one *Nicander*, commander of a ſquadron of privateers, to make a deſcent in the iſland of *Samos*, and conceal his men there till the reſt of the fleet arrived. From *Pygela Polyxenidas* ſet ſail for the port of *Panormus*, where arriving in the night, he found the *Rhodians* lying on the ſhore without any apprehenſion of an enemy. But the noiſe of a fleet entering the port ſoon awakened them. As they were all veteran troops, *Pauſiſtratus*, at laſt convinced of the treachery of his adverſary, thought it more adviſeable to make uſe of them in a fight at land than at ſea; and accordingly drew them up in order of battle to the right and left upon two promontories, which formed the mouth of the harbour. They were ſcarce drawn up when they were, to their great ſurprize, attacked in the rear by *Nicander*, who had therein followed the directions of *Polyxenidas*. The *Rhodians*, fearing leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded, retired with precipitation to their ſhips; but, the mouth of the harbour being ſtopped up by the *Syrian* fleet, they found it neceſſary to force a way through it in order to gain the high ſeas. The galley, on board of which was *Pauſiſtratus*, was the firſt that faced the enemy at the mouth of the port, and broke through their fleet in ſpite of all oppoſition; but, being immediately inveſted by five quinqueremes commanded by *Polyxenidas* in perſon, ſhe was overpowered and ſunk. Thus periſhed *Pauſiſtratus*, who had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and prudent conduct, and was at laſt overcome by a baſe ſtratagem. After the death of the admiral, the *Rhodian* fleet was ſoon deſtroyed; ſome of the gallies were taken in ſight of the port, others in the port itſelf, while they attempted to force their way out; inſomuch, that of this great armament only ſeven ſhips eſcaped, *viz.* five belonging to *Rhodes*, and two to the iſland of *Cos*. Theſe, in order to force their way through the enemy's fleet, lighted great fires in their prows, and from thence held out long poles with kettles full of burning bitumen, which, by the terror they gave the enemy, favoured their eſcape. In their flight they were met by ſome *Erythræan* gallies, that were coming to their aſſiſtance; and with them they turned towards the *Helleſpont*, where they joined the *Roman* fleet, which under the command of *Livius* was carrying on the ſiege of *Abydos* [i].

The *Rhodians*, notwithſtanding this loſs, did not renounce their alliance with *Rome* or their engagement to aſſiſt her with all their forces. They immediately fitted out twenty new gallies, and gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, a man indeed leſs brave and experienced than *Pauſiſtratus*, but more diſtruſtful and circumſpect. *Eudamus* having joined the *Roman* admiral at *Samos*, the confederates ſailed from thence together to *Epheſus*, where they not only inſulted the *Syrian* fleet under the command of *Polyxenidas*, but even challenged them to an engagement at land. But the challenge not being accepted, they returned to *Samos*, whence *Livius*, after he had reſigned his command to his ſucceſſor *Æmilius*, was detached with part of the fleet to reduce *Patara* in *Lycia*, which place was a great check upon the *Rhodians* while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt; whereupon the *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets ſailing to *Adramytium*, where *Antiochus* was encamped, obliged him to retire to *Sardis*, and then the confederate fleets returned to *Samos*, where they parted. *Eumenes* went to the *Helleſpont* to convoy the *Scipios*, who were appointed to carry on the war againſt *Antiochus*, over into *Aſia*. *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes* with his gallies to receive there new reinforcements; and *Æmilius* continued at *Samos* to watch the motions of *Polyxenidas*, who was ſtill ſhut up in the port of *Epheſus* [k].

In the mean time news being brought, that a formidable fleet was coming out of *Syria* under the command of the famous *Hannibal*, *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, having reinforced his ſquadron with ſeventeen other ſhips, went out to meet him, in order to prevent his joining *Polyxenidas* in the port of *Epheſus*. *Eudamus* firſt advanced to the iſland of *Megiſte* near the coaſts of *Lycia*, with a deſign to wait for him there; but, the heat being exceſſive and the air there very unwholeſome, he ſailed from thence to the mouth of the *Eurymedon*, a river of *Pamphylia*, where he was informed by the inhabitants of *Aſpendus*, that *Hannibal*'s fleet appeared off *Sida* a maritime city on the borders of *Pamphylia*. It conſiſted of thirty-ſeven large ſhips, among which were three *ſeptiremes*, four *hexaremes*, and ten *triremes*; whereas the *Rhodian*

The Rhodians *defeat* Hannibal *in a ſea-fight.*
Year of the flood 2809.
Before Chriſt 190.

[i] Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 11. Appian. p. 101. [k] Liv. ibid.

a *Rhodian* fleet consisted only of thirty-two *quadriremes*, and four *triremes*. When the *Syrian* fleet discovered the *Rhodians* advancing to attack them, they made a large front and faced the enemy. *Hannibal* commanded the right wing, and *Apollonius*, one of the king's chief favourites, the left. The *Rhodians* sailed on in a line, with *Eudamus* at their head, *Chariclitus* brought up the rear, and *Pamphilidas* commanded in the center. When they came to draw up in line of battle, *Eudamus* sailed out, but did not leave room enough for his gallies to be drawn with the due distances in one line. This inadvertency caused some disorder in his fleet. However, while they were disentangling themselves in the best manner they could, *Eudamus* with five gallies only attacked *Hannibal*'s wing, and the experience of the *Rhodians* soon repair-
b ed the fault of their admiral, for the ships widened of themselves, so that each had room enough to turn about and ply their oars. Then the onset began, and not one of the *Rhodian* gallies attacked *Antiochus*'s ships without success. The largest ship in the royal navy was by a very small *Rhodian* galley sunk in the very beginning of the engagement, which greatly terrified and disheartened the *Syrians* in the left wing. But *Eudamus* was hard prested by *Hannibal* in the right wing. The *Carthaginian* had already surrounded the five *Rhodian* gallies, which the others observing hastened to his relief, and attacked *Hannibal* on all sides with such vigour, that he was forced to crowd all the sail he could, and save that part of the squadron by flight. The *Rhodians* after having pursued him some time and taken one of his hexaremes, re-
c turned to *Rhodes* with the glory indeed of having conquered, but reproaching one another for not having utterly destroyed the *Syrian* fleet. However, they had at least the advantage of blocking him up in the ports of *Pamphylia* so close, that it was impossible for him to do the king the least service. *Chariclitus* lay at anchor with twenty ships of war off *Patara* and the island of *Megiste*, in order to intercept him in his passage, if he attempted to join *Polyexnidas*. As for *Eudamus* he returned with only seven great ships to join the prætor *Æmilius* at *Samos*. While the *Rhodians* kept *Hannibal* thus blocked up, *Æmilius*, being joined by another *Rhodian* squadron, entirely defeated the fleet of *Antiochus* off the island of *Teos*. In this engagement
d the *Syrians* lost fifty-two of their best ships, and the *Romans* only two. The news of this defeat so dejected *Antiochus*, that he raised the siege of *Colophon*, and retired into *Cappadocia* to his son-in-law *Ariarathes*. He was soon after totally defeated by land in the famous battle which was fought near *Magnesia*, and determined that unhappy prince to accept a peace upon such conditions as it pleased the conqueror to impose. On this occasion king *Eumenes* went in person to *Rome* to congratulate the republic on the success of her arms in the *Levant*, and was received by the senate with all possible marks of honour and gratitude for his services, and pressed to declare what recom-
e pence would be most agreeable to him. The king for a long time modestly declined saying any thing in his own praise, or asking any particular reward, referring that matter wholly to the determination of the conscript fathers. But they still insisting that he should give an account of his exploits, and declare what *Rome* could do to shew her gratitude in the most acceptable manner, he at length comply'd; and having run over his father's services and his own, and answered the objections he foresaw the *Rhodians* would make as republicans against the encrease of his territories, and in favour of the *Asiatic Greeks*, whose liberty and independence they would contend for, he thus concluded: "As to my desires, since I must declare them, they are these.
"You have confined the king of *Syria* within mount *Taurus*, and if *Rome* keeps for
"herself the countries which extend from those parts to the sea, I shall lay no claim
"to them; it will be both a pleasure to me and a security to my dominions to have
f "you for my neighbours. But if you should despise so distant a conquest, and think it
"will not answer the expence of keeping it, I will venture to say, that none of your
"allies have better deserved it than myself." The senate received his proposal with approbation, and was disposed to grant him his request, but the *Rhodian* deputies, when they were admitted to audience, pleaded for the liberty of the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, as *Eumenes* had apprehended. "Your victories, said they to the senate, have
"made you masters of a great many *Greek* colonies on this side of mount *Taurus*,
"and shall they alone not partake of that general regard for liberty, which has made
"you the deliverers of *Greece?* Subject as many of the other nations to *Eumenes* as
"you please; they do not know the value of liberty; they have been so long accust-
"omed to kingly government, that it is scarce any burden to them. But the *Greeks*

The Rhodian *deputies oppose at* Rome *the pretensions of king* Eumenes

"have

" have the ſame ſpirit as the *Romans*; they love, nay they adore, liberty, and ex-
" pect to receive from you this ineſtimable preſent, for which they will be eternally
" indebted to your glorious arms. It may indeed be ſaid, that theſe *Greek* cities de-
" clared for *Antiochus*. And ſo likewiſe did many of the *Greek* cities in *Europe*,
" which nevertheleſs you reſtored to their laws and liberties. And this is all we aſk
" for the *Aſiatick Greeks*. Cannot you deny *Eumenes* what you denied yourſelves?
" This, conſcript fathers, is our only requeſt. Have not the paſt ſervices of the
" *Rhodians* deſerved your favour for a people, who came originally from *Greece* as
" well as themſelves? Beſides, to grant our deſires is to give the higheſt inſtance
" poſſible of that true magnanimity, which is peculiar to *Roman* minds".

The Rhodians *rewarded by the* Romans.

THIS ſpeech made an impreſſion on the minds of the fathers, who at length determined to ſend ten commiſſioners into the *Levant* to ſettle all diſputes there, but declared before-hand, that *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygias* and *Myſia* ſhould for the future be ſubject to *Eumenes*. *Lycia*, that part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and part of *Piſidia* were beſtowed on the *Rhodians*, as a reward for their eminent ſervices during the war. However, in both theſe diſpoſitions thoſe cities were excepted which enjoyed their liberty before the war. The diſpoſal of *Soli* raiſed a diſpute between the *Rhodians* and the embaſſadors of king *Antiochus*. *Soli* was a city of *Cilicia* beyond mount *Taurus*, and had been founded by a *Greek* colony from *Agri*. The *Rhodians* therefore thought it ſhould be declared free as well as the other *Greek* cities. But the king's embaſſadors claiming it in vertue of the treaty concluded with the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* acquieſced, and *Soli* was allotted to king *Antiochus* [l].

The Lycians *complain to the ſenate of the* Rhodians.

THE *Rhodians*, tho' ſuch zealous aſſertors of liberty, yet oppreſſed, in a moſt cruel manner, the *Lycians*, who had been ſubjected to them by the *Roman* ſenate. The *Lycians*, not able to bear the oppreſſions they groaned under, ſent deputies to *Rome*, to complain of their new maſters and procure ſome redreſs for their calamities. When they were introduced to the ſenate, they addreſſed the fathers thus: We were formerly ſubject to the King of *Syria*, and found his government very mild in compariſon of the oppreſſions we endure under the *Rhodians*. We now undergo all the hardſhips of ſlavery. All kinds of ſeverity are uſed, not only againſt particular perſons, but againſt the whole nation. The honour of our wives and daughters is not ſafe; our eſtates are at the mercy of our maſters; our lands are pillaged; in ſhort, we are treated like ſlaves bought in the market. The ſenate, touched with compaſſion, wrote a letter to the *Rhodians*, which was carried by the *Lycian* envoys themſelves, to this effect: We never intended to enſlave the countries we gave you. None of thoſe people, who were born free, have been reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery by us. Remember therefore, that the *Lycians* are allies of the people of *Rome*, at the ſame time that they are your ſubjects. The *Rhodians*, taking it very much amiſs, that their ſubjects ſhould dare to have recourſe to any foreign power, began to treat them with more ſeverity than ever. Whereupon the *Lycians*, at the inſtigation of *Eumenes*, as is ſuppoſed, taking up arms, attempted to ſhake off the yoke. But the *Rhodians* ſoon reduced them, and uſed them in ſo cruel a manner, that they were obliged to have recourſe anew to *Rome*, where they found many patrons, the *Rhodians* having diſobliged the *Romans*, by conveying with their fleet *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus*, whom *Perſes* had lately married, into *Macedon*. The ſenate therefore appointed new commiſſioners to compoſe matters between the *Lycians* and *Rhodians*, enjoining them to favour the former as much as they could, without wronging the latter. The commiſſioners were not received at *Rhodes* with the uſual marks of friendſhip and affection; but, however, the *Rhodians* complied with their injunctions, and treated the *Lycians* thenceforth more like allies than ſubjects [m].

Year of the Flood, 2822. *Before Chriſt*, 177.

IN the mean time *Eumenes*, arriving at *Rome*, acquainted the ſenate with the vaſt preparations which *Perſes* the ſon of *Philip* was making, with a deſign, as he rightly ſuppoſed, to kindle a new war in the eaſt, and recover the countries which had been taken from his father by the *Romans*. The *Rhodians* taking it for granted, that *Eumenes* had included their republic in the informations he had given againſt the king of *Macedon*, ſent to *Rome* one of their chief men, named *Satyrus*, to clear them from all ſuſpicion of favouring *Perſes*. *Satyrus* was a man of a violent temper, and therefore

[l] POLYB. legat. 25, 36. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 10. LIV. l. 37, 38. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116.
[m] LIV. l. 41, 42. POLYB. legat. 60, 61, 62. APPIAN. legat. 25.

a therefore being, by the help of his friends and patrons, admitted to an audience of the ſenate together with *Eumenes*, he broke out into reproaches againſt him. It is you, ſaid he, who have ſtirred up *Lycia* againſt the *Rhodian* government. You have done more miſchief in *Aſia* than ever *Antiochus the Great* did. Theſe invectives were agreeable to the *Aſiatics*, who now began to favour *Perſes*; but the only effect they had at *Rome* was to render the *Rhodians* ſuſpected, and increaſe the affection of the *Romans* for *Eumenes*. As the *Romans* were then on the point of engaging in a war with *Perſes*, three commiſſioners were ſent to the coaſts of *Aſia*, to watch the motions and inclinations of the *Rhodians*. *Rhodes* thought herſelf injured by the *Romans* in her diſputes with the *Lycians*, and had given ſome plain proofs of her affection to b *Perſes*. She actually had at this time a fleet of forty ſail in her ports, and it was not known for what expedition they were deſigned. But when the commiſſioners arrived at *Rhodes*, they found the inhabitants better diſpoſed than they expected. *Hegeſilochus*, a man entirely addicted to the *Romans*, was then prytanes (F), or the chief magiſtrate. He had no ſooner diſcovered, that *Rome* intended to carry the war into *Macedon*, but he aſſembled the people, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus: "The *Roman* forces are "coming once more to exert themſelves in the eaſt; what can we do better than join "that republic? We are become rich and powerful by having aſſiſted her in her for- "mer expeditions; what then do we not owe her in point of gratitude? Beſides, our "common ſafety depends upon our not dividing our intereſts from hers. Let us not c "then be both ungrateful and imprudent; and if it be neceſſary for us to declare for "*Rome*, let us not delay to the laſt minute the ſuccours which ſhe has a right to de- "mand of us. Our gallies lie unemployed in our harbours; let us equip them, and "by our diligence anticipate the expectations of our friends and benefactors. Let "*Rome* find us prepared to ſerve her." This propoſal of *Hegeſilochus* had been approved and forty gallies immediately equiped; ſo that, upon the arrival of the *Roman* deputies, the *Rhodians* offered themſelves ready to ſerve them, and engage in the war when-ever the republic thought fit to call upon them [n].

The Rhodians *ſuſpected by the* Romans.

The *Roman* envoys were ſcarce reimbarked, highly ſatisfied with the zeal of the *Rhodians*, when embaſſadors arrived at *Rhodes* from *Perſes*. They brought from d the king a letter to the ſenate, wherein he gave them an account of his negotiations with the *Romans*, and added, that he hoped all differences would be ſoon compoſed in an amicable manner; but that, at all events, he depended on their affection. The ſenate of *Rhodes* aſſembled to give audience to the *Macedonian* embaſſadors, who employed all their eloquence to perſuade the *Rhodians* to ſtand neuter till war was openly declared. By that means, ſaid they, *Rhodes* will be in a condition to prevent a war, by interpoſing her good offices, which will be very acceptable to both parties, ſo long as ſhe ſides with neither; but if afterwards *Rome* perſiſts in troubling the repoſe of the eaſt, it will be then your buſineſs to take up arms, and oppoſe, to the utmoſt of your power, thoſe who are for involving you in new wars. This ſpeech e was heard with attention; but the ſenators were already prepoſſeſſed in favour of the *Romans*, ſo that the anſwer they received was not agreeable to the king. The prytanes gave it in theſe words. We entreat *Perſes* to ask nothing of us which may be prejudical to the intereſts of *Rome*. After this the embaſſadors withdrew, and returned to *Macedon*, without any poſitive anſwer to their demands [o].

Perſes *endeavours to perſuade the* Rhodians *to ſtand neuter.* *Year of the flood.* 2825. *Before Chriſt* 174.

Not long after, war being declared with *Perſes*, the *Rhodians* ſent ſome of their gallies to join *Caius Lucretius* the *Roman* admiral; but the greateſt number of their ſhips of war they kept in their own harbours, expecting the iſſue of the firſt battle between *Perſes* and the *Romans*; for tho' many of the leading men favoured *Rome*, yet the people was generally inclined to *Perſes*. Hence no ſooner was news brought of the defeat of the conſul *Licinius* in *Theſſaly*, but the *Rhodians* entered into negotia-

The haughty embaſſy of the Rhodians *to the* Roman *ſenate.*

tions

[n] Liv. ibid. Polyb. legat. 64. [o] Polyb. legat. 65. Liv. ubi ſupra.

(F) The chief magiſtrate in the city of *Rhodes* was called *Prytanes*, which name the *Rhodians*, in all likelihood, borrowed of the *Athenians*. The latter choſe annually by lot five hundred ſenators to govern their ſtate; that is, fifty in each of the ten tribes, of which their republic conſiſted, as each tribe had its turn of precedency. The fifty ſenators in office were called *Prytanes*, the place where they uſed to aſſemble *Prytaneon*, and the ſpace of time they continued in office *Prytaneia*. The *Prytanes*, among the *Rhodians*, had much the ſame power and authority as the *Prætor* in the other ſtates of *Greece*, but was choſen every ſix months, at the end of which his authority expired, unleſs he was, by a plurality of votes, continued in his office; which, as *Polybius* tells us, ſometimes happened, but ſeldom, the *Rhodians* being, to a great degree, jealous of their liberties.

tions with *Perſes*, and, taking upon them to be mediators between the contending pow- a
ers, ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, commanding, rather than entreating, the ſenate to put an end to the war. "If *Rome*, ſaid they, addreſſing the ſenate, was formerly victo-
"rious in the eaſt, to what did ſhe owe her ſucceſs but to our arms and fleets? The
"victories you gained over *Antiochus* were our victories as much as yours. As for
"*Macedon*, it was then at peace with us, and our entering into engagements with
"*Perſes* could be therefore no juſt offence to you. But we at laſt broke with this
"prince, merely out of complaiſance to *Rome*. We followed your ſtandards to the
"prejudice of our ally, contrary to our own inclinations, and without any provocation
"from him. Had he done any thing which could give us juſt cauſe to abandon him? b
"We have indeed been very juſtly puniſhed for ſeparating from him. How many
"misfortunes have we ſuffered for the three years that you made war with him?
"Our navigation is loſt, and our iſland wants neceſſaries. We can no longer ſail
"with ſafety along the coaſts of *Aſia*, and raiſe our impoſts in the tributary cities
"there. The *Rhodian* republic therefore, fatigued with your hoſtilities, which all re-
"coil upon her, thought herſelf obliged to entreat the *Macedonian* to make peace
"with *Rome*. She ſent embaſſadors to require it of him; and now ſhe ſends others
"to the ſenate to warn them to put an end to the war with *Perſes*, which if you re-
"fuſe to do, we ſhall find proper means to bring the obſtinate to reaſon[p]."

It is eaſy to judge in what manner ſo vain and preſumptuous a ſpeech was received. Some hiſtorians tell us, that the only anſwer the ſenate returned was, to order a de- c
cree to be read in their preſence, whereby the *Lycians* and *Carians* were declared free. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the moſt ſenſible part. The intrepid chief of the embaſſy was ſo ſtruck with this decree, that he fell into a ſwoon. Others ſay, the ſenate anſwered in few words, that the diſpoſition of the *Rhodians*, and their ſecret intrigues with *Perſes*, had been long known at *Rome*; that when they ſhould have conquered *Perſes*, which, they hoped, would be very ſoon, they ſhould, in their turn, find means to reward or puniſh the good or ill offices they had received during the war. They had ordered the embaſſadors, however, the uſual preſents; but the proud *Rhodians* refuſed to accept them. d

The Rhodians *engage with* Perſes *to ſtand neuter.*

The embaſſadors, upon their return to *Rhodes*, found there deputies from *Perſes* and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*, ſent by their reſpective maſters, to conclude an alliance with the *Rhodians*, and engage them to turn their arms againſt *Rome*. The advantages which the *Macedonian* fleet had lately gained over the allies of *Rome*, inclined the *Rhodians* to give a favourable reception to the embaſſadors of the confederate kings. They made harangues in the ſenate and before the people, and were heard with attention. In ſpite of all the oppoſition they met with from *Thetetes* and a few others who ſtill adhered to the *Romans*, the *Rhodian* ſenate promiſed not to lend the *Romans* ſhips or men, and thereby oblige them to finiſh the war with *Macedon*, by a peace which ſhould be advantagious to the eaſt. Purſuant to e
this engagement, they recalled the ſhips which they had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, and ſoon after ſent new embaſſadors to *Rome* in favour of *Perſes*. But they, unfortunately for the republic of *Rhodes*, arrived at *Rome* juſt when the news of the entire defeat of *Perſes* was publiſhed; and the ſenate maliciouſly choſe that very time to give them audience. But the chief of the embaſſy turned the haughty demands he was ordered to make in favour of the king of *Macedon* into congratulations, "I came hither, conſcript fathers, ſaid he, to repreſent to you how burden-
"ſome the war in the *Levant* was to you, and how prejudicial to us; but your
"proſperity has prevented my repreſentations, and left nothing for me to do, but to
"rejoice with you upon your great ſucceſs." The ſenate ordered ſuch an anſwer to f
be given, as was ſuitable to the ſuſpicions they entertained of the *Rhodians*. "Neither
"the intereſts of *Greece*, ſaid they, nor your own ſafety, brought you hither. It
"was your attachment to the *Macedonian* party that induced you to croſs the ſeas, in
"order to intimidate us. Had your concern been only for *Greece* or yourſelves, you
"would have come and implored the aſſiſtance of *Rome*, when *Perſes* entered *Theſſaly*,
"and threatened both the continent and your iſland with a ſudden invaſion. On the
"contrary, you knew, that *Paulus Æmilius* had opened a way into *Macedon*; your
"fears were for that kingdom, and therefore you came to treat of peace. Go, perfidious
"men,

[p] Liv. l. 44. Polyb. legat. 86.

a " men, and carry back word to your republic, that her care for the intereſts of *Perſes*
" is now out of ſeaſon." This anſwer ſo terrified the *Rhodians*, that they returned
home, and exhorted their countrymen to regain the good-will of the ſenate by all
ſorts of ſubmiſſion [q].

The Rhodians *endeavour to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate.*

EMBASSADORS were accordingly ſent to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate, who, on
th ir arrival at *Rome*, were not only refuſed audience, but even threatened with
w r. The ſenate firſt decreed, that the *Rhodian* embaſſadors ſhould not be treated
with the uſual hoſpitality, nor looked upon as friends. *Junius* the conſul was
charged to acquaint them with this decree. As ſoon as the conſul appeared, the
embaſſadors, who were waiting in the curia for an anſwer, advancing ſome paces
b towards him, aſſured him, that they were come only to congratulate the *Romans* on
their late victory, and efface the ſuſpicions which the fathers might entertain of their
republic. But *Junius*, putting on a grave air, " We deſire no congratulations, ſaid
" he, from a people whoſe fidelity we ſuſpect. Go and condole with *Perſes*. We
" admit none within the walls of *Rome*, or into the ſenate, but the embaſſadors of
" nations which are our friends; and are you ſo? Did you even preſerve the appear-
" ances of friendſhip during the war?" The *Rhodians* were thunder-ſtruck at theſe
words, fell proſtrate with tears in their eyes, and entreated the conſul to have more
regard to the ſervices they had formerly done *Rome*, than to the ill conduct into
which they had been ſeduced for ſome years. Then they changed their habits, and
c running from houſe to houſe, in the attire of criminals, endeavoured to raiſe the
compaſſion of the *Roman* citizens. But *Juventius Thalna*, the prætor, moved the
tribes to declare war againſt *Rhodes*, and to ſend one of the preſent magiſtrates to
begin hoſtilities. This motion being oppoſed by ſome of the tribunes, and the
conteſt growing warm, the ſenate was at laſt obliged to admit the *Rhodian* embaſ-
ſadors to an audience, and give them leave to ſpeak in their own vindication.
Aſtymedes, who was at the head of the embaſſy, made a long harangue, wherein he
confeſſed, that vanity was indeed the vice of his countrymen, and that they were
very apt to talk arrogantly; but he hoped, that the *Romans* would not think any
inſtance of this national weakneſs ſuch a crime as to be puniſhed with the total ruin
d of their country. He urged the many important ſervices which *Rhodes* had formerly
rendered the republic, and that tho' of late ſhe had ceaſed to aſſiſt the *Romans*, yet
ſhe had never committed hoſtilities againſt them. He concluded with declaring
the entire ſubmiſſion of the *Rhodians* to the good-will and pleaſure of *Rome*, and
their reſolution to make no reſiſtance to her arms in caſe of an attack. As ſoon as
Aſtymedes had done ſpeaking, the embaſſadors and their retinue fell proſtrate, and
held out branches of olive in their hands, as a token of their ſuing for peace. Then
they withdrew, and the matter was diſcuſſed in the ſenate. Such of the ſenators
as had ſerved in the *Macedonian* war voted warmly againſt the *Rhodians*, and were
for engaging *Rome* in a new war. But *Cato* put an end to the debate by a ſpeech
full of ſpirit and good ſenſe. He reproached the ſenators with being blinded by
e proſperity, ſince nothing elſe could have made them deliberate, whether they
ſhould deſtroy a republic, againſt which the only charge was ſecret thoughts and
proud words. " O! ye immortal gods, ſaid he, ſhall we then uſurp your rights?
" Shall we ſearch into mens thoughts to find enemies? Have we not open and
" declared enemies enough? I ſhall readily grant, that the *Rhodians* were heartily
" grieved for the defeat and captivity of *Perſes*; nay, I ſhall allow, that compaſſion
" for him had not ſo great a ſhare in their affliction as their own intereſt; but is it then
" unlawful to wiſh for liberty? *Rome* is a powerful ſtate, and capable of ſwallowing
" up all the countries of the eaſt. *Macedon*, the only bulwark againſt her, was deſtroyed.
" The inundation was drawing near, and hence their fears and alarms. Did the
f " *Rhodians* hate you? No; but they loved themſelves. Are there any among us
" who would not be uneaſy to ſee a formidable neighbour in poſſeſſion of lands adjoin-
" ing to ours? What would we not do to get rid of ſuch a neighbourhood? Any
" means but violences are lawful. This is the preſent caſe. The *Rhodians* wiſhed
" that *Perſes* might not be ruined, and that the barrier, which ſeparated them from
" us, might not be thrown down; and what is there criminal in this? Beſides, are bare
" wiſhes puniſhable? But it is alſo ſaid, that the *Rhodians* ſhewed their pride by
" words; and indeed one of their embaſſadors did drop ſome very arrogant and haughty
expreſſions;

Cato *ſpeaks in their favour.*

[q] POLYB. legat. 88. LIV. l. 45.

" expreſſions; but what can be inferred from thence more than this, that there is a
" nation in the world more haughty and imperious than ourſelves? Is an indiſcreet
" expreſſion ſo highly criminal, that it ought to be expiated with rivers of blood?
" What will the conſequence of an unjuſt ſeverity be but inſurrections among the ti-
" morous nations, and revolts, or at leaſt diſtruſts, among our allies? Foreign nati-
" ons will fear us more, but love us leſs. The *Rhodians*, after all, have not carried
" their ingratitude to exceſs. *Perſes*, when in his greateſt glory, could not ſeduce
" them ſo far as to prevail on them to take up arms againſt us; I therefore vote for
" rejecting the motion of the prætor *Juventius*, and leaving the *Rhodians* in peaceable
" poſſeſſion of their iſland [r]."

Lycia *and* Caria *taken from the* Rhodians.

The advice and repreſentations of *Cato* were of ſuch weight with the ſenate, that war was not declared againſt the *Rhodians*, which was the main point. The ſenate only renewed the decree they had formerly made, whereby the *Rhodians* were ordered to withdraw their gariſons from *Lycia* and *Caria*, and reſtore the inhabitants to their ancient liberty. After the publication of this decree, *Philocrates*, one of the embaſſadors, returned to *Rhodes*; but *Aſtymedes* continued at *Rome*, to give his republick notice of what was tranſacted there. The news which *Philocrates* brought to *Rhodes*, where they were all in the utmoſt conſternation and under great apprehenſions of a war with *Rome*, was received with inexpreſſible joy; inſomuch, that the loſs of *Lycia* and *Caria* ſeemed to them but a ſlight puniſhment. They now made it their whole buſineſs to regain the affection of the *Romans*. The alliance which they had formerly entered into with *Rome*, was not yet complete. They had reſerved to themſelves a liberty to make alliances with any king or independent ſtate they pleaſed, whether in *Europe* or *Aſia*; but now the times were changed. Since the conqueſt of *Macedon*, there was no power in all the eaſt to be feared or courted, except the *Romans*; the *Rhodians* therefore were deſirous to enter into a more ſtrict alliance with *Rome*, and, in order to gain the affection of the *Roman* citizens, they commanded a crown of gold to be made at *Rhodes* of great value (G), which *Theodotus*, their admiral, was ordered to carry to *Rome*, and there negotiate this new alliance (H). Nevertheleſs, as the *Rhodians* were vain-glorious, they enjoined *Theodotus* not to offer his petition in writing, leſt, in caſe his requeſt was not granted, it might be conveyed down to poſterity, and be a ſtanding monument of reproach to them. The admiral ſet ſail, came to *Rome*, and made his preſents, which were accepted; but as for the alliance, *Rome* made his republic ſolicit it a long time, taking pleaſure in humbling the *Rhodian* pride. They were ordered firſt to evacuate *Caria* and *Lycia*, and alſo to withdraw their gariſons from the two cities of *Caunus* and *Stratonice*, the firſt of which they had purchaſed of one of *Ptolemy*'s generals with two hundred talents, and the ſecond had been given them by *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*.

The Rhodians *admitted to an alliance with* Rome.

However, they not only readily gave up both places, but moreover either put to death, or baniſhed, all thoſe, who, during the courſe of the war, had favoured *Perſes*; whereupon the ſenate complied at laſt with their requeſt, and admitted them into an alliance with *Rome* [f].

Some years after, the *Rhodians* gave a ſignal inſtance of the great deference they paid to *Rome*. *Calynda*, a famous city of *Caria*, being beſieged by the inhabitants of *Caunus*, ſent embaſſadors to the *Rhodians*, imploring their aſſiſtance, and offering to ſurrender to them. Notwithſtanding this advantagious offer, the *Rhodians* deliberated ſome time, whether they ſhould relieve the *Calyndines* or no, without the conſent of the *Roman* ſenate; but as the ſiege was purſued with vigor, and an anſwer from

[r] Liv. l. 45. Polyb. legat. 93. Diodor. Sicul. l. 19. & in Photii Biblio. cod. 244.
[f] Polyb. legat. 93. & 140. Liv. l. 43. Appian. Syriac. p. 116.

(G) *Livy* (84) fixes the value of this rich crown at twenty thouſand of thoſe pieces of gold, which the *Romans* called *aurei*; but *Polybius* values it only at ten thouſand. The *aureus* among the *Romans* was worth twenty-five *Attic drachmæ*, or twenty-five *denarii*, according to *Dio Caſſius* (85). It weighed two drams and an half. Suppoſing therefore, that, in theſe ages of the republic, the proportion of gold to ſilver was as ten to one, which we have reaſon to infer from ſeveral paſſages, this piece of gold could not be worth leſs than twenty-five drams.

(H) The negotiating of this new alliance with *Rome* was, according to *Polybius*, committed to the care of another embaſſador, whom he calls *Rhodophi*; but a little lower he gives him the name of *Theetetes*. He was eighty years of age, and died at *Rome*, before he could put the laſt hand to the negotiation.

(84) *Liv. l.* 45. *c.* 23. (85) *Dio Caſſ. l.* 45.

a from *Rome* would come too late, they at last sent succours to the besieged city, and forced the *Caunians* to retire. However, before they took possession of the place, they sent two of their chief citizens, *Lydamis* and *Cleagoras*, to *Rome*, to lay their laurels at the feet of the conscript fathers, and to draw what advantages they could from their submission. Indeed, nothing could be more agreeable to the haughty senators, than to see those *Rhodians*, who, a few years before, pretended to give law to *Rome*, now reduced so low, as not to dare to take possession of a city without their leave. The deputies were graciously received, and their reception encouraged them to desire of the fathers, that the private subjects of *Rhodes* might be restored to the enjoyment of all the lands they had formerly possessed in *Caria* and *Lycia*. Their b request was granted, and the embassadors returned as well satisfied with the senate, as the senate was with them. The *Rhodians*, out of gratitude, desired leave to erect, in the temple of *Minerva* at *Rome*, a statue of that goddess, thirty cubits high. Thus, all jealousies between the two republics were removed, and the good understanding, which had long subsisted between them, entirely restored [t].

And favoured by the senate.

Year of the flood 2837. *Before Christ* 162.

From this time, to the breaking out of the *Mithridatic* war in *Asia*, the *Rhodians* performed nothing, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They enjoyed their liberties, while all the other states and colonies of *Greece* were brought under the *Roman* yoke, and become provinces of that republic. They continued to maintain an inviolable attachment to *Rome*, and gave a signal instance of their fidelity in the above-mentioned war; for the *Rhodians* and the little c country of *Lydia*, near mount *Sipylus*, were the only allies who remained faithful to the *Romans* on all the coasts of *Asia*, after *Mithridates* had proclaimed war with the republic; *Rhodes* especially served as a sanctuary for all the *Romans*, whom the *Asiatics* drove in great numbers out of their countries: and *Cassius* himself, formerly governor of the province of *Pergamus*, fled thither for refuge. The King of *Pontus* therefore resolved to turn all his forces by sea and land against that island; and the inhabitants chose rather to sustain a siege than renounce their alliance with *Rome*. They put their ports in a state of defence, and covered their ramparts with all sorts of military machines. The *Romans*, who had fled thither, made up the best Part of d the *Rhodian* army, and the inhabitants, relying upon them and their own skill in maritime affairs, were not at all dismayed at the vast fleets and land-forces, which *Mithridates* was bringing against them. They posted their fleet before their island, and divided it into three squadrons; one, drawn up in a line, covered the entrance of the port, and the other two were placed, like wings, to hinder the enemy's approach. *Mithridates* appeared on board a quinqueremis, at the head of a fleet much more numerous than that of the enemy. He divided it into three squadrons, ordering two of them to invest the wings of the *Rhodians*, whilst he himself attacked the squadron that faced the port. The *Rhodians* therefore, lest they should be over-e powered with numbers, retired by degrees, till they came to the mouth of the harbour, which they entirely stopped up; and after this, the several engagements that followed, turned to their advantage. *Mithridates* lost many ships, and narowly escaped himself being made prisoner in his quinqueremis, which was taken.

Rhodes *besieged by* Mithridates. *Year of the flood* 2911. *Before Christ* 88.

During these sea-engagements, *Mithridates* embarked his numerous army on transports, which being dispersed by a violent storm, and driven to the right and left of the island, the *Rhodians* sent out their fleet, fell on the vessels, which the storm had put in disorder, sunk some, burnt others, and took four hundred men prisoners. Upon this *Mithridates* resolved to attack the city by sea in the night, and ordered a sambuca, built on two gallies, to advance to the walls. He had been informed, that the wall of the city was but of a moderate height on the side of the temple of f *Jupiter Atabyrius*, and resolved to storm it there. To this end he embarked his troops silently, furnished them with scaling ladders, and ordered them to wait till a signal was given them by a person hired for that purpose, from the top of the temple. In the mean time the king himself made a false attack on the side of the port, with great shouts, which caused the besieged to kindle many fires in the city. Those who were to wait for the signal before they began the attack on the side of the temple, mistaking these fires for it, were too hasty in the attempt, and miscarried. Early in the morning the *Rhodians* made a vigorous sally, and drove off the aggressors. The sambuca, after having done some damage, sunk with its own weight;

The siege raised.

[t] Polyb. legat. 210, 211. Liv. ubi supra.

weight; and *Mithridates*, disheartened at these disappointments, broke up the siege, after having lost a great many men and the best part of his navy [u]. The behaviour of the *Rhodians* on this occasion was highly applauded at *Rome*, and orders were sent to *Sylla* to return them thanks in the name of the senate, and renew the ancient alliance between the two republics. In the war which *Pompey* made upon the *Cilician* pirates, the *Rhodians* assisted him with all their naval forces, and had a great share in all the victories which he gained, tho' that proud *Roman* assumed the whole glory of suppressing those robbers to himself [w].

In the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, they assisted the latter with a numerous fleet, under the command of one *Euphranor*, who distinguished himself above all the commanders of *Pompey*'s navy, and gained very considerable advantages over *Cæsar*'s fleets [x]. After the death of *Pompey*, they sided with *Cæsar*, which drew upon them the resentment of *C. Cassius*, who advanced to the island of *Rhodes* with a powerful fleet, after having reduced the greatest part of the continent. The *Rhodians*, terrified at his approach, sent embassadors, entreating him to make up matters in an amicable manner, and promising to stand neuter, and recal the ships which they had sent to the assistance of the triumviri. *Cassius* insisted upon their delivering up their fleet to him, and putting him in possession both of their harbour and city. This demand the *Rhodians* would, by no means, comply with, and therefore began to put themselves in a condition to stand a siege; but first sent *Archelaus*, who had taught *Cassius* the *Greek* tongue, while he studied at *Rhodes*, to intercede with his disciple in their behalf. *Archelaus* could not, with all his authority, prevail upon him to moderate his demands; wherefore the *Rhodians*, having created one *Alexander*, a bold and enterprizing man, their prætor or prytanes, equipped a fleet of three and thirty sail, and sent it out under the command of *Mnaseus*, an experienced sea-officer, to offer *Cassius* battle. Both fleets fought with incredible bravery, and the victory was long doubtful; but the *Rhodians* being at length overpowered with numbers, were forced to return with their fleet to *Rhodes*, two of their ships being sunk, and the rest very much damaged by the heavy ships of the *Romans*. This was the first time, as our author observes, that the *Rhodians* were fairly overcome in a sea-fight [y].

The Rhodians *defeated in a sea fight by* Cassius.

Year of the flood 2957. *Before Christ* 42.

Cassius, who had beheld this fight from a neighbouring hill, having refitted his fleet, which had been no less damaged than that of the *Rhodians*, repaired to *Loryma*, a strong hold on the continent belonging to the *Rhodians*. This castle he took by assault, and from hence conveyed his land-forces, under the conduct of *Fanius* and *Lentulus*, over into the island. His fleet consisted of fourscore ships of war and above two hundred transports. The *Rhodians* no sooner saw this mighty fleet appear, but they went out again to meet the enemy. This second engagement was far more bloody than the first; many ships were sunk, and great numbers of men killed on both sides. But victory anew declared for the *Romans*, who immediately blocked up the city of *Rhodes* both by sea and land. As the *Rhodians* had not had time to furnish the city with sufficient store of provisions, some of the inhabitants fearing, that if it were taken either by assault or by famine, *Cassius* would put all the inhabitants to the sword, as *Brutus* had lately done at *Xanthus*, privately opened the gates to him, and put him in possession of the town, which he nevertheless treated as if it had been taken by assault. He commanded fifty of the chief citizens, who were suspected to favour the adverse party, to be brought before him, and sentenced them all to die; others, to the number of twenty-five, who had commanded the fleet or army, because they did not appear when summoned, he proscribed. Having thus punished such as had either acted or spoke against him or his party, he commanded the *Rhodians* to deliver up to him all their ships, and whatever money they had in the public treasure. He then plundered the temples, stripping them of all their valuable furniture, vessels, and statues. He is said not to have left one statue in the whole city, except that of the sun, bragging, at his departure, that he had stript the *Rhodians* of all they had, leaving them nothing but the sun. As to private persons, he commanded them, under severe penalties, to bring to him all the gold and silver they had, promising, by a public cryer a tenth part to such as should discover any hidden treasures. The *Rhodians* at

Rhodes *taken by* Cassius, *and plundered.*

[u] Appian. in Mithridat. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt, Valesii. p. 402. Liv. l. 78. Memn. c. 33. [w] Appian. in Mithridat. Florus. l. 3. c. 5. [x] Hirtius de Bell. Alexandrin. [y] Appian. l. 4. p. 630. Dio. l. 47. p. 346.

a at first concealed some part of their wealth, imagining, that *Cassius* intended by this proclamation only to terrify them; but when they found that he was in earnest, and saw several wealthy citizens put to death for concealing only a small portion of their riches, they desired, that the time prefixed for the bringing in of their gold and silver might be prolonged. *Cassius* willingly granted them their request, and then, through fear, they dug up what they had hid under ground, and laid at his feet all they were worth in the world. By this means he extorted from private persons above eight thousand talents. He then fined the city in five hundred more, and leaving *L. Varus* there with a strong garison to exact the fine without any abatement, he returned to the continent [z].

b After the death of *Cassius*, *Marc Anthony* restored the *Rhodians* to their antient rights and privileges, bestowing upon them the island of *Andros*, *Naxos*, *Tenos*, and the city of *Myndus*. But these the *Rhodians* so oppressed and loaded with taxes, that the same *Anthony*, tho' a great friend to the *Rhodian* republic, was obliged to divest her of the sovereignty over those places, which he had a little before so liberally bestowed upon her [a]. From this time, to the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, we find no mention made of the *Rhodians*. That prince, as *Dion* informs us [b], deprived them of their liberty, for having crucified some *Roman* citizens. However, he soon restored them to their former condition, as we read in *Suetonius* [c] and *Tacitus* [d]. The latter adds, that they had been as often deprived of, as restored to, their liberty, by

c way of punishment, or reward, for their different behaviour, as they had obliged the *Romans* with their assistance in foreign wars, or provoked them with their seditions at home. *Pliny*, who wrote in the beginning of *Vespasian*'s reign, stiles *Rhodes* a beautiful and free town. But this liberty they did not long enjoy, the island being soon after reduced by the same *Vespasian* to a *Roman* province, and obliged to pay a yearly tribute to their new masters [e]. This province was called *the province of the islands*. The *Roman* prætor, who governed it, resided at *Rhodes*, as the chief city under his jurisdiction; and *Rome*, notwithstanding the eminent services rendered her by this republic, thenceforth treated the *Rhodians* not as allies, but vassals.

[z] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. p. 931, &c. Oros. l. 6. c. 18. Dio. p. 346. [a] Appian. l. 3. de bell. civil. [b] Dio. l. 60. p. 681. [c] Sueton. in Claud. [d] Tacit. Annal. 12. [e] Sueton. in Vespas. Euseb. in Chron. Oros. l. 7. c. 9.

SECT. IV.

The History of Crete.

d THE island of *Crete*, now called *Candia* from its capital, was known to the antients by the names of *Aeria*, *Chthonia*, *Idæa*, *Curete*, *Macaris*, &c. It is one of the largest islands in the *Mediterranean*, being, according to *Strabo* [f], 287 miles in length; according to *Pliny* [g], 270, and according to *Scylax*, 312. As to its breadth, it is not, as *Pliny* observes [h], above 55, where widest. Whence it was stiled, as *Stephanus* informs us, *the Long Island*. It lies between the *Archipelago* to the north; the *African* sea to the south; the *Carpathian* to the east; and the *Ionian* to the west. The name of *Crete*, which generally prevailed among the antients, some derive from *Curetes*, who are said to have been the first inhabitants of the island; others from the nymph *Crete* daughter of *Hesperus*, or from *Cretus* the son of *Jupiter*,

e who is supposed to have reigned here (I).

Names.

This

[f] Strabo, l. 10. [g] Plin. l. 4. c. 12. [h] Idem ibid.

(I) *Eusebius*, St. *Hierom*, *Marcianus*, *Isidorus*, and *Cedrenus* derive the name of *Crete* from *Cres*, one of the *Curetes*, who brought up *Jupiter*, *Diodorus Siculus* says it was called *Crete* from *Crete* the daughter of one of the *Curetes*, whom *Jupiter* married, giving her name to the island, which before was named *Idæa* (86). It is at present known by the name of *Candia*, which *Morosini* (87) derives from the *Latin* word *Candidus*, signifying *white*, such being the colour of its soil. Others derive the name of *Candia* from *Chandax*, which, in the language of the *Saracens*, signifies, as *Scylitzas* informs us (88), *an intrenchment*. The *Saracens* built a town, as we read in the same author, in the place, where, by the advice of a *Greek* monk, they had intrenched themselves in the time of the emperor *Michael* surnamed *the Stammerer*. The town they called *Chandax*, that is, *intrenchment*. In process of time the name of *Chandax* was changed into that of *Candia*, which became common to the city and island.

(86) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* 3. (87) *Morosini Hist. Venet. l.* 12. (88) *Scylitz. p.* 509.

Climate, soil, &c.

This island, as lying between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, was, a in antient times, greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grain, its plains being covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. The fruits it produced infinitely surpassed, as *Pliny* observed, all of the same kind that were produced in other countries [i]. The wines of this island are greatly commended both by the antient and modern writers. Tho' they are, generally speaking, pretty strong, yet *Galen* met with a sort in this place, which was temperate enough to be given in fevers [k]. The air was antienly deemed most pure and wholsome, and is to this day, tho' great part of the country lies uncultivated; a misfortune too common in such regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. From the fruitfulness of its soil and purity of its air it had the appellation of *Macaris*, or *the fortunate* b *island*.

Cities.

In former times there were reckoned in this island an hundred cities, ninety before the *Trojan* war, and ten more after the *Dorians* settled here; and hence sprung the name of *Hecatompolis*. Of these hundred cities forty only were remaining in the time

Gnossus.

of *Ptolemy*, for so many he enumerates. Those of most note were, *Gnossus*, antiently called *Ceratus*, where king *Minos* is said to have fixed his residence. This city was once the capital of the island, and, according to *Strabo* [l], a wealthy and populous place, being thirty furlongs in compass, and full of inhabitants. The said writer places it twenty furlongs off the *Ægean* or *Archipelago*, and ninety from the *African* sea. Some of our modern travellers think it stood near the present town of *Castel* c *Pediada*; while others pretend to discover some of its ruins at a small distance from the village of *Cynosa*. From this city *Ariadne*, the daughter of *Minos*, so much celebrated by the poets, had the name of *Gnossis*. The river *Ceratus* washed its walls; whence it is by some antient writers called by the same name. *Cydonia* stood, according to *Strabo* [m], *Pliny* [n], and *Diodorus Siculus* [o], on the coast opposite to the *Lacædemonian* territories in *Peloponnesus*, and was the most powerful and wealthy city

Cydonia, *or* Cydon.

of all *Crete*, since, in the civil wars of that island, it withstood the united forces of *Gnossus* and *Gortyna*, after they had reduced the greater part of the island. *Cydonia* was deemed the strongest place in the whole island, It had been often besieged, but never taken till the time of *Metellus*, to whom that glory was reserved, *Cydonia* open- d ing its gates to him after the defeat of *Lasthenes* and *Panares* [p]. This city was the most antient in the whole island, most of the others having been built and peopled by *Cydonian* colonies; and on this account it was commonly called by the *Greeks*, *the Mother of cities*. From *Cydonia* the quince tree was first brought into *Italy*, and thence the fruit called by the *Latins*, *malum Cydonium*, or *the Cydonian apple*.

Gortyna.

Gortyna or *Gortyn*, an inland city, being, according to *Strabo* [q], near ninety furlongs distant from the *African* sea. The origin of *Gortyna* is as obscure as that of most of the antient cities, some telling us, that it was founded by *Gortyn* the son of *Radamanthus*, and others ascribing that glory to *Taurus*, who carried off *Europa* [r]. Be that as it will, *Gortyna*, in process of time, eclipsed all the other cities of *Crete*, e especially after the island was reduced by the *Romans*, who made it their chief business to humble *Gnossus*, and raise, as it were upon her ruins, her rival *Gortyna* [s]. We may judge of the antient splendor and greatness of this city from its ruins, which are still to be seen about six miles from mount *Ida*, at the entrance of the plain of *Messaria*, which is properly the granary of the island. Among these ruins *Tournefort* [t] observed one of the gates, which is an arch finely turned, still remaining, with part of the wall joining to it, which he takes to be the wall that *Ptolemy Philopater* is said by *Strabo* [u] to have built. Not far from the gate are two pillars of granate eighteen foot long, and near them divers pedestals ranged two by two, on the same line, for supporting the columns of the frontispiece of some temple. Among f the many columns still remaining, there are some of granate, fluted spirally, and wonderfully beautiful. Many of them have been carried away by the *Turks*. Our author observed at a village, not far distant from these ruins, two columns of an extraordinary beauty, with a hurdle between them, serving as a gate to a garden. The inhabitants are unacquainted wit. the value of these remains of antiquity. Few statues are to be met with, the *Venetians*, who were long masters of the island, having

[i] Plin. l. 25. c. 8. [k] Comment. 3. in libr. Hippocr. de victus ratione in morbis acutis. [l] Strabo, ibid. [m] Strabo. l. 10. [n] Plin. l. 4. c. 12. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. [p] Florus. l. 3. c. 7. [q] Idem, ibid. [r] Cedrenus Compend. Hist. Strabo. l. 10. [s] Strabo. ibid. [t] Tournefort. Voyage au Levant. &c. [u] Strabo. ibid.

having transported the best part of them to *Venice*. The statue, which stands on the a fountain of *Candia*, and is deemed a master-piece, was found among these ruins; but is at present without a head, the *Turks* having a superstitious abhorrence to the representation of the heads of living creatures, except upon coins, of which no people are more found. *Gortyna* was in ancient times famous for the temples of *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Jupiter Hecatombæus*, so called, if we believe *Ptolemæus Hephestion* as quoted by *Photius* [w], because *Menelaus* there sacrificed to *Jupiter* an hundred oxen, when news was brought him of *Helena's* flight. At the further end of the ruins between the north and west, near a brook, without all doubt the river *Lethe*, which, as *Strabo* informs us, washed the walls of *Gortyna* [x], are to be seen some curious ruins with a b piece of painting half effaced, but quite of the *Gothic* taste. These ruins are the remains of some ancient church, which the modern *Greeks* would make us believe to have been built by *Titus*, to whom St. *Paul* wrote one of his epistles, and who was the first bishop of *Crete*. *Theophrastus* [y], *Varro* [z], and *Pliny* [a] speak of a plane-tree near *Gortyna* which never shed its old leaves till new ones sprouted forth. This seemed so strange to the ancient *Greeks*, that they feigned the first conversation between *Jupiter* and *Europa* to have happened under this ever-green plane-tree; and this fabulous adventure probably gave occasion to the inhabitants of *Gortyna* to represent on a medal *Europa* sitting melancholy and thoughtful on a plane-tree, and turning her back to an eagle hovering about her. On the reverse is *Europa*, sitting on a c bull, encompass'd with a border of bay-leaves [b]. *Pliny* [c] tells us, that endeavours were used to multiply in the island this species of plane-tree, but to no effect, since they shed their leaves, when transplanted, in winter like the common plane-trees.

Lychus was in ancient times a city of no small note, and originally a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, as *Polybius* informs us [d]. It was an inland town, and is supposed to have stood where we now find *Paleo Castro*. Some place it near the present town of *Agustini*, and others pretend to discover some of its ruins near *Girapietra*. *Hierapytna*, called also *Cyrrha*, *Pytna*, and *Camyros*, is supposed to be the same place that *Ptolemy* calls *Hiera Petra*, or *the sacred rock*. *Strabo* tells us, that it stood on a hill, which he calls *Pytna*, and supposes to have been a part of mount *Ida*. The ruins of d this city are still to be seen on the coast over-against the rocks called by the ancients *the Isles of Asses* [e]. *Hierapytna* was one of the strongest places in the island, when *Metellus* undertook the conquest of *Crete*, but is at present only a village, known by the name of *Girapietra*. *Eleuthera*, called also *Saorus* and *Aorus*, was an inland city, and in the *Roman* times a place well peopled and of great strenght. *Rithymna*, *Heraclea*, *Prasos*, *Apteron*, and *Arcadia* were in ancient times cities of no small note. *Rithymna*, now *Retimo*, is still a place well peopled, and had formerly a very convenient haven, which is now utterly neglected. *Heraclea* stood, according to *Pliny* [f], opposite to the island of *Via*, or, as others will have it, *Dia*. It was the sea port of the *Gnossians*, and is supposed to have stood on the same spot where the town of e *Candia*, which gave name to the whole island, was built in after ages. *Prasos* was the capital of the *Eteocrates*, mentioned by *Homer*, and famous for a temple consecrated to *Jupiter Dictæus*. In the civil wars of the island it was razed by the inhabitants of *Hieropytna*. *Apteron* was in *Ptolemy's* time a very considerable place, and stood on a steep rock, at the foot of which, between the town and the sea, lay that famous field, where the *Syrens*, being overcome by the *Muses* in a trial of skill in music, forfeited their wings. From this fable some writers tell us [g], that the city took its name, the word *Apteron* signifying *without wings*. *Eusebius* says it was so called from one *Apteras* king of *Crete*, whom he supposes to have been the founder of it [h]. There are some ruins of this ancient city still to be seen, but nothing that f deserves particular notice. *Arcadia* is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Theophrastus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, &c. they all tell us, that this town being once destroyed, all the springs in that neighbourhood dried up, and began again to run assoon as the city was rebuilt. These were the most considerable cities of *Crete* in ancient times.

Lychus.

Hierapytna.

Eleuthra.

Rithymna.

Heraclea, &c.

Mountains.

THE chief mountains of *Crete* are, *Ida*, so much spoke of by the poets, and by many degrees the highest of the whole island. From the top of this mountain both seas are clearly discern'd; in all other respects it is inferior to the other hills of the country, being for the greatest part of the year covered with snow, and so barren, that

[w] PHOT. in Bibliot. l. v. [x] STRAB. l. x. SOL. n. c. xi. [y] THEOPH. hist. plant. l. i. c. 15. [z] VAR. de re rust. [a] PLIN. l. xii. c. 1. [b] ANTON. AUGUST. Dialog. 1. [c] PLIN. ibid. [d] POLYB. l. iv. [e] STRAB. l. 10. [f] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [g] STEPH. Etym. magn. SUIDAS. [h] EUSEB. Chron.

that it produces nothing except the *Tragacantha*, a ſhrub ſo prickly, that the *Greeks* a
gave it the name of *Goats Thorn*. *Theophraſtus*[i] and *Pliny*[k] ſpeak of a ſort of vine growing here naturally; but our modern travellers have not been able to diſcover any ſuch thing. *Theophraſtus* advances many things upon the report of others, and *Pliny* frequently copies, or rather tranſlates, what he finds in *Theophraſtus*, without troubling himſelf with any further enquiries. It was called *Ida* from the fine proſpect it affords, the word *Idein* ſignifying in the *Greek* tongue *to ſee*[l]. Nay, *Suidas* tells us, that all places, whence a great extent of country could be ſeen, were called *Idæ*. *Jupiter* is ſaid to have been ſecretly nurſed here, and thence called *Idæus*. Some of the ancients tell us, that the foreſts on this mountain being burnt by light-
ning, about ſeventy-three years after the deluge of *Deucalion*, the art of melting iron b
was firſt diſcovered on that occaſion by the *Dactyli*[m]. *Ida* is now known by the name of *Pſiloriti*. *Dicte*, now called *Sethia*, and alſo *Laſthi*, is next in heighth to mount *Ida*, and covered great part of the year with ſnow, whence it is called by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, *the white mountain*. However, cypreſs trees, as the ſame writers aſſure us, grew there anciently amidſt the ſnow, and throve as well as in the vallies. this mountain was called *Dicte* from *Dictynna*, a nymph of *Crete*, who is ſuppoſed to have firſt found out hunting-nets, and to have had the name of *Dictynna* from thence, having been called before *Britomartis*. *Leuci*, a long chain of mountains, ſo called from their *whiteneſs*, being like the others covered great part of the year with ſnow. They are now known by the names of *Madura* and *Spacia*. c

Rivers. Rivers of note in this iſland are but very few; the *Nilopotamus*, the *Scaſinus*, and the *Epicidnus* are ſpoke of by the ancients, but none of them are at preſent navigable. This defect is ſufficiently ſupplied by a great many creeks and bays, and ſome capacious and ſafe harbours. Near mount *Ida* the preſent inhabitants pretend to ſhew ſome remains of the ancient labyrinth made by *Dædalus*; but *Bellonius* takes

The labyrinth. this labyrinth to be nothing but an ancient quarry, out of which were dug the ſtones that ſerved to build the towns of *Gortyna* and *Gnoſſus*. And indeed *Pliny* tells us, that in his time no footſteps of the ancient labyrinth were to be ſeen in the iſland.

Inhabitants. The firſt inhabitants of *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Idæi Dactyli* who inhabited mount *Ida*: they were, as ſome authors write, a hundred in number; d
according to others only ten, being called *Dactyli*, as they ſuppoſe, from *the ten*
Idæi Dactyli. *fingers*, to which they were equal in number. The *Idæi Dactyli* were, if we believe *Ephorus* as quoted by *Diodorus*, originally from mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, and paſſed from thence over into *Europe* with King *Minos*. They ſettled firſt in *Samothrace*, where they taught the inhabitants ſacred and religious rites, inſtituted ſacrifices, and introduced a ſet form of religious worſhip. *Orpheus*, who was naturally inclined to muſic and poetry, is thought to have been their diſciple, and the firſt who carried ſacred rites and ceremonies over into *Greece*. The *Dactyli* are likewiſe ſaid to have firſt found out the uſe of fire, and to have diſcovered the nature of iron and braſs to
the inhabitants of the country adjoining to mount *Berecynthus*, and to have taught e
them the way of working them. For this and many other uſeful diſcoveries they were after their death worſhipped as gods. One of them, they ſay, was called *Hercules*, who inſtituted the *Olympic* games, which were by poſterity thought to have been appointed by *Hercules* the ſon of *Alcmena*.

Curetes. Next to the *Idæi Dactyli* were the nine *Curetes*, ſome of them ſuppoſed to have ſprung from the earth, and others to be deſcended from the *Idæi Dactyli*: Theſe dwelt on the mountains, under the ſhade of thick trees, and in caves and other places, which naturally afforded them a ſhelter and covering, the building of houſes not being then found out. They were very ingenuous, and invented many things that proved very uſeful to mankind: they firſt taught how to manage flocks, to gather honey, to tame horſes, to hunt, to caſt darts, *&c.* They brought men into ſocieties and communities, and ſhewed them by their example the happineſs of a peaceable and orderly life. They are likewiſe ſaid to have invented ſwords and helmets, and dancing in armour, and by the noiſe they made to have prevented *Saturn* from hearing the cries of *Jupiter* when he was an infant, and by that means to have ſaved him from being deſtroy'd by his father.

The Titans. The *Titans* were contemporary with the *Curetes*, and dwelt in the country where the city of *Gnoſſus* was built many ages after. The *Titans* were in number ſix men and

[i] Theoph. hiſt. Plant. l. iii. c. 17. [k] Plin. l. xiv. c. 3. [l] Hellad. apud Phot. in Biblioth. [m] Hellad. ibid.

and five women, the offspring, as ſome ſay, of *Uranus* and *Terra*; according to others, of one of the *Curetes* and *Titæa*, being called *Titans* after the name of their mother. The ſons were *Cronus* or *Saturn*, *Hyperion*, *Cœus*, *Iapetus*, *Crius*, and *Oceanus*; the daughters *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemoſyne*, *Phœbe*, and *Thetis*. Each of theſe invented ſomething of great uſe to mankind, and were on that account placed among the gods. *Saturn* the eldeſt obtained the kingdom of *Crete*, and brought his ſubjects from a wild and barbarous to a more polite courſe of life, perſuading them to live according to the ſtricteſt rules of honeſty, which gave occaſion to the many fables of the poets concerning the golden age. *Hyperion* was the firſt who found out the motions of the ſun and moon and other ſtars, meaſuring by them the ſeaſons of the year; and hence he was called *the father of the planets*. *Latona* was the daughter of *Cœus* and *Phœbe*; and *Prometheus*, ſo famous among the poets, the ſon of *Iapetus*: he is ſaid to have found out the way of ſtriking fire out of flint, which gave occaſion to the poets to feign that he ſtole fire from the gods, and beſtowed it upon men. *Mnemoſyne* invented many things conducing to the help of man's memory, whence ſhe had her name, *Mnemoſyne* ſignifying in *Greek memory*. *Themis* taught the art of divination, inſtructed men in holy rites, and preſcribed laws for the worſhip of the gods, and for the preſervation of peace and good government amongſt men. *Veſta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto* are ſuppoſed to have been the children of *Saturn* and *Rhea*. *Veſta* invented the building of houſes, *Ceres* the uſe of corn, *Neptune* the art of navigation, and *Pluto* funeral ſolemnities. Hence the latter was ſtiled *king of the infernal ſhades*, and the former *prince of the ſea* [n].

THE *Curetes*, mentioned here by *Diodorus*, were, according to *Herodotus* [o] and *Strabo* [p], originally *Phœnicians*, and accompanied *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, ſome of them ſettling in *Phrygia*, where they were called *Corybantes*, ſome in *Crete*, where they were known by the name of *Idæi Dactyle*, ſome in *Rhodes*, where they bore the name of *Telchines*, &c. *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls the *Idæi Dactyli* barbarians, that is *ſtrangers*, and tells us, that they were the firſt who brought letters into *Greece*, *Phrygia*, and *Crete*; and adds, that by their aſſiſtance king *Minos* built a fleet, and gained the ſovereignty of the ſea [q]. According to theſe authors the *Curetes* and *Idæi Dactyli* were one and the ſame people, and did not ſettle in *Crete* till the time of *Minos*. *Bochart* brings the *Curetes* from *Paleſtine*, induced thereunto by the likeneſs there is between their name and that of the *Crethim* or *Cerethites*, a people among the *Philiſtines* [r]. The *Philiſtines* indeed conquered *Sidon*, and it is not unlikely, that ſome of them, mixed with the *Phœnicians*, attended *Cadmus* into *Crete* and *Greece*. But long before they ſettled in *Crete*, a colony of *Pelaſgians* had peopled the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland. After the *Pelaſgians*, *Teutamus*, the grandfather of *Minos*, carried thither a colony of *Dorians* from *Laconia* and the territory of *Olympia* in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe ſeveral colonies ſpoke different languages, and lived quietly in caves and huts on the ſpontaneous product of the earth, till the invention of tools in the reign of *Aſterius* the ſon of *Teutamus*. They were at laſt reduced into one kingdom, and became one people in the reign of *Minos*, who was their firſt lawgiver, built many towns, and introduced plowing and ſowing. According to this account, which is vouched by *Strabo*, *Lucian* and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, the two firſt kings of *Crete*, who reigned after the coming of the *Curetes*, were *Aſterius* and *Minos*: *Europa* was wife to *Aſterius* and mother of *Minos*, and the *Idæi Dactyli* came with her and her brother *Albimus* into *Crete*, where they dwelt in the *Idæan* cave, and there educated *Jupiter*; ſo that *Aſterius*, *Europa*, and *Minos* muſt be the *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and *Jupiter* of the *Cretans*. *Minos* is uſually called the ſon of *Jupiter*; but the *Phœnicians*, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves [s], upon their firſt coming into *Greece*, gave the name of *Jeoua* or *Jupiter* to all kings; and thus both *Minos* and his father *Aſterius* were *Jupiters*, that is, *kings*. *Minos*, according to *Echemenes* as quoted by *Athenæus* [t], was the *Jupiter* who became ſo famous among the *Greeks* for juſtice and equity, being the greateſt king of *Greece* in thoſe days, and the only legiſlator. *Plutarch* tells us [u], that the inhabitants of *Naxus* pretended, that there were two *Minoſes* and two *Ariadnes*, and that the firſt *Ariadne* married *Bacchus*, and the laſt was carried away by *Theſeus*. But *Homer*, *Heſiod*, *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, and *Strabo* knew but of one *Minos*, whom *Homer* calls the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, the brother of *Rhadamanthus*

Pelaſgians *and* Dorians.

Aſterius, Jupiter, Minos, Europa, Rhadamanthus, &c.

[n] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [o] HERODOT. l. v. c. 58. [p] STRAB. l. 10. p. 464. [q] CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. l. i. [r] BOCH. in Canaan. l. i. c. 15. [s] Chron. p. 150. [t] ATHEN. l. 13. p. 601. [u] PLUT. in Theſeo.

thus and *Sarpedon*, the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, and grandfather of *Idomeneus*, a who went to the siege of *Troy*. *Herodotus* [w] makes *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus* the sons of *Europa*, and contemporary with *Ægeus*. *Apollodorus* [x] and *Hyginus* [y] tell us, that *Minos*, the father of *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and *Phædra*, was the son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, and brother to *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*.

In the reign of *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus* the king's brother carried several colonies into the neighbouring islands, which he bestowed upon the commanders of his army: The island of *Lemnos* he gave to one *Thoas* or *Theias*, who, as he was a disciple of the *Idæi Dactyli*, and consequently a worker in metals, is supposed, by *Apollodorus*, *Suidas*, and *Apollonius Rhodius*, to be the *Vulcan* of the *Greeks*. The islands of *Carpathus*, *Syme*, and most of the *Cyclades* were peopled by colonies from *Crete*, *Rhadamanthus* having rewarded the services of his officers, as *Diodorus* informs us [z], by vesting them with the sovereignty of the neighbouring islands, which gave rise to innumerable petty kingdoms. The *Cretans* did not only people the neighbouring islands, but sent colonies into *Greece*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Troas*, &c. The cities of *Delphos* in *Phocis*, *Miletus* in *Ionia*, and many in *Iapygia* having been founded by them. The *Trojans*, if we believe the most ancient writers, were originally *Cretans*; as were also the *Messapii* in *Italy*, and the inhabitants of some of the islands of *Arabia*, *&c.* b

Government. As to the government of the *Cretans*, it is agreed on all hands that it was at first monarchical; but there is a great disagreement among authors about the beginning of the *Cretan* kingdom. *Diodorus Siculus* supposes *Tectamus* to have been the first who reigned in that island. But *Eusebius* speaks of one *Cretes*, who gave his name to the island, and reigned, according to him, four hundred years before *Tectamus*. From *Cretes* to *Cydon* he reckons three hundred years, from *Cydon* to *Apteras* sixty-three, and from *Apteras* to *Lapithas* forty. This opinion, which is also followed by *Clemens Alexandrinus* and most of the antient chronologers, is agreeable to what we read in *Pausanias* who mentions several kings reigning before *Tectamus*, and among the rest *Cretes*, *Vulcan*, and *Rhadamanthus*. *Lactantius* and *Berosus* add to these *Milinus* and *Melisseus*, whom they suppose to have reigned before the arrival of the *Pelasgians* or *Dorians*. Before we give an account of the reigns of these kings, we shall subjoin a list of them as we find it transmitted to us by *Eusebius*, *Lactantius*, and d *Berosus*

KINGS *of* Crete.

1. *Cres* or *Cretes*.
2. *Talus*.
3. *Vulcanus*.
4. *Rhadamanthus*.
5. *Milinus*.
6. *Melisseus*.
7. *Cydon*.
8. *Apteras*.
9. *Lapithas*.
10. *Asterius*.
11. *Minos*.
12. *Lycastus*.
13. *Minos* II.
14. *Deucalion*.
15. *Creteus*.
16. *Idomeneus*.
17. *Meriones*.
18. *Etearchus*. (K). e

It

[w] Herod. l. i. [x] Apoll. l. iii. c. 1. [y] Hygin. Fab. 40, 41, 42, 178. [z] Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 224.

(K) As we have followed chiefly *Eusebius* and *Lactantius* in this series, we shall insert here a succinct account of the *Cretan* kings, according to the order we find them placed in by other writers. The first who reigned in *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was *Jupiter*, the first of that name. He married one *Idea*, who imparted her name to the whole island, and had by her a son named *Cres*, who was one of the *Curetes*, and succeeded his father in the kingdom 89). The *Curetes* were, according to *Euripides* (90), all sons of this *Jupiter*, whence they are stiled by him *Diogenitores*, or *the children of Jupiter*. *Cres*, who reigned after his father *Jupiter*, was according to *Eusebius* contemporary with *Abraham* and his son *Isaac* (91). From him, if we believe *Isidorus* (92), the island was called *Crete*. *Cres* was succeeded by *Ammon*, who had married his daughter *Crete*. *Ammon* first reigned in *Lybia*, where he married *Rhea*, the daughter of *Cælus* and sister of *Saturn*. *Rhea*, falling out with her husband, abandoned him, and married her brother *Saturn*, who, with the other *Titans* his brothers, made war upon *Ammon*, but were by him overthrown in battle. Afterwards *Ammon* leaving *Libya*, where he was greatly straitened for want of corn, passed over into *Crete*, and there married the daughter of *Cres*, and in right of his wife, after the death of his father-in-law, took possession of the island, changing the name of *Idea* into that of *Crete*, which was the name of his wife. The *Titans* pursued him into *Crete*, and there, tho' formerly conquered, renewed the war. But in the mean time *Bacchus*, returning

(89) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* i. *c.* 19. (90) *Euripid. in fabul. Bacch.* (91) *Eusеb. in Chron.* (92) *Isidor. Origin. l.* xviii. *c.* 6.

a It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning; and of these kings there is scarce any thing upon record worth mentioning.

Reigns of the Cretan kings.

Cres was, according to *Eusebius* [a], the first who reigned in *Crete*. He is also mentioned by *Clemens* [b], *Cedrenus* [c], and *Eustathius* [d]. The latter supposes him to be the son of *Jupiter*; wherein he is contradicted by all the antient as well as modern writers. *Talus* and *Vulcan* are only mentioned by *Pausanias* as reigning in *Crete*. This cannot be the *Vulcan* whom other writers suppose to have reigned in *Sicily* or the island of *Lemnos*, and whose skill in discovering mines and preparing metals gave rise to the fable of the poets. *Radamanthus*, mentioned by *Strabo* [e] as the first b legislator of the *Cretans*, is supposed by *Apollodorus* to have succeeded *Vulcan*, and to have been famous for his justice. *Aristotle* likewise speaks of him as the first who made laws for the *Cretans* [f]. *Milinus*, according to *Berosus*, reigned in *Crete*, and obtained the sovereignty of the sea, but was at last killed by the *Lybian Hercules*. *Melisseus*, if we believe *Lactantius*, was the first who introduced into the island of *Crete* the worship of the gods and religious ceremonies. The same author adds, that his daughters *Amalthea* and *Melissa* nourished *Jupiter*, when he was an infant, with goats milk, which gave rise to the poetical fables on this subject. His daughter *Melissa* he appointed priestess of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods; and as she was the first who was employed in this ministry, all the priestesses of that goddess were c afterwards called *Melissæ*. This *Jupiter*, as *Lactantius* observes, was different from the famous *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, tho' most authors confound them. *Cydon* succeeded his father *Melisseus*, and reigned, as we read in the chronology of *Eusebius* [g], about the time of *Cecrops* I. king of *Athens*. *Apteras* succeeded *Cydon*, and is said by the

Talus, Vulcan.

Rhadamanthus.

Milinus.

Melisseus.

Cydon.

Apteras.

[a] Euseb. Chron. [b] Clem. Stromat. l. i. [c] Cedrenus p. 63. [d] Eustath. in Dionys. [e] Strab. l. x. [f] Arist. l. v. Eth. [g] Euseb. Chron.

ing victorious from *India*, joined *Ammon*, and with the assistance of some *Egyptian* forces utterly defeated and entirely abolished the race of the *Titans* (93). *Melisseus*, according to *Hyginus*, succeeded *Ammon*. *Jupiter*, surnamed *the great*, was born in his reign, and brought up by his two daughters *Amalthea* and *Melisse*, who nourished him with goats milk and honey. Upon the death of *Ammon* and *Bacchus*, *Jupiter* made himself master of the island of *Crete*, and by degrees extended his dominions to the confines of the world. *Cydon* reigned many years after; the names of the intermediate kings, who according to *Diodorus* were many, have not reached us. *Cydon*, as *Athenæus* informs us, had a daughter, by name *Eulimine*, famous for her beauty, and courted by all the chief men of the island; but her father was commanded by the oracle to sacrifice her to the manes of the deceased heroes of the island, which he did accordingly. *Pausanias* (94) and *Stephanus* make mention of another king bearing this name, who was the son of *Mercury* and *Acacallis*, and reigned many years after. *Cydon* was succeeded by *Asterius* or *Apteras*, to whom *Eulimene* had been betrothed. *Eusebius* says, that he began his reign in the eight year of *Moses*, and sixty years after *Cydon* had begun his. *Lapes*, called by *Eusebius Lapithes*, began to reign, according to that writer, about the ninth year of *Joshua*. He was succeeded, as *Diodorus* tells us, by *Tentamus* the son of *Dorus*, who arriving in *Crete* with a colony of *Æolians* and *Pelasgians* settled there, and was for his eminent qualities raised to the throne (95). *Asterius*, the son of *Lapes*, came to the throne, vacant by the death of his father. He married *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor*, whom *Jupiter* had carried over from *Sarepta*, city of *Phœnice*, into *Crete*. *Asterius*, having no children by her, adopted the three sons of *Jupiter*, viz. *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Minos* succeeded him in the kingdom, and had by his wife *Ipbone*, the daughter of *Lyctius*, a son called *Lycastes*, who, upon the death of his father, was raised to the throne. *Lycastes* built the city of *Lycastos*, and dying left the kingdom to *Minos*, the second of that name, whom he had by *Ida*, the daughter of *Corybas*. *Minos*, being assumed to the throne, equipped a mighty fleet, and made himself master of the *Cyclades*, which he bestowed upon his brothers, after having driven out the *Carians*, who then held most of those islands. This is the *Minos*, according to *Diodorus* and *Thucydides*, who made war upon the *Athenians*, for having put to death his son *Androgeus* (96). *Minos* had by his wife *Pasiphae* four sons, *Deucalion*, *Catreus*, *Androgeus*, and *Glaucus*. *Deucalion* succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his brother *Catreus*, whom *Eusebius* names *Creteus*. *Deucalion* lived some time in *Attica*, and is supposed to have died there; for *Pausanias* (97) tells us, that his tomb was still to be seen in his time at *Athens*, near the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. *Catreus* was killed thro' mistake by his own son *Althemenes*, who, thereupon laying violent hands on himself, left the kingdom to *Idomeneus* the son of *Deucalion*, and *Meriones* the son of *Molus*. *Molus* was, according to *Apollodorus* the son of *Deucalion*, according to *Diodorus*, the son of *Minos* and brother of *Deucalion*. *Idomeneus* and *Meriones* assisted the *Greeks* in the *Trojan* war with a squadron of fourscore ships. The former is mentioned by *Homer*, and commended as very expert at the bow (98). They were both after their death worshipped by the *Cretans* as heroes or demi-gods. *Virgil* says (99), that *Idomeneus* was driven out of his kingdom after his return from *Troy*, but does not tell us by whom or on what account. Such is the succession of the *Cretan* kings according to *Apollodorus* and *Diodorus Siculus*; but the accounts, which they give us of these princes, are so interwoven with fable, that it is almost beneath the dignity of history to take notice of them.

(93) *Diod. Sicul. ubi supra* (94) *Pausan. in Attic.* (95) *Diod. Sicul. l. iv.* (96) *Diod. Sicul. l. iv. Hygin. fab.* (97) *Pausan. in Attic.* (98) *Homer. Odyss. l. iii.* (99) *Virg. Æneid. l. iii. v. 122.*

Lapithas. the ſame *Euſebius* to have built a town. *Lapithas*, according to ſome writers ſurnamed *Taurus* and *Jupiter*, carried away *Europa*, the daughter of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, which gave riſe to the fable of *Jupiter*'s transforming himſelf into a bull [h]. *Euſtathius* and *Cedrenus* [i] tell us, that *Lapithas* built the city of *Gortyna*, that he took the city of *Tyre*, and after having performed great feats both at home and abroad, died in *Crete*, where his monument was to be ſeen even in the time of *Euſebius*. *Solinus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus* [l], and St. *Jerom* [m] ſpeak of *Jupiter*'s ſepulchre in *Crete*, which was in all likelihood the ſepulchre of *Lapithas* ſurnamed *Jupiter* and *Taurus*, as

Aſterius. we have obſerved above. *Aſterius*, according to *Apollodorus* [n] and *Euſebius* [o], was brother to *Lapithas*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and married his widow *Europa*. *Aſterius* is alſo mentioned by *Manetho*, who makes him contemporary with *Pandion* king of *Athens*. *Lapithas* had by *Europa* three ſons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. As *Aſterius* died without iſſue male, the three ſons of *Lapithas* raiſed great diſturbances in the kingdom, each of them aſpiring to the crown and forming

Minos. parties againſt one another. At laſt *Minos* prevailed and baniſhed his brothers. *Rhadamanthus* fled firſt into *Lycia*, and thence into *Bœotia*, where he married *Alcmena* the mother of *Hercules*, and ſettled at *Haliartus* [p]. *Strabo* and *Pauſanias* diſtinguiſh two *Rhadamanthuſes*, and likewiſe two *Minoſes*. The famous *Rhadamanthus*, who was, according to the poets, judge of the infernal regions, was brother to *Minos* II. But the accounts which the ancients give us of theſe princes are ſo perplexed and interwoven with fables, that it is impoſſible to come at the truth. *Sarpedon*, being defeated by his brother *Minos*, and driven out of the iſland with all thoſe who ſided with him, ſettled in *Mylias*; for that was the ancient name of the country, which was afterwards called *Lycia*. He was there raiſed to the throne, and kindly entertained *Lycus* the ſon of *Pandion*, when he was obliged by his brother *Ægeus* to quit *Athens*. From *Lycus* the inhabitants of the country, called before his arrival *Solymi*,

Evander. had the name of *Lycians* [q]. *Minos* had one ſon, by name *Evander*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and married *Deidamia* the daughter of *Bellerophon*, by whom

Sarpedon. ſhe had a ſon named *Sarpedon*. *Evander* was ſucceeded by his ſon, who went to aſſiſt the *Trojans*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that war, but was killed at laſt by *Patroclus*. Moſt authors confound this *Sarpedon* king of *Crete* with the king of *Lycia* bearing the ſame name [r]. *Sarpedon* was ſucceeded by *Lycaſtes*, the natural ſon of *Minos* by *Itone*. *Lycaſtes* had by his wife *Ida Minos* II. the greateſt king who had reigned in *Crete*, and much ſpoke of by the antients, eſpecially the poets. *Diodorus*, as we have hinted above, differs in his account of the *Cretan* kings from *Pauſanias*, *Pliny*, *Euſebius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* and moſt of the ancient as well as modern hiſtorians and chronologers. According to him, *Teſtamus*, the ſon of *Dorus* and grandſon of *Deucalion*, arriving in *Crete* with the *Æolians* and *Pelaſgians*, reigned there as king, and marrying the daughter of *Cretheus* had by her *Aſterius*, in whoſe reign *Jupiter* carried away *Europa*, and had by her three ſons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Aſterius* afterwards married *Europa*, but having no children by her, adopted the ſons of *Jupiter*, and left the kingdom to them. *Rhadamanthus* gave laws to the *Cretans*, and *Minos* took upon him the government of the kingdom, married *Itone* the daughter of *Lyctius*, and had by her *Lycaſtes*, who coming to the crown married *Ida* the daughter of *Corybantus*, by whom he had a ſon called alſo *Minos*.

Minos. This *Minos* was the firſt of the *Grecians* who equiped a fleet, and gained the dominion of the ſea. He married *Paſiphae* the daughter of *Sol* and *Cretes*, and had by her *Deucalion*, *Ariſtæa*, *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and ſeveral other children. *Androgeus*, in the reign of *Ægeus* king of *Athens*, went to that city to ſee the *Panathenean* ſolemnities, and on that occaſion contracted ſuch an intimacy with *Pallas* the king's brother and his fifty ſons, as raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in *Ægeus*, who began to fear, leſt *Pallas*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Cretan* king, ſhould deprive him of the crown, and place it on his own head. He therefore cauſed *Androgeus* to be privately murdered, which *Minos* no ſooner heard, than he proclaimed war againſt the *Athenians*. But finding all the attempts to revenge the death of his ſon prove unſucceſsful, he had recourſe to the gods, committing the revenge of ſuch an unjuſt and treacherous murder to them. Hereupon the *Athenians* were grievouſly afflicted with a peſtilence, famine, and ſeveral other plagues, and told by the oracle of *Delphos*, that they muſt not expect any relief till

[h] Eustath. in Dionyſ. Cedrenus p. 17. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Solinus, c. xvi. [l] Theoph. Antioch. l. ii. [m] Hieronym. l. ii. contra Jovian. [n] Apollodor. l. ii. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Apollod. l. iii. [q] Herodot. l. i. [r] Vide Natal. Com.

a till they were reconciled to *Minos*. The *Cretan* king, resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed upon them a yearly tribute of seven boys and as many girls, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, during the space of seven, or according to others of nine, years. *Minos* had already for three years successively exacted this bloody tribute, when *Theseus*, after having performed many glorious exploits, willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims; and accordingly sailing with the rest to *Crete*, there killed the *Minotaur*, and delivered his country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, as we have related at length elsewhere [f]. *The* Minotaur.

The *Minotaur* is feigned by the poets to have been half man half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Pasiphae* the wife of *Minos*, by the contrivance of *Dædalus*. But *Servius* [t] b tells us, that *Pasiphae* falling in love with one *Taurus*, secretary to *Minos*, and privately carrying on with him a criminal conversation in the house of *Dædalus*, was brought to bed of two twin-brothers, one of which resembled *Minos* and the other *Taurus*, and that this gave birth to the fable of the *Minotaur*. But of this fabulous monster, so famous among the poets and some credulous historians, we have spoke already, in the history of the ancient kingdom of *Athens*, to which we refer the reader [n]. *Minos*, highly incensed against *Dædalus*, for being assistant to his queen *Pasiphae* in her unlawful amours, and hearing that he was fled into *Sicily* and there entertained by *Cocalus* king of the *Siculi*, proclaimed war against that island, rigged out a mighty fleet, and setting sail arrived on the coasts of *Agrigentum*. The place c where he landed his men was from him called *Minoa*, which name it retained to the time of *Diodorus* the historian [w]. *Minos*, on his arrival, sent messengers to *Cocalus*, entreating him to deliver up *Dædalus* to justice, rather than to draw a war upon himself and his country. Hereupon *Minos* and *Cocalus* came to an interview, wherein *Cocalus* having promised to do all *Minos* required of him, the latter trusting to the fair promises of that treacherous prince, was prevailed upon to go to his house without guards, where he was privately stifled in a bath. *Cocalus* delivered the body of the king to the *Cretans*, who had attended him in that expedition, giving out, that his death had been occasioned by his slipping accidentally into the hot and scalding baths. His soldiers buried him with great pomp, and erected a magnificent d monument to his memory, building near it a temple in honour of *Venus*, which was much resorted to for many ages. In after-times, when *Agrigentum* was built, the bones of *Minos* were discovered, and sent by *Thero* into *Crete*. The *Cretans*, who had followed *Minos* into *Sicily*, upon his death settled in that island, and built the city of *Minoa*, so called from *Minos*. In process of time they possessed themselves of some places in the heart of the country, and built the city of *Engyum*. From *Engyum* they made frequent inroads into the neighbouring countries, and being reinforced with a new colony of *Cretans*, who were driven upon the coasts of *Sicily*, as they were returning home under the conduct of *Merion*, after the destruction of *Troy*, they subdued many of the bordering states, and formed themselves into a republic, e which was the most considerable in that part of the island [x].

Some writers, as we have observed above, acknowledged but one *Minos*; but others maintain, that there were two, and add, that they were both no less famous for the wise laws they published, than for the conquests they made. Be that as it will, the *Minos* we are here speaking of was the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, the grandfather of *Idomeneus*, and contemporary with *Æ geus* king of *Athens*; and this *Minos* was, according to *Plato* [y] and *Aristotle* [z], the author of the laws which are so highly commended by them, and which it will not be improper to give some account of in this place. The main scope which *Minos* aimed at in the forming of *The laws of* Minos. his laws was, as *Strabo* informs us [a], to procure happiness for his subjects, by rendering them virtuous. To attain this end, he first banished idleness and luxury, f the sources, as he calls them, of all vice, from his dominions. He found means to keep all his subjects employed either at home or abroad, not suffering any, however distinguished above the rest, to lead an idle and indolent life; but obliging them either to serve in the army, or apply themselves to agriculture, which he brought into great reputation. In order to establish a kind of equality among his subjects, he decreed, that in each city the children should be brought up together, and early taught the same maxims, exercises, and arts. They were accustomed from their tender years to bear hunger and thirst, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep

[f] Vol II p. 365. [t] Servius in l 6. Æneid. [n] Vol. II. p. 364. n. I. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. 4. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Plato. c. leg. l. 1. [z] Aristot. de Rep. l. 2. [a] Strabo l. 10. p. 480.

ſteep and rugged places, to skirmiſh with each other in ſmall parties, and to exerciſe a themſelves in a kind of dance with their armour, which was afterwards called *the Pyrric* [b]. As *Crete* was a mountainous and uneven country, the youth were not taught here, as elſewhere, to ride or wear heavy armour, but to uſe their bow dexterouſly; and in this they far excelled all other nations in the world. One of *Minos*'s inſtitutions, which *Ariſtotle* greatly admires, was, that all his ſubjects ſhould uſe the ſame diet, and frequently take their repaſts together, without any diſtinction between the poor and the rich. This, as *Ariſtotle* obſerves [c], introduced a kind of equality among all ranks of people, accuſtomed them to a frugal and ſober life, and cemented friendſhip and unity between them, by the uſual gaiety and mirth of the table. The public defrayed the charges of theſe meals, one part of the revenues of b the ſtate being applied to the uſes of religion, and the ſalaries of the magiſtrates, and the reſt allotted for the public meals. After their repaſt, the old men diſcourſed of the actions and virtues of their anceſtors, and of ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either by their valor in war, or their wiſdom in peace; and the youth, who were preſent at theſe entertainments, were exhorted to propoſe theſe great perſons to themſelves, as their models for the forming of their manners and the regulation of their conduct. Another of *Minos*'s inſtitutions, which *Plato* admires the moſt [d], was, to inſpire early into the youth a high reſpect for the maxims, cuſtoms, and laws of their own country, not ſuffering them to diſpute or call in queſtion the wiſdom of their conſtitution, but commanding them to look upon their laws as c dictated by the gods themſelves. He had the ſame regard to the magiſtrates and aged perſons, whom he enjoined every one to honour in a peculiar manner; and that nothing might leſſen the reſpect due to their age, he ordained, that if any defects were obſerved in them, they ſhould never be mentioned in the preſence of the youth. A cuſtom eſtabliſhed by *Minos* in *Crete*, and, in after-ages, adopted by the *Romans*, gives us reaſon to believe, that even the ſlaves were better treated in *Crete* than any where elſe; for in the feaſts of *Mercury* the maſters waited on their ſlaves at table, and performed about them the ſame offices, which they received from them the reſt of the year. This was to put men in mind of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, and to ſignify to the maſters, that their ſervants were d of the ſame condition with themſelves [e]. The laws of *Minos* were anciently in ſo great repute, that *Lycurgus* paſſed a conſiderable time in *Crete*, employing himſelf in the ſtudy of the *Cretan* conſtitution, and forming his laws upon the model of thoſe that then obtained in that iſland. *Plato* tells us, that *Crete*, under the government of ſo wiſe a prince, became the abode of virtue, probity, and juſtice, and that the laws which he eſtabliſhed were ſo well founded in juſtice and equity, that they ſubſiſted in their full vigor even in his time, that is, above nine hundred years after they had been firſt publiſhed. It is true, the *Cretans* degenerated by degrees from their ancient probity, and at length, by an entire change of manners, became the moſt vicious nation that was known either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*. *Polybius* writes [f], e that the *Cretans* in his time were avaricious and ſelf-intereſted to ſuch a degree, as to think no lucre ſordid. *Suidas* and *Callimachus* [g] give them the character of lyars and impoſtors; and St. *Paul* quotes againſt them, as truth, the teſtimony of one of their own poets, perhaps *Epimenides*, who paints them in very diſgraceful colours. The impurity of their amours are but too well known, from the accounts given us of them by *Strabo* [h], *Servius* [i], and *Athenæus* [k]. But this change of manners, in whatever time it happened, does not affect the probity of the ancient *Cretans*, nor leſſen the glory of their legiſlator. We cannot help adding here, that when we reflect on the juſtice, equity, and humanity of king *Minos*, and the high commendations which the moſt eminent and judicious writers among the ancients have beſtowed f upon him, we are inclined to believe thoſe authors miſtaken, who aſcribe to him the impoſing of that cruel tribute on the *Athenians*. *Plato*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, &c. are indeed of that opinion; but a learned modern proves with a great deal of erudition, that they were miſtaken, and confounded the legiſlator we are ſpeaking of with another *Minos*, who, to avenge the death of his ſon, made war upon the *Athenians*, and impoſed that bloody tribute, to which

Theſeus

[b] Strabo. ibid. [c] Aristot. ubi ſupra. [d] Plato, ubi ſupra. [e] Plato, ibid. [f] Polyb. l. 6. [g] Callim. Hymn. in Jov. ver. 8. [h] Strabo l. 10. [i] Servius Æneid. l. 10. ver. 325. [k] Athen. Deipn. l. 13, &c.

Theseus put an end, by killing *Taurus* the king's general, and entirely defeating the troops under his command [l].

Minos was succeeded by his eldest son *Deucalion*, who, renewing the ancient alliance between the *Cretans* and *Athenians*, gave his sister *Phædra* in marriage to *Theseus*, by whom he had *Acamentes* and *Demophon*. *Phædra* is said to have fallen passionately in love with her son-in-law *Hippolytus*, and, because he would not comply with her unlawful demands, to have accused him to her husband, as if he had attempted to ravish her. Hereupon *Theseus*, suspecting the truth of what she said, summoned *Hippolytus* to answer the accusation. But *Phædra*, fearing she should be discovered upon the trial of the cause, laid violent hands on herself [m]. *Deucalion* was, according to *Hyginus*, one of the *Argonauts*. *Plutarch* tells us out of *Clidemus*, that he was killed by *Theseus* at *Gnossus* in *Crete* [n]. After *Deucalion* reigned *Creteus*, or, as *Diodorus* and *Pausanias* call him, *Catreus*. He was brother to *Deucalion*, and son of *Minos* by *Pasiphae*, or, as others will have it, by *Merope*. Being told by the oracle, that he should be killed by his son *Althemenes*, he banished him his dominions. But, after some years, hearing that he had settled in the island of *Rhodes*, and being desirous to see him before he died, put to sea, and arriving with a few ships in the night, was taken by the inhabitants for a pirate, and, in the scuffle, accidentally killed by his own son [o]. Upon the death of *Creteus*, the kingdom fell to *Idomeneus* the son of *Deucalion* by *Cleopatra*. He assisted the *Greeks* at the siege of *Troy* with fourscore ships, and distinguished himself there, if we may believe the poets, in several single combats. After the destruction of that city, his ships being in great danger by a violent storm, he vowed to sacrifice, if he got safe home, the first person he met. It happened, that his eldest son came first out to meet him, whom he, pursuant to his vow, either did, or attempted to, sacrifice. Hereupon, his subjects refusing to receive him, he sailed into *Italy*, and built there the city of *Petilia* near *Salentinum*, a cape of *Calabria* [p] (L). The famous historian *Dictys*, surnamed *Cretensis*, was his secretary, as *Eustathius* informs us [q]. This author is said by *Septimus*, *Cedrenus*, *Suidas*, and *Isaacius Porphyrogenitus*, to have wrote the history of the *Trojan* war in *Greek*, but with *Phœnician* letters. The book which now goes under the name of *Dictys Cretensis* is a spurious piece. Upon the death or banishment of *Idomeneus*, *Meriones*, the son of *Molus* by *Melphis* and grandson of *Minos*, was raised to the throne. He had attended *Idomeneus* to the *Trojan* war, and there signalized himself, as we read in *Homer*, *Virgil*, and the other ancient poets. He died after a short reign, and was buried in *Crete*, with great pomp, near the tomb of *Idomeneus*. The monuments of both these princes were still to be seen in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, not far from the city of *Gnossus*. On that of *Idomeneus* was the following inscription, Idomeneus, *who was born in* Gnossus, *lies in this tomb, and hard by him* J. Merion *the son of* Molus. They were both adored by the *Cretans* as demigods, and invoked in all the wars they undertook [r]. Many years after the death of *Meriones* or *Merion*, we find *Etearchus* reigning in *Crete*, and residing, not at *Gnossus* the seat of the former kings, but at *Oaxes*. The feats, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, are buried in oblivion. However, it is not improbable, that *Etearchus* was descended from *Minos*, and consequently of the same family with the princes whose reigns we have hitherto described; since *Suidas* tells us, that the race of *Minos* enjoyed the sovereignty of *Crete* to the destruction of that kingdom, that is, till monarchy gave way to a republican government. The family of *Minos*, tho' deprived of the sovereign power, continued, even after that change, in great splendor, as *Ttzetzes* informs us [s]; and *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor *Sergius Galba* pretended to be descended from *Minos* by the mother's side [t]. All

Deucalion. Creteus. Idomeneus. Meriones. Etearchus.

[l] M. Banier Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Tom. III. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 4. Apollodor. l. 3. Pompon. Sabin. l. 2. [n] Plut. in Thes. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 13. Apollodor. l. 3. [p] Virgil. 3. & 11 Æneid. Isaac Tzetzes p. 166. [q] Eustath. in Iliad. p. 537. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 15. [s] Tzetzes p. 67. [t] Suet. in Galba.

(L) *Joannes Tzetezes* relates this in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that *Idomeneus*, on his departure for *Troy*, appointed one *Leucos* to govern the kingdom in his absence, promising to give him, on his return, his daughter *Clisithere* in marriage, and make him his heir. *Leucos* governed for some time with great justice and equity; but at last was prevailed upon by *Nauplius* king of *Eubœa* to put to death *Meda* the wife, and *Clisithere* the daughter, of *Idomeneus*, and seize the kingdom for himself. *Idomeneus* finding, on his return, *Leucos* in possession of the crown, attempted to drive out the usurper, but was himself obliged to withdraw from the island, which was entirely addicted to *Leucos*, and seek a new settlement for himself and those who had attended him to *Troy*.

All we know of *Etearchus*, the laſt king of *Crete*, is, that, by the wicked contri- a
vances and groundleſs calumnies of his queen, he was ſo eſtranged from *Chronima* his daughter by his firſt wife, that he delivered her up to one *Themiſon* a merchant of *Thera*, enjoining him to drown her in the ſea. *Themiſon*, tho' he had bound himſelf by an oath to do whatever *Etearchus* ſhould command him, yet could not prevail upon himſelf to put this barbarous command in execution; having therefore, to comply with the obligation of his oath, let her down into the ſea by a rope, he drew her up again unhurt, and carried her to *Thera*, his native country, where ſhe was admitted among the concubines of *Polymneſtus*, by whom ſhe had *Battus* the founder of *Cyrene* [r].

The republican government introduced.

Monarchical government being aboliſhed, in what manner, or on what b
account, we find no where recorded, the chief power was lodged in the ſenate, which was compoſed of thirty ſenators, and is called by *Ariſtotle* [s] the public council of the nation. In that aſſembly affairs of the greateſt conſequence were examined, and reſolutions taken, which, however, were of no force till the people had confirmed them by their ſuffrages. Next in authority to the ſenate were the *Coſmi*, ſo called from the *Greek* word *Coſmos*, ſignifying *order*; theſe magiſtrates being appointed for the maintaining of good order in the ſtate. They had much the ſame power as the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, were ten in number, and choſen, like the *Ephori*, out of the body of the people, the meaneſt of the populace having an equal right to this dig- c
nity with the moſt illuſtrious families of the republic. They were, in a certain manner, the balance between the people and the ſenate, and a check upon both; for, without their approbation, no decree was of any force. Out of their body the ſenators were choſen, none being admitted into the ſenate, who had not before given ſome proofs of their prudence, equity, and diſintereſtedneſs in the college of the *Coſmi*. In time of war they commanded the armies of the republic with an abſolute and unbounded power; but were afterwards liable to be called to an account; whereas the ſenators were not accountable to any for their adminiſtration. In this condition continued the iſland of *Crete* for many ages. The inhabitants were ever at war among themſelves, each city aſpiring to the ſovereignty of the whole iſland; but as the authors, who wrote the hiſtory of *Crete*, have not reached us, d
we are quite in the dark as to the particulars of thoſe civil commotions. All we know is, that in the time of *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, the *Gnoſſians* and *Gortynians* had reduced all the other cities of the iſland, and divided their conqueſts; ſo that the *Cretans* were no longer free, but ſubject to one of theſe cities, and obliged to acknowledge their ſubjection by an annual tribute [t]. Theſe domeſtic troubles raged in *Crete* for many ages, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity of perfecting themſelves in all the arts of war; whence they were in ſuch repute among other nations, that moſt of the ſtates and princes then at war took care to have always in their armies ſome bodies of *Cretan* bowmen and ſlingers, the *Cretans* having been in all ages, as *Pauſanias* obſerves [u], remarkable for their skill and experience at the ſling e
and bow. They were a great help, as *Xenophon* informs us, in the retreat of *the ten thouſand* [w]. Many of *Alexander*'s victories, if we believe *Arrian*, were owing to the *Cretan* auxiliaries [x]. *Livy* has not forgot the advantages which *Eumenes* and the conſul *Manlius* gained by means of the archers and ſlingers of *Crete*, the one over *Antiochus*, the other over the *Gauls*, in the famous battle fought near mount *Olympus* [y]. After the *Romans* once became acquainted with *Crete*, they employed the inhabitants in all their expeditions, keeping conſtantly in their pay numerous bodies of *Cretan* auxiliaries, which, generally ſpeaking, behaved with great gallantry. In the war of *Antiochus*, they entered into an alliance with *Rome*, having been induced thereunto by *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*. But notwithſtanding the treaty of friend- f
ſhip ſubſiſting between the two republics, the *Cretans* entered into meaſures with other potentates, without conſulting the *Roman* ſenate. In the war which the *Romans* carried on againſt *Mithridates*, they were ſaid to maintain a private correſpondence with that prince, and likewiſe to have aſſiſted the pirates, who infeſted the *Mediterranean*, and committed great ravages on the coaſts of *Italy* itſelf. This gave the *Romans* a ſpecious pretence of enſlaving an iſland, which had, to that time, been free from all foreign ſubjection; but the true motive that prompted them to undertake

The Romans *quarrel with the* Cretans. *Year of the flood* 2934. *Before Chriſt* 65.

[r] Herodot. l. iii. [s] Aristot. de Repub. l. ii. c. 10. [t] Polyb. l. iv. [u] Pausan. in Atticis. [w] Xenoph. l. ix. [x] Arrian. de expedit. Alex. [y] Liv. xxxviii. c. 41. & l. xxxviii. c. 21.

a take this war was, as *Florus* informs us [z], a desire of conquering that island. The *Romans*, who were so fond of their own liberties, made it their chief business to deprive all other nations of theirs. This expedition being resolved on, it fell to the lot of *Q. Hortensius* to command the troops that were to be employed in it; but as he had spent his whole life in peaceable employments, and was altogether unqualified for military expeditions, he readily resigned the command of the troops to his collegue *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who postponed setting sail till the time of his consulship was expired. In the mean-time the *Cretans* sent an embassy to *Rome*, consisting of thirty of the most illustrious men of the island, who, by their earnest solicitations and humble supplications, moved the senate to compassion; insomuch, that they were ready to re-

b new with them their antient treaties. But *P. Lentulus Spinther* alone opposed the good-will of the senate towards the *Cretans*, by representing, that *Rome* could never be mistress of the seas, nor keep them clear of pirates, till *Crete* was reduced to the state of a province. His opposition made the fathers change their minds, and so many hard conditions were then demanded of the suppliants, that they chose rather to maintain a war than comply with them. The embassadors being dismissed, *Metellus* set sail with three legions, and, arriving on the coast of *Crete*, landed his men without opposition. The *Cretan* republic was then governed by two chiefs, *Lasthenes* and *Panares*. The former had greatly contributed to the victory which the pirates had gained the year before over *Antonius*, and therefore not doubting but the

c *Romans* would make it a preliminary, that he should be given up to their vengeance; encouraged the people to take up arms and raised forces in all parts of the island. In a short time four and twenty thousand men were armed and brought into the field. *Metellus*, in order to draw them to a battle, advanced towards *Cydonia*, at that time the capital of the island, as if he designed to besiege it. *Lasthenes* to prevent the siege met the *Roman* general on his march, gave him battle, but was entirely defeated, and obliged to save himself by flight to *Gnossus*. *Metellus*, being master of the field, laid siege to *Cydonia*, which *Panares* after a faint defence delivered up to the conquerot, upon a promise that both he and the inhabitants should be spared. From thence *Metellus* advanced to *Gnossus*, where *Lasthenes* had shut himself up. But the

d cowardly general, instead of putting the city in a condition to hold out a siege, set fire to it and retired. The city *Lychus*, though well fortified, surrendered as soon as the *Roman* army approached the walls. Thus *Metellus* in one campaign possessed himself of the best part of the island, though defended by the *Cilician* pirates as well as by its own inhabitants [a].

The progress of the Roman *arms in* Crete.

The next year early in the spring *Metellus* took the field, and having defeated the united forces of the *Cretans* and *Cilician* pirates, drove the latter from the castles which they had built on the rocks near the sea, and the former from most of their strong holds in the center of the country. But as he treated both the inhabitants and the pirates with the utmost severity, they sent an embassy to *Pompey*, who had been

e lately appointed proconsul of the seas with an unbounded authority, entreating him to come and put the last hand to the reduction of *Crete*, and offering to surrender to him, without making the least resistance. *Pompey*, who was always ready to undertake the work of other generals, heard the embassadors with pleasure, and promised to come and conclude an advantagious peace with them. Accordingly, having received hostages, he sent from *Pamphylia*, where he then resided, *L. Octavius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to proclaim all over the island, that *Pompey* had the sole right of making treaties in all the places of his proconsulate; and that *Metellus* had no right to assume the title of general in a country which was within the province the senate had given to *Pompey* [b]. This shameful claim of *Pompey* caused a kind of civil war in

f the island, the *Romans* disputing with one another who should give the last stroke to the *Cretans*. *Octavius* joined the pirates and people of the island to oppose *Metellus*'s conquest; and he, on the other hand, not fearing the additional forces which *Pompey* had sent against him, pursued his conquests with resolution. He besieged *Eleuthera*, and having gained over one of the chief citizens, who for several nights together poured down upon one of the towers so many barrels of vinegar as softened it, made himself master of the town by beating it down. From *Eleuthera* he turned towards *Lappa*, a strong city, which *Octavius* in person undertook to defend. But though *Octavius*

[z] Flor. l. iii. c. 7. [a] Appian. legat. 3d. Liv. l. xcix. Flor. l. iii. c. 7. [b] Flor. ubi supra. Cic. pro lege Manilia. Plut. in Pomp.

Octavius made a vigorous defence, yet the place was at last taken by assault, and all the *Cretans* and *Cilicians* found in it put to the sword. As for *Octavius* and the *Romans*, *Metellus* dismissed them without their arms amidst the hisses of his soldiers. *Pompey* therefore sent new supplies to *Octavius*, and ordered *Sisenna* to sail from the coast of *Achaia* to *Crete*. But *Sisenna* dying soon after his arrival, *Octavius* took upon him the command of his troops, and in conjunction with the pirates and *Cretans* endeavoured to stop the career of *Metellus*'s conquests. But that brave commander having taken *Hierapytna*, the strongest place then in the island, obliged *Octavius* to save himself on board his ships, and abandon the island. Upon his departure *Lasthenes* and *Panares* laid down their arms, and all the inhabitants of the island submitted to the yoke. *Metellus* changed their form of government, obliged them to live according to the laws of *Rome*, imposed an annual tribute upon the whole island, and thereby reduced it to a *Roman* province, after it had enjoyed its liberties for a series of many ages [c]. *Orosius* tells us, that *Metellus* reduced the island in two years time [d]. But *Velleius Paterculus* [e], *Eutropius* [f], and others write, that the *Romans* spent three whole years in that undertaking, having to do with men no less brave than themselves. *Metellus* was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *Creticus* or *the Cretan*, which *Plutarch* gives to *Antonius* the father of the famous *Mark Anthony*, who began indeed this expedition, but lost in it both his fleet and his life.

[c] Appian. legat. 30. Liv. l. 100. Vell. Paterc. l. ii c. 38. [d] Orosius. l. vi. c. 4.
[e] Vell. Patercul. ibid. [f] Eutrop. l. vi.

SECT. V.

The History of Cyprus.

Names,

THE island which we are now to write of, was known to the ancients by the following names; *Acamis*, *Cerastis*, *Aspalia*, *Amathus*, *Macaria*, *Cryptos*, *Colinia*, *Sphecia*, *Paphia*, *Salaminia*, *Æroſa*, and finally *Cyprus*. It was called *Acamis* from one of its promontories, *Amathus*, *Paphia*, and *Salaminia* from three of its ancient cities; *Macaria* from the fruitfulness of its soil; *Æroſa* from its copper mines; *Colinia* or *Collinia* from its many hills; *Sphecia* from its antient inhabitants the *Spheces*; *Cerastis* from the many promontories which, like so many *horns*, as the *Greek* word intimates, shoot into the sea. Whence it borrowed the name of *Aspalia*, we know not; some etymologists have changed the name of *Aspalia* into that of *Asperia*, and pretend, that the island was so called from the unevenness of its ground: were we allowed in this manner to throw out, put in, and change, letters as we please, it would be no difficult matter to give etymologies. As to the name which it is now generally known by, some authors derive it from the *Greek* word *Cryptos*, signifying *hidden*, this island being often hid, say they, by the waves from the eye of the sailor; others will have it called *Cyprus* from *Cyrus*, who is said to have founded here the city of *Aphrodisia*. But this etymology is still worse than the former, the island having been known by the name of *Cyprus* in *Homer*'s time, that is, six hundred years before the birth of *Cyrus*. *Isidorus* thinks it was called *Cyprus* from a city of that name [g]. But the most common opinion is, that it borrowed its name from a shrub, called by the *Greeks Cypros*, which, though very scarce in other countries, grew here in great plenty. What kind of shrub this was is still matter of dispute among authors. With the flower of this shrub the antient inhabitants made a very sweet oil, which is much commended by *Pliny* [h]. The name of *Cerastis*, as we have observed above, was given it from the great number of its promontories; and this appellation is founded on truth, no island, that we know of, having more promontories than *Cyprus*. On the west it has the promontories of *Acamas*, now *Capo S. Pisano*, *Drepanum*, now *Trepano*, *Zephyrum*, now *Capo Calidoni* or *Punta Malota*; on the south, *Phrurium*, now *Capo Bianco*, *Curias*, or *Capo delle Gatte*, *Gades*, or *Capo Chiti*, *Throni*, or *Capo Pila*; on the east, *Pendalium*, now *Capo di Greco*, *Clides*, now *Capo di S. Andrea*; on the north *Coronyon*, now *Capo Cronochitte*, and besides a great

[g] Isidor. l. xiv. [h] Plin. l. xii. c. 24.

a a great many others of leſs note. *Androcles*, as quoted by *Tzetzes*, tells us, that the iſland was anciently called *Ceraſtis*, becauſe inhabited by men with horns; which opinion has been followed by the poets, namely by *Ovid* [i].

THE cities of moſt note in *Cyprus* were, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* [k] on the north ſide of the iſland; *Arſinoe*, ſo called from a queen of *Egypt*, the iſland of *Cyprus* having been long ſubject to the kings of that country. *Solæ* or *Soli*, which borrowed its name from *Solon* the famous lawgiver of the *Athenians*, who, during his baniſhment having viſited the petty king of *Epea*, adviſed him to remove his city from a mountanous and barren country into a fruitful and pleaſant plain. The king followed his advice, and was ſo pleaſed with the new Situation of his metropolis, b that out of gratitude to *Solon*, who had given him ſuch good advice, he called it *Solæ* or *Soli* from his name [l]. *Strabo* takes notice of a famous temple in this city conſecrated to *Venus* and *Iſis* [m]. *Lapathus* or *Lapithus*, on the banks of a ſmall river bearing the ſame name. This city was in former times of ſo great note, that it gave the name of *Lapithia* to the neighbouring country. The two cities of *Aphrodiſius* and *Carpaſia* are likewiſe placed by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* on the ſame coaſt, and mentioned by moſt of the ancient geographers. Here alſo ſtood the cities of *Cerines* and *Tremitus*. *Cerines*, in former ages called *Ceurania*, is ſaid to have been built by *Cyrus the Great*, when he firſt ſubdued the nine kings of this iſland, and united the whole country to the crown of *Perſia*. *Tremitus* is often mentioned by *Sozomenus* in the c account he gives us of the miracles, which he ſuppoſes to have been wrought by the biſhop *Spiridion*, a native of that city [m]. On the eaſtern coaſt ſtood the following cities: *Salamis*, built by *Teucer* the ſon of *Telamon*, who being, on his return from the ſiege of *Troy*, baniſhed by his father *Telamon*, for not revenging on *Ulyſſes* the death of his brother *Ajax*, retired to *Cyprus*, and there built a city, which he called *Salamis* after the name of his own country [n]. This city was in after-ages called *Conſtantia*, and ſome are of opinion that *Famagoſta*, the preſent metropolis of the iſland, was built on its ruins (M). On this ſide of the iſland, over-againſt the promontory called by *Pliny Dinaretum*, are the ſmall iſlands named *Plides*, two in number, according to *Strabo*, and three, according to *Pliny*. On the ſouth coaſt the ancients place d *Throni*, a town ſo called from the promontory on which it ſtood; *Citium*, the birth-place of *Zeno* the famous ſtoic. Here *Cimon* the *Athenian* died, after having reduced great part of the iſland [o]. *Plutarch* tells us, that he died at the ſiege of this place [p]; and *Diodorus*, that he took it before his death [q]. *Joſephus* is of opinion, that this city was built by *Cittim* the ſon of *Javan*, and from him called *Citium*, or, as *Pliny* will have it, *Cetium*. *Malum*, which was likewiſe taken by *Cimon*, as *Diodorus* informs us [r]. *Ptolemæus Lagi* ruined this city and tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Paphus* [s]. *Amathus* ſo called from its founder *Amathus* the ſon of *Aerias*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cyprus* was famous for three temples; one, and the moſt ancient of all, was dedicated to *Venus Paphia* by *Aerias*, the next in point of antiquity was con-e ſecrated to *Venus Amathuſia* by *Amathus* the ſon of *Aerias*, and the third to *Jupiter Salaminius* by *Teucer* the ſon of *Telamon* [t]. The city of *Amathus*, as moſt others in this iſland was conſecrated to *Venus*, as appears from *Virgil* [u] and the other ancient poets. *Ovid* ſpeaks of copper mines in the neighbourhood of this city [w], and *Pauſanias* mentions a famous temple here conſecrated to *Venus* and *Adonis* [x]. On the weſt ſide of the iſland were the cities, *Palæpaphos* or *Old Paphos*, about ten furlongs from the ſhore. Here *Venus* is ſaid to have firſt appeared after ſhe was formed out the froth of the ſea; and hence the city was in a peculiar manner ſacred to that goddeſs. The young women here uſed to proſtitute themſelves to ſuch ſtrangers as came aſhore

Cities. Arſinoe. Soli *or* Solæ. Lapithus *or* Lapathus. Cerines. Tremitus. Throni. Citium. Malum. Amathus. Salamis. Palæpaphos.

[i] OVID. Metam. l. x. v. 222. [k] STRAB. l. xiv. [l] PLUT. in Solon. p. 93. [m] STRAB. l. xiv. [m] SOZOM l. i. c. 10. [n] Vide HORAT. l. i. Od. 7. [o] CORN. NEPOS. in ejus vita. [p] PLUT. in Cimon. [q] DIODOR. l. xix. c. 79. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] TACIT. l. iii. Annal. c. 62. [u] VIRGIL. Æneid. l. x. v. 51. [w] OVID. Metamorph. l. x. v. 220. [x] PAUSAN. in Bœot. cap. ult.

(M) This city is ſtiled by *Diodorus* (100) the firſt of all the *Cyprian* cities, and ſaid to have once excelled moſt of the *Greek* cities in power and riches. *Tacitus* (1) ſpeaks of a magnificent temple built here in honour of *Jupiter Salaminius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* of three other temples dedicated to *Pallas*, *Agraulos*, and *Diomedes*. In that of *Agraulos* was yearly offered an human ſacrifice, till that cruel ceremony was aboliſhed by *Diphilus* king of *Cyprus* (2). *Salamis* in *Cyprus* is called by *Lucan*, *Seneca*, and *Menilius*, the other *Salamis*, to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name in an iſland adjacent to *Eleuſis* called alſo *Salamis*.

(100) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xiv. (1) *Tacit. Annal. l.* iii. (2) *Porphyr. de Abſtin. l.* ii.

in order to raiſe money for their portions. About ſixty furlongs from *Palæpaphos* ſtood *Neapaphos* or *New Paphos*, built, according to *Strabo* [y], by *Agapenor* nephew to *Lycurgus*, and famous for its harbour and a ſtately temple dedicated to *Venus*. For both theſe cities were under the peculiar protection of *Venus*, whence they are often confounded by the ancient writers, eſpecially the poets. *New Paphos* was utterly ruined by an earthquake, but rebuilt by *Auguſtus* and thence called *Auguſta*, a name which it did not long retain [z]. As to the inland towns, *Ptolemy* mentions only three, viz. *Chybrus*, *Trimethus*, and *Tamaſſus* or *Tamaſcus*, to which *Strabo* adds a fourth, viz. *Limenia*; but theſe were places of ſmall note, though *Ovid* calls the territory of *Tamaſcus*, the moſt fruitful ſpot in *Cyprus* [a]. The Copper, that was found in the mines adjoining to this city, was deemed the beſt in the world. The following cities are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pauſanias*, *Stephanus*, and others. but we are quite at a loſs as to their ſituation, *Cingria*, *Marium*, *Golgi*, *Epidarum*, *Creſium*, *Eryſthea*, *Lacedæmonia*, *Tegeſſus*, *Meſina*, *Hyle*, *Tembro*, *Ledrum*, or *Leuteon*. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Marium* was governed by a king of its own [b]. *Golgi* was a ſmall but very ancient town, for the *Cyprians*, as *Pauſanias* informs us [c], worſhipped *Venus* in the ſmall town of *Golgi*, before *Agapenor* ſettled with his colony at *Paphus*. This city is mentioned by *Catullus* [d], *Lycophron* [e], and *Theocritus* [f], who ſpeak of it as a place conſecrated in a ſpecial manner to *Venus*.

Neapaphos.

Besides the cities we have mentioned, *Meurſius* places in *Cyprus* thoſe of *Berytus*, *Cnidus*, and *Cythera* [g], being led into this miſtake by miſunderſtanding the ancient writers, whom he quotes. To prove that *Berytus* ſtood in *Cyprus*, he produces a paſſage out of *Strabo* [h], wherein that author, after having ſpoke of *Citium*, and told us, that it was the birth-place of *Zeno*, adds, that it is fifteen hundred furlongs, that is a hundred and eighty-ſeven miles and a half diſtant from *Berytus*; and hence *Meurſius*, in other reſpects a moſt accurate writer, concludes, that *Berytus* is reckoned by *Strabo* among the cities of *Cyprus*. But he ought to have inferred from theſe very words of *Strabo*, that *Berytus* could not ſtand in *Cyprus*, ſince no two places in the whole iſland, if we ſtand to the meaſures laid down by that geoprapher, can be at ſo great a diſtance from each other, the iſland being, according to him, but fourteen hundred furlongs long. Beſides, it is very plain from the context, that *Strabo* in the abovementioned paſſage ſpeaks of *Berytus* in *Syria*; and not of any city bearing that name in *Cyprus*. The city of *Cnidus Meurſius* places in *Cyprus*, being induced thereunto by a paſſage in *Joannes Tzetzes*, where that writer, ſpeaking of the country of *Cteſias* the hiſtorian, tells us, that he was a native of the *Cyprian Cnidus*, from which epithet our author concludes that *Cnidus* ſtood in *Cyprus*. But it is very plain both from *Pliny* [i] and *Pauſanias* [k], that the epithet of *Cyprian* was given to the city of *Cnidus*, becauſe *Venus*, the *Cyprian* goddeſs as ſhe is ſtiled by the poets, was the tutelary deity of the place, and no leſs religiouſly worſhipped there than in *Cyprus*. But granting *Tzetzes* to have placed *Cnidus* in *Cyprus*, the authority of *Strabo* ought to have been of more weight with *Meurſius* than that of the writer he quotes; that ancient geographer tells us in expreſs words, that *Cteſias*, the phyſician and hiſtorian, was born in *Cnidus* a city of *Caria* [l], wherein he is followed by all the writers both ancient and modern who ſpeak of that hiſtorian. As to *Cythera*, our author, in reckoning it among the cities of *Cyprus*, quotes in favour of his opinion two paſſages out of *Virgil*; in the firſt that poet joins together *Cythera* and the *Idalian* foreſt, which was without all doubt in *Cyprus* [m]; in the other he joins the city of *Cythera* with *Amathus* and *Paphos*, both cities of great note in this iſland [n]. But *Venus*, whom *Virgil* introduces in both places ſpeaking of the cities that were conſecrated to her, does not confine herſelf to the cities of *Cyprus* alone. She mentions, as is evident from the contex, ſuch places as were peculiarly addicted to her worſhip, whether in *Cyprus* or elſewhere. Now the iſland of *Cythera* and its metropolis, bearing the ſame name, were both conſecrated to *Venus*, who had there a famous temple much reſorted to by all the nations of *Greece*, as we read in *Pauſanias* [o]. 'Tis true, the ſcholiaſt of *Heſiod* places *Cythera* in *Cyprus*; but herein he contradicts, which is often the caſe, the author whom he pretends to explain. For that poet ſpeak-

[y] Strab. l. xiv. [z] Dio. l. iv. p. 537. [a] Ovid Metam. l. x. v. 643. [b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. c. 59. [c] Pausan. Arcad. c. 5. [d] Catull. Carmin. 37. de Vener. [e] Lycophr. in Alexandr. v. 588. [f] Theocrit. Idyll. 15. v. 100. [g] Meursius in libro de Cypro. [h] Strab. l. xiv. p. 469. [i] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. [k] Pausan. Attic. c. 1. [l] Strab. l. xiv. p. 451, [m] Virgil. Æneid. 1. v. 680. [n] Idem Æneid. 10. v. 51. [o] Pausan. Lacon. c. 23.

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a ing of the froth from which *Venus* is ſuppoſed to have ſprung, ſays, that it was firſt carried to *Cythera*, and from thence to the iſland of *Cyprus* [p]. From theſe words it is manifeſt, *Cythera* was not, according to *Heſiod*, a city of *Cyprus*.

Diviſion. *Cyprus* was by the Ancient geographers divided into four diſtricts or provinces, viz. *Paphia* to the weſt, *Amathuſia* to the ſouth, *Lapytha* to the north, and *Salaminia* to the eaſt. In after-ages it was divided into twelve provinces by the princes of the *Luſignan* family, who were put in poſſeſſion of it by *Richard* I. of *England*, and held it for ſeventeen generations. The names of theſe twelve diviſions were, *Nicoſia*, *Famaguſta*, *Paphia*, *Audima*, *Limiſſa*, *Maſorum*, *Salines*, *Meſſoria*, *Cruſocus*, *Pentalia*, *Carpaſſus*, and *Cerines*. Theſe were ſo denominated from the chief cities of

b each diſtrict; beſides which cities and ſeveral others of leſs note, there were no fewer than eight hundred villages. This Iſland, even under the tyrannical yoke of the *Turks*, is ſo conſiderable as to be governed by a beglerbeg, who has ſeven ſangiacks under him.

Extent, climate, &c. *Cyprus* extends from eaſt to weſt along the coaſt of *Cilicia* about a hundred and eighty miles, being but forty-five broad. It lies between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and was anciently deemed one of the moſt fruitful illands of the *Mediterranean*; but is at preſent in great part uncultivated, and the air in moſt places very unwholeſome by reaſon of the fens and marſhes. The honey of *Cyprus* is much commended by the ancients, and likewiſe the wine, oil, wool, *&c.* but

c above all the copper, of which we have ſpoke already. Among the rarities of *Cyprus* we may reckon a certain kind of inſects, which, as *Ariſtotle* [q] informs us, were produced and lived in the fire, but died when taken out of the flames. This, in our opinion, is no leſs improbable than what *Pliny* tells us of the earth of *Cyprus*, which never failed, if that author may be credited, to throw up in the night the dead bodies that were committed to it in the day-time [r].

Inhabitants. This iſland was firſt diſcovered by the *Phœnicians*, as *Eratoſthenes* informs us [s]; about two or three generations, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computation [t], before the days of *Aſterius* and *Minos* kings of *Crete*, that is, about one thouſand and ſix years before the chriſtian æra. It was, ſays *Eratoſthenes*, when firſt diſcovered, ſo

d overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled, and the *Phœnicians* firſt cut down the wood for the melting of copper; and afterwards when they began to ſail without fear on the *Mediterranean*, (that is preſently after the *Trojan* war) they made uſe of that wood to build ſhips and even great navies. But not being able thus to deſtroy the wood, they gave every man leave to cut down what trees he pleaſed, and to poſſeſs all the ground he could clear. Thus far *Eratoſthenes*. *Herodotus* likewiſe ſuppoſes the *Phœnicians* to have been the firſt who peopled the iſland. But *Joſephus* tells us, that the deſcendants of *Cittim*, the ſon of *Javan* and grandſon of *Japhet*, were the original inhabitants of *Cyprus*. According to his account *Cittim*, ſeeing his brother *Tarſhiſh* ſettled in *Cilicia*, where he built the city of *Tarſus*, ſettled with

e his followers in this oppoſite iſland, and either he or his deſcendants laid the foundations of the city of *Citium*, which, according to *Ptolemy*, was the moſt ancient in the iſland. As *Cyprus* was too narrow to contain the great numbers of thoſe who attended him and their deſcendants, he left here ſo many as might ſerve in time to plant the country, and with the reſt paſſed over into *Macedon*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that ancient kingdom. In proceſs of time other nations, invited by the fertility of the ſoil, came and ſettled here, namely *Phœnicians*, *Athenians*, *Salaminians*, *Arcadians*, and *Æthiopians*; for *Herodotus* [u] ſays, that *Cyprus* was inhabited by colonies from theſe different countries.

Government and kings. The government of *Cyprus* was without all doubt monarchical; for we find

f kings reigning here in the earlieſt ages. The firſt king we read of in hiſtory is *Cinyras*, the grandſon of *Pygmalion* and father of *Adonis*. He was the ſon of *Paphus*, who is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt that introduced into the iſland the worſhip of *Venus*, and is ſaid to have built the city which bears his name [w]. He had *Adonis* by his own daughter *Myrrha*. His father *Paphus* is feigned by the poets to have been the ſon of *Pygmalion*, by a woman who had been before an ivory ſtatue. *Pygmalion*, ſay they, coming into the iſland of *Cyprus*, and ſeeing all the women living there very licentiouſly, reſolved never to marry. Afterwards, as he was a famous ſtatuary,

[p] Hesiod. ad Theogon. v. 192. [q] Aristot. Hiſtor. Animal. [r] Plin. l. iv. c. 7. [s] Apud Strabonem, l. xiv. p. 684. [t] Sir Isaac Newton. Chron. p. 183. [u] Herodot. l. iv. [w] Arnob. l. iv. & ſeq. Tacitus l. xviii.

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he made an ivory ſtatue of ſuch perfection, that falling in love with it, he prayed a the goddeſs *Venus* to procure him a wife as beautiful as the ſtatue he had made. The goddeſs heard his prayer, and changed the ſtatue into a fair damſel, by whom he had *Paphus*, the father of *Cinyras* and firſt king of *Cyprus* [x]. *Cinyras* is ſaid to have poſſeſſed immenſe riches, inſomuch, that *the wealth of Cinyras* became a proverb [y], to expreſs an overgrown eſtate. As the worſhip of *Venus* was firſt eſtabliſhed in *Cyprus* by *Paphus*, the father of *Cinyrus*, both he and his deſcendants were buried in the temple of *Venus* at *Paphus*, an honour which was granted to no other family. The prieſthood of *Venus* was likewiſe entailed, we may ſay, on their race, a dignity which they maintained for many ages after the throne was ſeized by others; nay, we read of one of this family, by name *Soſtratus*, enjoying the prieſtood of *Venus* in the b reign of *Veſpaſian*, and greatly favoured by that prince and his ſon *Titus*, who often conſulted him about future events [z]. *Belus*, one of the ſucceſſors of *Cinyras*, is ſaid to have reigned in *Cyprus* at the arrival of *Teucer* the ſon of *Telamon*, and to have aſſiſted him in laying the foundations of *Salamis*, which in proceſs of time became the metropolis of the whole iſland. *Cinyras* and his ſucceſſors, whoſe names have not reached us, were not kings of the whole country, but only of *Paphos* and the adjoining province. Beſides the kingdom of *Paphos* we find eight other kingdoms mentioned by the antients. Of the kings of *Salamis* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak at length hereafter. The names of the others that have been tranſmitted to us are; *Philocyprus* king of *Soli*, contemporary with *Solon*, as *Plutarch* informs us [a]; *Ariſto-* c *cyprus* ſon of the former, mentioned by *Herodotus* [b]; *Paſicrates* or *Paſicyprus*, ſaid by *Athæneus* to have ſucceeded *Ariſtocyprus* [c]. *Timonax*, *Pygmalion*, *Praxippus*, *Staſioecus*, *Idomeneus*, *Moſchion*, *Diphilus*, *Solon*, and *Themiſon* are ſpoke of by the antients as reigning in *Cyprus*, but what kingdoms they held is what we find no where recorded. The kingdom of *Salamis* was by far the moſt powerful in *Cyprus*, the *Salaminian* princes having in proceſs of time ſubdued the whole iſland, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Hiſtory of Cyprus.

The iſland of *Cyprus* was parcelled out, as we have obſerved already, among ſeveral petty kings, each of them reigning with an uncontrolled authority till the time of *Cyrus the Great*, who ſubdued them by his lieutenants, but left them at the ſame d time in poſſeſſion of their reſpective kingdoms, obliging them only to pay an annual tribute to him and his ſucceſſors, and to ſend ſupplies of men, money, and ſhips, when required. The *Cyprian* princes lived thus ſubject to the *Perſians* till the reign of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, when they attempted to ſhake off the yoke, being encouraged thereunto by *Oneſilus* king of *Salamis*. But as from this period the hiſtory of *Cyprus*, as tranſmitted to us, is no other than that of the kingdom of *Salamis*; before we relate the event of this war we ſhall give an account of that kingdom and of the princes, who reigned there before the acceſſion of *Oneſilus* to the throne.

Kings of Salamis *and hiſtory of that kingdom.*

Teucer.

The firſt king of *Salamis* and founder of that kingdom was *Teucer* the ſon of *Telamon*, who ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of *Troy*, if we may believe the poets. Upon e his return being baniſhed his country he retired to *Cyprus*, where he built the city of *Salamis* and founded a new kingdom, about 895 years before the chriſtian æra. *Juſtin* tells us, that before he ſettled in *Cyprus* he went into *Spain* and left ſome of his retinue in that country, where in after-ages *New Carthage* was built; and *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of *Teucer*'s belt, which was to be ſeen many ages after in the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades* now *Cadiz*. *Virgil* [d] makes *Teucer* contemporary with *Belus*, the father of *Dido*, which is a great miſtake in point of chronology; ſince *Carthage* was built by *Dido*, only ſixty years before *Romulus* laid the foundations of *Rome* [e]. *Lactantius* [f] tells us, that *Teucer* introduced into the iſland of *Cyprus* the barbarous cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices to *Jupiter*, which continued till the reign of the f emperor *Adrian*. *Ajax*, the ſon of *Teucer*, is ſaid to have built a ſtately temple at *Olbus* in *Cilicia*, and to have tranſmitted the prieſthood to his poſterity, a dignity greatly valued in ancient times, the chief prieſt of *Olbus* being lord of that part of *Cilicia*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Trachcotis*. After the deſcendants of *Ajax* were deprived both of the prieſthood and the ſovereignty annexed to it, the name of *Ajax* was ſtill retained, and given to all thoſe who enjoyed that dignity

[x] Ovid. Metamorph. l. 10. Arnob l. vi. [y] Erasm. Chiliad. [z] Tacitus Annal. l. ii. [a] Plut. in Solone. [b] Herodot. l. iv. [c] Athenæus l. iv. c. 20. [d] Virgil. Æneid. l. i. v. 625. [e] Vellei Patercul. l. i. [f] Lactan. l. i. c. 21.

a nity though no-ways related to the *Teucrian* family. As to the immediate succeſſors of *Teucer* in the kingdom of *Salamis* we are quite in the dark. Many years after him reigned *Nicocreon*; but did nothing which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. His daughter *Arſinoe* is mentioned by *Ovid* [g]. The next king we find reigning in *Salamis* is *Euelthon*, who, as we read in *Herodotus* [h], firſt ſubmitted to the *Egyptians*, and afterwards to the *Perſians*, aſſiſting *Cambyſes* in his expeditions with men, money, and ſhips. In his reign *Pheretima*, queen of the *Cyrenæans*, being driven out of her kingdom with her ſon *Arceſilaus*, fled to *Salamis*, and being there kindly entertained, ſolicited *Euelthon* to aſſiſt her with an army, in order to re-

b eſtabliſh her family in *Cyrene*. But the king, not caring to engage in a war, made her rich preſents, hoping to content her by that means and redeem himſelf from her importunities. The queen accepted the preſents, and ſeemed to be highly pleaſed with them, but always added, that though they were very valuable, yet an army would be far more acceptable to her. At length *Euelthon* preſented her with a reel and diſtaff of gold, and finding ſhe repeated her acknowledgment in the ſame terms, told her plainly, that theſe were more proper preſents for women than armies [i]. He ſent a cenſer of great value and moſt curious workmanſhip to the temple of *Delphos*, which was to be ſeen in *Herodotus*'s time in the treaſury of the *Corinthians* [k].

Nicocreon. *Year of the flood*, 2474. *Before Chriſt* 525. Euelthon.

Siromus and *Cherſis* are mentioned by *Herodotus* as reigning at *Salamis* [l]; but per- Siromus. formed nothing which that writer has thought worth relating. The latter left Cherſis. three ſons, *Gorgus*, *Oneſilus*, and *Philaon*. *Gorgus* ſucceeded his father, but was Gorgus.

c ſoon driven out by his brother *Oneſilus* in the following manner. *Oneſilus*, having often ſolicited the king to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, and finding that he could not prevail upon him to revolt, reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the crown, not doubting, but, as he was a declared enemy to the *Perſians*, all the *Cyprians* would join him; the iſland being then grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Perſian* governors. He had ſcarce taken this reſolution when news was brought him of the *Ionian* revolt. Whereupon he renewed his inſtances with greater earneſtneſs than ever, and did all that lay in his power to perſuade his brother to join the rebels; but finding him inviolably attached

d to the *Perſian* intereſt, he gained a conſiderable party among the *Salaminians*, and with their aſſiſtance, while *Gorgus* was one day out of the city, he ſeized on the gates and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. *Gorgus*, being thus excluded, fled to the *Perſians*, and *Oneſilus*, ſending embaſſadors to all the cities and princes of the iſland, prevailed upon them to take up arms and drive out the *Perſian* gariſons. The city of *Amathus* alone refuſed to come into his meaſures; whereupon he cloſely beſieged it; but the inhabitants making a vigorous defence, before he could reduce the place, the *Perſians*, having drawn together all the forces they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, paſſed over into *Cyprus*, and having landed their men marched ſtrait to *Salamis*. *Oneſilus*, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head

c againſt ſo numerous an army, ſent meſſengers to the *Ionians* ſoliciting their aſſiſtance, and inviting them to join againſt the common enemy. The *Ionians* with all poſſible expedition equipped a fleet and ſet ſail for *Cyprus*. Upon their arrival the *Cyprian* kings, having ſummoned a council of war, invited to it all the commanders of the *Ionian* fleet, and ſpoke to them thus: "Men of *Ionia*, we give you the choice either "to engage the *Perſians* by land, or the *Phœnicians*, who are cruiſing with their fleet "off the iſland, by ſea. If you chuſe to fight the *Perſians*, bring your men aſhore, "that we may go on board your ſhips and fight the *Phœnicians*. But if you had rather "try your ſtrength againſt the *Phœnicians*, do as you think beſt, for we are ready

f "either to engage the *Perſians* by land, or the *Phœnicians* by ſea, being determined at "all events to preſerve the liberties of *Cyprus* and *Ionia*." The *Ionians* anſwered, "that "they were ſent by the general council of *Ionia* to defend the iſland by ſea, and not "to deliver their ſhips to the *Cyprians* in order to fight the *Perſians* by land; and "that they would endeavour to do their duty according to the inſtructions they had "received." The council was ſcarce diſmiſſed, when the *Perſian* army appeared in the plains of *Salamis*; upon which the confederate kings of *Cyprus*, drawing up their forces in order of battle, placed the flower of their army, conſiſting of *Salaminians* and *Solians*, againſt the front of the *Perſians*, and the reſt of the *Cyprians* againſt the enemy's auxiliaries. *Oneſilus* took upon him to engage *Artybius* commander in chief of the *Perſian* forces, who was mounted on a horſe, as our hiſtorian tells us, that

Oneſilus *uſurps the throne and revolts from the* Perſians. *Year of the flood* 2499. *Before Chriſt* 500.

[g] Ovid. Metamorph. l. xiv. [h] Herodot. l. iii. [i] Herodot. ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem l. v. had

had been taught to ſtand upright and tread under his feet the perſon he was puſhed againſt. *Oneſilus* therefore charged one of his officers, a man of great boldneſs and well experienced in military affairs, to mind nothing but the general's horſe, and to prevent him from doing any miſchief in the time of the engagement. As the armies drew near, the king of *Salamis* advanced againſt *Artybius*, whoſe horſe beginning to rear, the officer ſtruck him with a ſythe and cut off both his feet at one blow; *Oneſilus* having at the ſame time wounded *Artybius*, both the horſe and the rider fell to the ground. But the *Perſians*, not at all diſheartened at the death of their leader, charged the *Cyprians* with incredible vigour; and the *Cyprians* on the other hand exerting themſelves in imitation of their general, the victory was long doubtful, many falling on both ſides. But at length, *Steſenor* king of *Curium* revolting to the enemy with all the forces under his command, and the *Salaminians*, who fought in chariots, ſoon after following his example, the *Cyprians* were put to flight with great ſlaughter. Among others *Oneſilus*, who had been the occaſion of this war, was killed in the flight, and with him *Ariſtocyprus* king of *Soli*, and ſon of that *Philocyprus*, whom *Solon* commended above all other kings in the verſes he made during his ſtay in *Cyprus*. The *Amathuſians*, to be revenged on *Oneſilus* for having beſieged their city, cut off his head and placed it over one of the gates of *Amathus*, where a ſwarm of bees having filled the ſkull with honey, the *Amathuſians*, conſulting on that occaſion the oracle, were told, that if they interred the head and ſacrificed yearly to *Oneſilus*, as a hero, their affairs ſhould proſper. The *Amathuſians* obeyed the oracle, and continued to offer ſacrifices to *Oneſilus* to the time of our hiſtorian. The *Perſians*, having thus gained a complete victory over the *Cyprians*, ſoon reduced all the cities that had revolted, except *Soli*, which held out for ſix months againſt the whole power of *Perſia*, but at laſt, the walls being undermined by the enemy, was obliged to ſurrender. The *Salaminians* no ſooner heard of the death of *Oneſilus*, but they recalled *Gorgus* and placed him again on the throne. Thus the *Cyprians*, having enjoyed their liberty during the ſpace of one year, were reduced to their former ſtate of ſlavery [m].

Nicocrates. Timarchus.

Gorgus was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Salamis* by his eldeſt ſon *Nicocrates*, and he by his brother *Timarchus*. But all we know of them is, that the former made a curious collection of books, which he purchaſed at a great rate, as *Athenæus* informs us [n]; and that the latter had, as we read in *Pliny* [o], a double row of teeth. This writer ſeems to inſinuate, that *Timarchus* was not only king of *Salamis*, but alſo of *Paphus*. In the reign of one of theſe princes, of which preciſely we cannot tell, the *Greeks*, having ſettled their affairs at home, reſolved to drive the *Perſians* out of all the *Greek* cities of *Aſia* and the neighbouring iſlands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which ſailing to *Cyprus* under the command of *Pauſanias* admiral of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ariſtides* the *Athenian*, drove from many cities in that iſland the *Perſian* garriſons, and reſtored the inhabitants to their former liberty [p].

Evagoras I. *Year of the flood* 2546. *Before Chriſt* 453.

Timarchus was ſucceeded by *Evagoras* I. the ſon of *Nicocrates*, in whoſe reign the *Athenians*, having equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, gave the command of it to *Cimon*, enjoining him to drive the *Perſians* from the iſland of *Cyprus*. *Cimon* purſuant to his orders landed his men in *Cyprus*, took *Malum* and ſeveral other cities of that iſland, and from thence, to make a diverſion, ſent ſixty ſail to the aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*, who had revolted from the *Perſians*. As *Artabazus*, commander in chief of the *Perſian* forces in thoſe parts, lay off of *Cyprus* with a fleet of three hundred ſhips, *Cimon*, as ſoon as his ſquadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took a hundred of his ſhips, deſtroyed many others, and purſued the reſt to the coaſts of *Phœnicia*. Being flushed with this ſucceſs, on his return he landed his men in *Cilicia*, where he found *Megabyzus* with an army of three hundred thouſand men, marched againſt him, and having cut in pieces a numberleſs multitude of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph, and laid ſiege to *Citium*, the ſtrongeſt city in the whole iſland.

Evagoras, notwithſtanding the great advantages gained by *Cimon*, ſtill adhered to the *Perſians*, and, having raiſed a conſiderable army and prevailed upon ſeveral other petty princes of *Cyprus* to join him, marched to the relief of *Citium*, but was worſted by the *Athenians*, and obliged to retire to *Salamis*. Hereupon *Artaxerxes*, tired with a war in which he had ſuſtained ſo great loſſes, reſolved to put an end to ſo many calamities

[m] Herodot. l. v. c. 108—116. [n] Athenæus, l. i. c. 1. [o] Plin. l. xi. c. 37. [p] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.

a calamities by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he ſent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude a peace with the *Athenians* on the beſt terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* ſent embaſſadors to *Athens* to propoſe an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both ſides on the following conditions: 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Aſia* ſhould be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws; 2. That no *Perſian* ſhips of war ſhould enter thoſe ſeas that lie between the *Cyanean* and *Chelidonian* iſlands, that is from the *Euxine* ſea to the coaſts of *Pamphylia*; 3. That no *Perſian* general ſhould come by land within three days march of thoſe ſeas; 4. That the *Athenians* ſhould not commit any hoſtilities
b in the territories of the king of *Perſia*. Purſuant to theſe articles the *Perſians* withdrew all their gariſons from *Cyprus*, leaving the ſeveral kings, among whom the iſland was parcelled out, to govern their reſpective kingdoms without any dependence on the kings of *Perſia* [q]. Not long after the concluſion of this peace *Evagoras* died, if we believe *Diodorus Siculus*, in baniſhment, having been driven out of his kingdom by his nephew *Protagoras* [r], who held it for ſome years, but performed nothing worth relating. The iſland of *Cyprus* continued free from any foreign yoke from the concluſion of the peace we have ſpoke of till the 18th year of the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Perſia*, when by the famous treaty concluded by *Antalcidas* the *Lacedæmonian* with *Tiribazus* general of the *Perſian* forces in *Aſia Minor*, that iſland was
c again ſubjected to the *Perſians* with all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*. At this time reigned at *Salamis Nicocreon* ſon of the uſurper *Protagoras*, famous for his cruelty, of which the following inſtance is related by *Laertius*, *Philo*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Pliny*. Taking offence at a ſatyrical ſaying of the philoſopher *Anaxarchus*, he cauſed him to be put into a great mortar made for that purpoſe, and to be pounded to death with iron peſtles [s]. Upon the death of *Nicocreon*, *Nicocles* the ſon of *Timarchus* was raiſed to the throne. During his reign a ſtranger from *Phœnicia*, called by ſome authors *Abdymon*, coming to *Salamis*, and being kindly entertained by *Nicocles*, requited the favours he received at the king's hands by driving him, with the aſſiſtance of the *Perſians*, from the throne. Under this tyrant *Evagoras* II. was born, a
d prince of great merit and extraordinary virtue. He was the ſon of *Nicocles*, and, being brought up by his parents with great care, gave early proofs of thoſe virtues, which, if *Iſocrates* may be credited, made him the perfect model of a good king [t]. He was diſtinguiſhed, as the ſame author tells us, among the youth by the beauty of his aſpect, the vigour of his body, and moſt of all by the modeſty and innocence of his behaviour, which are the greateſt ornaments of that age. He came into the world with the moſt happy diſpoſitions; a great fund of genius, an eaſy conception, a moſt lively penetration, which nothing eſcaped, *&c.* qualities, which might have exempted him from all ſtudy and application; and nevertheleſs he ſpent great part of his time in
e improving his mind by reading, as if he had been quite deſtitute of talents, and obliged to ſupply by ſtudy what nature had denied him. As he advanced in years his virtues became ſo conſpicuous as to give no ſmall jealouſy to the tyrant then on the throne, who was well appriſed that ſo ſhining a merit could not continue in the obſcurity of a private life. And indeed *Evagoras*, after the death of his father, waited only for an opportunity of recovering the crown which was due to him by his birth. But in the mean-time, one of the principal citizens, having murdered the tyrant, ſeized on it for himſelf, and being ſupported by the *Perſians* put all to the ſword who attempted to oppoſe him. On this occaſion *Evagoras* was obliged to ſave himſelf by abandoning the iſland and retiring to the continent. Having ſpent ſome time at *Soli* in *Cilicia*, and hearing there that his countrymen were grievouſly oppreſ-
f ſed by the new uſurper, he reſolved at all events to reſcue them from the calamities they groaned under; and accordingly, being attended only by fifty followers, he paſſed over into *Cyprus*, and expelled the uſurper, the *Perſians* not being able to make head againſt the *Cyprians*, who joined him all to a man. Being thus, by his own valour and the affection of his ſubjects, reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, he ſoon rendered his ſmall kingdom the moſt flouriſhing of the whole iſland. *Artaxerxes*, king of *Perſia*, attempted to drive him out and place a new on the throne the

Protagoras.

Nicocreon. *Year of the flood* 2612. *Before Chriſt* 387.

Nicocles.

Evagoras II.

[q] Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 73.
[r] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii.
[s] Laert. in vit. Philoſoph. Plin. l. vii. c. 23. Nonus in orat. 47. &c.
[t] Isocrat. in Evag.

the uſurper, who was greatly attached to the *Perſians*; but that prince being diverted a
by the *Greek* war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to to the laſt, put off
the enterprize to a more proper ſeaſon. In the mean-time, *Conon* by means of
Cteſias the *Cnidian*, who was chief phyſician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences be-
tween *Evagoras* and that prince, the latter promiſing not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſi-
on of his ſmall kingdom. *Conon* after his defeat at *Ægoſpotamos* had taken refuge with
Evagoras, and being kindly entertained by him had ever after ſought for all opportuni-
ties of requiting the favours, which he and his countrymen the *Athenians* had received
at the king's hands in their diſtreſs. But *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for
great undertakings, could not content himſelf with the kingdom of *Salamis* alone. He
extended his dominions, and by degrees made himſelf maſter almoſt of the whole b
iſland. The *Amathuſians*, the *Solians*, and the *Citians*, alone of all thoſe iſlanders, held
out againſt him. Theſe had recourſe to the king of *Perſia*, who, being alarmed at the
rapid progreſs of *Evagoras*, promiſed them an immediate and powerful ſupport,
which, however, he could not afford them ſo ſoon as he expected, being employed elſe-
where in more important affairs. But having at laſt concluded a peace with the *Greeks*,
he bent all his force againſt *Evagoras*, being determined to drive him quite out of the
iſland. The *Athenians*, notwithſtanding their alliance with the *Perſians*, and the
many favours they had lately received from the king of *Perſia*, could not deny their
aſſiſtance to *Evagoras*, who had befriended them on all occaſions, eſpecially after
their overthrow at *Ægoſpotamos*. Having therefore with the utmoſt expedition equip- c
ped ten ſhips of war, they ſent them under the command of *Philocrates* to his aſſiſt-
ance. But a fleet which the *Lacedæmonians* had at ſea, commanded by *Teleutias* the
brother of *Ageſilaus*, falling in with them near the iſland of *Rhodes*, ſurrounded them
ſo that not one ſhip could eſcape [u]. The *Athenians*, determined to aſſiſt their old
ally at all adventures, ſent *Chabrias* with another fleet and a conſiderable number of
land-forces on board to join him. This new ſupply arrived ſafe, and in a ſhort time
the whole iſland was obliged to ſubmit to *Evagoras*, which greatly redounded to the
honour of *Chabrias* and the *Athenian* arms. But the *Athenians* being forced by a
new treaty of peace, concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the ſtates of *Greece*, to recal
Chabrias, the *Perſians* attacked with all their forces the iſland of *Cyprus*, not doubt- d
ing but they ſhould ſoon reduce it, ſince no new ſupplies could be ſent thither from
Greece. The *Perſian* army conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, and the fleet
of three hundred ſhips of war, beſides a great number of tranſports. The land-
forces were commanded by *Orontes* ſon-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus*
the ſon of *Tamus*. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief both of the ſea and land-forces.
Evagoras, ſeeing himſelf threatened with ſo dreadful a war, had recourſe to all thoſe
princes, who were at enmity with the *Perſians*, receiving ſupplies of men and money
from the *Egyptians*, *Lybians*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations. Beſides, as he
was a wealthy prince, he hired a great many mercenaries of various nations, equipped
a fleet of fourſcore and ten gallies, and armed a great number of ſmall veſſels, which e
by intercepting the enemy's convoys reduced them, after they had landed in the iſland,
to ſuch ſtraits, that they began to mutiny and killed ſeveral of their officers. But
the whole *Perſian* fleet putting to ſea, the army was again plentifully ſupplied with
proviſions from the continent. At the ſame time *Evagoras* likewiſe received a great
ſupply of corn and fifty ſhips from *Egypt*. Upon the arrival of the *Egyptian* ſqua-
dron he reſolved to attack the *Perſians* at the ſame time by ſea and land. His land-
forces falling upon a great detachment of the *Perſian* army put them to flight with
great ſlaughter. But the ſea-fight was not attended with the like ſucceſs. At firſt
he had the advantage, and took or ſunk a great many of the enemy's ſhips. But
the *Perſians*, being animated by the example and warm remonſtrances of *Gaus* their f
admiral, reſumed courage, and returned to the charge with ſuch vigour, that *Eva-
goras*, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, was obliged to retire into the harbour of *Sa-
lamis*, where he was cloſely beſieged both by ſea and land. After his victory *Ti-
ribazus* went in perſon to acquaint the king with the ſucceſs that attended his arms in
Cyprus, and having obtained two thouſand talents for the uſe of the army, he re-
turned with that new ſupply to carry on the war more vigorouſly than ever. During
his abſence, *Evagoras*, leaving the defence of the city to his ſon *Pythagoras*, got
through the enemy's fleet, in the dead of the night with ten ſhips, and ſailed for
Egypt,

[u] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. p. 459.

a *Egypt*, in hopes of engaging *Achoris* king of that country to join him with all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the utmost extremity, he was obliged to capitulate. The terms offered him were, that he should abandon all the cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamis*, and that he should hold this city of the king of *Persia*, as a servant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity, to which he was reduced, obliged him to comply with the first article, hard as it was; but he could not by any means be brought to consent to the second, declaring, that he would hold his kingdom no otherwise than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the least alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretensions; whereupon *Evag-*
b *oras*, being determined to die sword in hand rather than to yield to such terms, broke off the conference, and applied himself entirely to the defence of the city [w].

In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the superiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intrusted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the success that attended him, wrote secretly to court, accusing him of holding a private correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*, and spinning out the siege of *Salamis*, in order to bring about some change in the government with the assistance of *Evagoras*, a sworn enemy to the *Persians*. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Artaxerxes* immediately dispatched letters to *Orontes*, enjoining him to seize *Tiribazus*, and send him prisoner to court. *Orontes*, without
c delay, put the king's orders in execution, and was rewarded for his supposed zeal with the chief command of all the *Persian* forces in *Cyprus*; but the army being greatly dissatisfied with the change, some left the service, and others refused to obey their new commander. This obliged *Orontes* to resume the negotiations of peace with *Evagoras*, and to conclude them upon the very terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected; for he consented that *Evagoras* should hold *Salamis* as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of *Persia*. Thus the siege was raised, and an end put to the war, after it had cost the *Persians* 50,000 talents, that is, near ten millions of our money [x].

Not long after the conclusion of this peace, *Evagoras* was murdered by one of
d his eunuchs, named *Thrasidæus*, and succeeded in the kingdom of *Salamis* by his son *Nicocles*. *Diodorus*, confounding the name of his son who succeded him with that of Nicocles II.
the eunuch by whom he was murdered, tells us, that he was treacherously put to death by the eunuch *Nicocles*, and that, upon his death, the eunuch seized on the kingdom [y]. That he was murdered by an eunuch, we are told also by *Aristotle* [z]; but the eunuch's name was *Thrasidæus*, as we read in *Theopompus*, who adds, that *Nicocles* the son of *Evagoras*, upon the death of his father, took quiet possession of the kingdom of *Salamis* [a]. *Nicocles* celebrated the funeral of his father with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The discourse intitled *Evagoras* served for his funeral oration. It was composed by *Isocrates*, to inspire the young king with a
c desire of treading in the steps of his father. The same philosopher wrote two other orations addressed to *Nicocles*, whose name they still bear. In the first of these *Isocrates* shews the duty of a king to his subjects; and in the second the duty of subjects to their king. *Nicocles* rewarded the author with twenty talents, as *Plutarch* informs us in the life of that philosopher [b]. *Nicocles* seems to have reigned but a few years; for we find his son *Evagoras* in possession of the throne before the revolt of *Cyprus*, which happened in the very beginning of the reign of *Ochus*, who succeeded *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. It is surprizing that most authors should confound this *Nicocles* with another of the same name who reigned at *Salamis* in the time of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, and revolted from him to *Antigonus*. *Nicocles*, the son of that *Evagoras*,
f of whom we have spoke above, was succeeded by his son named also *Evagoras*, Evagoras II.
which has occasioned great confusion among those who have wrote of the affairs of *Cyprus*. *Evagoras* II. was, according to the learned bishop *Usher* [c], succeeded by his son *Nicocles*, and *Nicocles* again by his son *Evagoras*, who was driven out by his Evagoras III.
uncle *Protagoras*. While the latter was in possession of the throne, the *Cyprians*, being ill used by their *Persian* governors, attempted to shake off the yoke by joining the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, who had already revolted. Hereupon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idrieus* king of *Caria*, enjoining him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and makes

Cyprians *revolts from the* Persians. *Year of the Flood* 2648. *Before Christ* 351.

[w] Diodor. ibid. [x] Isocrat. in Evag. Diodor. l. xv. p. 462. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. [z] Aristot. l. v. Polyb. l. 10. [a] Apud Phot. in Biblioth. num. 176. [b] Plut. in Isocrat. [c] Usher. ad annum mundi 3630.

make war upon the inhabitants. *Idrieus*, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, ſent it with eight thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the conduct of *Phocion* the *Athenian* and *Evagoras*, to make a deſcent in the iſland. This *Evagoras* was the ſon of *Nicocles*, as we have hinted above, and having been driven out by his uncle *Protagoras*, he gladly joined the *Perſians*, in hopes of recovering his crown. His knowledge of the country, and the party he might ſtill have in the iſland, made him a very proper perſon to command in this expedition. *Cyprus* had ſtill nine kings, but ſubject and tributary to the king of *Perſia*. They all joined in this confederacy, with a deſign to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, and make themſelves each independent in his own city. The troops under the command of *Phocion* and *Evagoras* landed in *Cyprus* without any oppoſition, and being reinforced with numerous bodies of voluntiers from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, enticed hither with the hopes of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo wealthy an iſland, they began with the ſiege of *Salamis*, which they inveſted by ſea and land. But *Protagoras* making a vigorous defence, *Ochus*, who was entirely bent on the reduction of *Egypt*, compounded with him and the other *Cyprian* princes, redreſſing all their grievances, and confirming them in the government of their reſpective territories [d]. The greateſt difficulty which *Ochus* met with in bringing about this accommodation, was the contenting of *Evagoras*, who laid claim to the kingdom of *Salamis*; but he being convicted before *Ochus* of having committed the moſt flagrant oppreſſions during his reign, *Protagoras* was confirmed in the kingdom of *Salamis*, and amends was made *Evagoras*, by conferring on him the government of another place; but he being guilty there of the ſame miſdemeanours, was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight into the iſland of *Cyprus*, where he was ſeized and put to death by *Protagoras*.

Cyprus *falls to* Antigonus, *but taken from him by* Ptolemy.

FROM this time, to the reign of *Ptolemy*, the firſt of that name who reigned in *Egypt*, we find no mention made of the *Cyprian* kings. They ſubmitted, without all doubt, to *Alexander*, upon the ſame terms which had been granted them by the *Perſian* monarchs, as *Arrian* ſeems to inſinuate [e]. Upon the death of that conqueror, his generals divided the conqueſts he had made among them, in which diviſion *Cyprus* fell to *Antigonus*. But while that prince was engaged in *Aſia Minor* with *Caſſander*, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, having invaded *Cyprus* with a powerful fleet, reduced moſt part of the iſland, and obliged the kings who reigned there to do him homage. Among theſe *Nicocles*, king of *Paphos*, being accuſed of holding underhand a correſpondence with *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy* ſent two of his intimate friends, *Argaus* and *Pallicrates*, into *Cyprus*, with inſtructions to diſpatch *Nicocles*, leſt, by his inſinuations, the other princes ſhould revolt and join *Antigonus*. Theſe arriving in *Cyprus*, unexpectedly ſurrounded the houſe of *Nicocles* with a body of men ſent them for that purpoſe by *Menelaus*, who commanded in *Cyprus* for *Ptolemy*. *Nicocles* finding no means to eſcape, attempted firſt to clear himſelf of what was laid to his charge; but ſeeing no one hearkened to what he ſaid, he drew his ſword, and flew himſelf on the ſpot. *Axiothea*, his wife, hearing of her huſband's death, firſt killed all her daughters, leſt they ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, and then laid violent hands on herſelf. The news of ſuch a dreadful maſſacre ſo effected the brothers of *Nicocles*, that retiring each of them to their own habitations, they ſet fire to their houſes, and periſhed with their whole families in the flames [f]. This *Nicocles* is ſuppoſed to have been the laſt of the *Teucrian* family, and to have poſſeſſed not only the kingdom of *Paphos*, but that alſo of *Salamis*. Be that as it will, the kings of *Cyprus* from this time deſerve rather the title of governors than kings, being ſubjects and mere vaſſals to the kings of *Egypt*.

Demetrius *invades* Cyprus.

Ptolemy had not been long in poſſeſſion of *Cyprus*, when *Antigonus*, bent upon the recovery of that rich and fruitful iſland, ordered his ſon *Demetrius* to tranſport thither what forces he could, in order to drive out *Ptolemy*'s generals. *Demetrius*, in compliance with his father's commands, left *Greece*, where he then was, and ſailed over into *Caria*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to *Rhodes*, inviting the *Rhodians* to join him againſt *Ptolemy*. But the *Rhodians* refuſing to comply with his requeſt, and proteſting that they would maintain a ſtrict neutrality, he paſſed into *Cilicia*, highly diſſatisfied with their conduct, and determined to make them feel in due time the effects of his reſentment. In *Cilicia* he raiſed an army of fifteen thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, which he embarked on a great number of tranſports, and conveyed

[d] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. p. 504. POLYÆNUS. Stratag. l. viii.

[e] ARRIAN. de expedit. Alexand. p. 34.

[f] DIODOR. l. xx.

The History of Cyprus.

Chap. I.

a veyed over into *Cyprus*, under the convoy of one hundred and ſixty-three ſhips of war. Being landed without the leaſt oppoſition, he encamped near the ſhore, in the neighbourhood of *Carpaſia*, where he drew his ſhips to land, and ſurrounded them with a deep ditch and a double rampart. Having thus ſecured his navy, he advanced firſt to the cities of *Urania* and *Carpaſia*, which he took by ſtorm, and then, leaving a ſufficient guard to defend his trenches, he marched to *Salamis*, with a deſign to lay ſiege to that important place g. *Menelaus*, *Ptolemy*'s brother, who was then in *Salamis*, upon intelligence of the enemy's approach, drew out of the neighbouring garriſons a body of twelve thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, with a deſign to divert him from beſieging the city; but *Demetrius* falling upon him, put
b his army to flight, and purſuing him to the very gates of the city, took three thouſand of his men priſoners, and killed about a thouſand in the flight and the purſuit. The priſoners he treated with great humanity, and incorporated them among his own troops; but finding they were ready on all occaſions to abandon him, and fly over to *Menelaus*, he put them on board his tranſports, and ſent them all to his father *Antigonus* h.

Menelaus being fully perſuaded that *Demetrius*, elated with his ſucceſs, would lay ſiege to *Salamis*, made the due preparations on his ſide for a vigorous defence, and at the ſame time diſpatched three meſſengers to *Ptolemy*, acquainting him with the ſtate of affairs in *Cyprus*, and ſolliciting him to ſend what ſuccours he could with all poſſible
c expedition. In the mean time *Demetrius*, having viewed the ſituation and fortifications of the place, began to prepare the neceſſary engines for the reduction of it, which, he foreſaw, would coſt him dear, the gariſon being very numerous, and *Menelaus* reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity. Having ſent for workmen out of *Aſia*, and brought from thence a great quantity of iron, timber, and other materials, he made an immenſe number of warlike engines of an extraordinary bigneſs, and amongſt others the famous *Helepolis*, of which we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of *Rhodes*. When the engines were ready, *Demetrius* began to batter the walls with ſuch fury, that in a few days ſeveral breaches were opened; but when he thought himſelf already maſter of the place, *Menelaus* found means to ſet fire to his engines,
d which was ſo violent, that notwithſtanding the endeavours of *Demetrius*'s men to extinguiſh the flames, they conſumed in a ſhort time all the machines together with the *Helepolis*, and the men that were in it. This obliged *Demetrius* to ſuſpend his attacks; and in the mean time *Ptolemy*, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill ſucceſs in the action againſt *Demetrius*, ſet ſail from *Egypt*, with a fleet of an hundred and forty ſhips of war, and two hundred tranſports, carrying ten thouſand men for the land-ſervice. With this fleet he arrived at *Citium*, about two hundred furlongs from *Salamais*, and from thence diſpatched meſſengers by land to *Menelaus*, deſiring him to ſend the ſhips, which, to the number of ſixty, were in the
e port of *Salamis*, to join the fleet. But *Demetrius*, foreſeeing that *Ptolemy*'s deſign was to venture an engagement by ſea, had the precaution to leave ten of his ſhips in the mouth of the harbour, which was very narrow, to prevent *Menelaus*'s ſquadron from ſailing out. The reſt he drew up in line of battle, and having commanded the cavalry to keep near the ſea-ſide, that they might be ready, in caſe of any misfortune, to aſſiſt thoſe who ſhould ſwim to land, he advanced towards the enemy with an hundred and eight ſail. The two fleets engaged with the utmoſt fury and reſolu- Ptolemy *overtion*; that of *Demetrius*, conſiſting moſtly of *Phœnicians*, *Samians*, and *Athenians*, *thrown in a* ſoon put *Ptolemy*'s left wing in confuſion, and drove moſt of the ſhips aſhore. On *ſea-fight.* the other hand, *Ptolemy*, who commanded in the right-wing, gained the like advan-
f tage over the enemy's left, took ſeveral of their beſt gallies, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight; but having purſued them too eagerly, he was attacked on his return, while his men were tired, by *Demetrius*, and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, put to flight. *Demetrius* chaced him with his ſhips in line of battle, and took ſeventy of his gallies, with all his tranſports, on board of which were all his proviſions, arms, money, military engines, and eight thouſand land-forces. After this overthrow, *Ptolemy* returned to *Egypt*, with eight gallies only, the reſt of his numerous fleet being either broken or deſtroyed. Upon his retreat, the whole iſland of Cyprus *ſubCyprus*, with all the forces, ſhipping, and magazines, which *Ptolemy* had there, fell *mits to* Demeinto the hands of *Demetrius*. The priſoners at land amounted to about ſeventeen trius.

thouſand

g Plut. in Demetrio. Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Justin. l. xv. h Diodor. Sicul. Plut. ibid.

thouſand men, beſides the mariners taken on board the fleet. *Menelaus* the brother, a and *Lentiſus* the ſon, of *Ptolemy*, were among the captives; but *Demetrius* ſent them both home with their friends and dependents, without ranſom, to requite the like kindneſs ſhewn him by *Polemy*, after the battle of *Gaza*. All the reſt he incorporated into his own forces, and thereby greatly reinforced both his fleet and army [h].

Demetrius, immediately after this victory, diſpatched *Ariſtodemus* the *Mileſian*, with the news of it to his father *Antigonus*. When he arrived at court, and was brought in to *Antigonus*, he ſtood ſilent for ſome time, keeping him in ſuſpence, and then, as in a tranſport of joy, he uttered aloud theſe words, Proſperity and happineſs to king *Antigonus*; we have overthrown king *Ptolemy* at ſea; *Cyprus* is ours; we have taken ſixteen thouſand eight hundred men priſoners. *Antigonus* anſwered, b Proſperity and happineſs to thee too; nevertheleſs, becauſe thou haſt kept me ſo long in ſuſpence, thou ſhalt in ſome degree be puniſhed, and wait in thy turn for thy reward [i]. *Antigonus* was ſo elated with this victory, that thenceforth he aſſumed the title of king, and gave it likewiſe to his ſon *Demetrius*; which the *Egyptians* hearing of, honoured *Ptolemy* with the ſame title, that he might, tho' defeated, be upon the ſame level with the conqueror. This example was followed by *Lyſimachus*, *Caſſander*, and *Seleucus*, who, from that time, in all their letters, orders, decrees, and other writings, ſtiled themſelves kings [k]. *Antigonus*, and after his death, *Demetrius*, held the iſland of *Cyprus* for the ſpace of eleven years, at the end of which *Ptolemy* recovered it, while *Demetrius* was engaged againſt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. He equipped a numerous fleet, and landing in *Cyprus*, over-ran the whole iſland before *Demetrius* had the leaſt notice of his deſign. The city of *Salamis* alone held out ſome time againſt him, but was at length obliged to ſurrender, and open its gates to the conqueror. In this city he found the mother, wife, and children of *Demetrius*, whom he generouſly ſet at liberty, with all their friends and domeſtics, loading them with rich preſents, and appointing a ſquadron of his beſt ſhips to convey them, with whatever belonged to them, into *Greece*, where *Demetrius* then was [l].

Cyprus *recovered by* Ptolemy.

c

FROM this time *Cyprus*, according to what we read in profane writers, continued ſubject to the king of *Egypt*, till they were, with the utmoſt injuſtice, deprived of d it by the *Romans*; but from the book of the *Maccabees* [m], where *Ptolemeus Macron* and *Nicanor* are mentioned as governing that iſland under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it is plain, that *Cyprus* was again, at leaſt for ſome time, brought under ſubjection to the kings of *Syria*. Be that as it will, the ſeizing of it by the *Romans* is reckoned the moſt flagrant piece of injuſtice their republic was ever guilty of. We ſhall, in a few words, give a diſtinct account of this memorable event, which will for ever reflect ignominy and diſgrace on the *Roman* name. *Ptolemy Lathurus*, king of *Egypt*, left two ſons, who divided their father's dominions between them. One known by e the name of *Ptolemy Auletes*, that is, the *Flute-player*, had for his ſhare the kingdom of *Egypt*. The other called *Ptolemy*, without any ſurname, had the iſland of *Cyprus*. While the latter reigned in *Cyprus*, *Publius Clodius*, a young *Roman* nobleman, of a very bold and enterprizing genius, being taken by the pyrates on the coaſts of *Cilicia*, ſent to *Ptolemy* king of *Cyprus*, entreating him to ſend him a ſum of money wherewithal to pay his ranſom. As *Ptolemy* was a prince of a ſordid and covetous temper, he ſent him only two talents, which the pyrates deſpiſing, they choſe rather to releaſe him without ranſom than to accept of ſo ſmall a ſum. Some years after *Clodius* being adopted by a plebeian, and choſen tribune of the people, he employed all his power and authority, which were very great, againſt the king of *Cyprus*, repreſenting him as a moſt wicked man, and one who was unworthy to wear a crown. He was indeed a vicious prince, but what right had *Rome* to reform f the manners of independent kings? However, as *Ptolemy* poſſeſſed immenſe riches, the people were eaſily prevailed upon to concur with the revengeful *Clodius* to his ruin, and paſs a decree, declaring, that *Ptolemy* had forfeited his throne by his ill conduct, and that his dominions were fallen to the *Roman* people [n]. The ſenate did not oppoſe this unjuſt decree, for they had long ſought for ſome pretence to ſtrip that wealthy prince of his treaſures, and the only ſhew of juſtice they could find for it

Cyprus *unjuſtly ſeized by the* Romans. *Year of the Flood* 2041. *Before Chriſt* 58.

[h] PLUT. in Demetrio. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 2. [i] PLUT. in Demetrio.
[k] PLUT. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. MACCAB. l. i. c. 1. ver. 9. [l] PLUT. ibid.
[m] MACCAB. l. 2. c. x. & xii. [n] PLUT. in Cat. Uticenſi. DION. CASSIUS l. xxxviii. L. FLORUS l. iii. c. 9. STRABO l. xiv. p. 684.

a it was, that *Alexander* the late king of *Egypt*, dying at *Tyre*, had left the *Roman* people his heirs, and, that therefore the kingdom of *Egypt*, and with it *Cyprus*, which was then deemed a part of the kingdom of *Egypt*, had in virtue of that donation, paſſed to the *Romans*. This will had been inſiſted on at *Rome* ſoon after the death of *Alexander*, and motions had been there made for the ſeizing both of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*; but as they had ſome years before taken poſſeſſion of *Bythinia*, by virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*, and of *Cyrene* and *Lybia*, by the like will of *Apion*, and reduced them to *Roman* provinces, the ſenate thought it would bring them under the imputation of being too deſirous of graſping all foreign dominions, ſhould they, on this pretence, make themſelves maſters likewiſe of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*; b wherefore, dropping at that time their claim to the deceaſed king's dominions, they only ſent to *Tyre*, for the effects he had left there at his death [o]. But now this claim as to *Cyprus* was revived, and, to gratify the revenge of *Clodius*, and the inſatiable avarice of the people of *Rome*, a decree paſſed for the ſeizing of *Cyprus*, tho' the king then on the throne had been declared a friend and ally of *Rome*, and had never done any thing to incur the diſpleaſure of that haughty and imperious republic [p].

THE decree for the diſpoſſeſſing of *Ptolemy* being paſſed, *Clodius*'s next care was to find out a proper perſon to put it in execution. *Cato* was then uſing his utmoſt endeavours to guard the republick againſt the attempts of *Clodius*; ſo that his preſence was not at all agreeable to the factious tribune, who therefore reſolved to get c rid of ſo troubleſome a cenſor, by ſending him out of the way on this expedition. He paid him a viſit, and acquainted him, that the people had honoured him with a commiſſion, which was very reputable for him, and neceſſary for the good of the publick. Vice reigns, ſaid he, in *Cyprus*, and the throne is debaſed by it. *Rome* has therefore made choice of a man of ſpotleſs probity to eſtabliſh virtue there. Go then, *Cato*, and make the purity of the *Roman* laws be revered in an iſland, which is infamous for its vices. *Cato*, who was well apprized of the ſnare, replied, That he could not leave his country, when it was threatened with far greater and nearer dangers. Well then, replied *Clodius*, I will compel you to do what you refuſe to the requeſt of your friends; and accordingly having aſſembled the comitia, he procured d an order for *Cato* to ſet out without delay for *Cyprus*, and dethrone the king. Thus the virtuous *Romans*, by the moſt unjuſt, and iniquitous decree poſſible, ordered a friend and ally of theirs to be deprived of his dominions; and the rigid *Cato* had ſo little ſenſe of juſtice as to obey and execute thoſe wicked orders. The tribune, after the decree was paſſed, preſſed *Cato* to depart immediately, but did not provide ſo much as a ſhip to carry him to *Cyprus*. He was commiſſioned to drive the king from his throne, but was not allowed either men or money to execute the enterprize, or even a guard to protect him againſt the inſults of a provoked enemy. He therefore went on board the firſt ſhip he met with bound for *Cyprus*, and, being attended only with a few domeſtics, arrived at *Rhodes*, whence he ſent one *Canidius* into e *Cyprus*, charging him, to try whether he could prevail upon *Ptolemy*, by fair means to give up his dominions to the republick. *Canidius* offered him, in *Cato*'s name, the high-prieſt-hood of *Venus* at *Paphos*, on the revenues of which he might have lived in a ſtate of plenty and honour. This offer *Ptolemy* rejected; but, on the other hand, not having courage enough to engage in a war with *Rome*, he reſolved to put an end to his life and reign at the ſame time. Accordingly having put his beloved treaſures, which he had been accumulating for many years, on board one of his largeſt ſhips he ſailed out of the harbour, with a deſign to ſink the veſſel, and periſh together with his riches; but when he came to the execution of his deſign, he could not find in his heart to deſtroy his treaſure, tho' he perſiſted in the reſolution f of deſtroying himſelf; he therefore returned a ſhore, and having laid up all his wealth again in the treaſury, poiſoned himſelf, not being able to ſurvive his diſgrace, tho' he could not bear that his wealth ſhould be loſt. Upon the king's death, *Cato*, without oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the name of the republick, and ſeized the treaſures, which had been the chief cauſe of that unfortunate prince's ruin. They amounted to 7000 talents, that is, 1,356,250 *l. Sterl.* and were the next year carried to *Rome* by *Cato*, and lodged there in the publick treaſury [q]. This wicked

[o] VELLEIUS PATERCUL. ii, c. 45. CIC. in Orat. 1 & 2 in Rullum. [p] PLUT in Catone. VELL. PATERCUL. ubi ſupra. [q] PLUT. in Catone. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 4. DION CASSIUS. l. xxxix. 10. FLORUS, l. ii. c. 2. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 684. APPIAN de Bell. Civil. l. ii. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xiv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 45.

wicked and unjuſt proceeding of the *Romans* is generally aſcribed to the tribune *Clodius*; but the ſenate was no leſs to blame than the tribune, for they not only approved of the decree, depriving *Ptolemy* of his kingdom, but conferred extraordinary honours upon *Cato*, for having put it in execution. *Cato* himſelf, notwithſtanding his boaſted virtue, ſhewed no more integrity on this occaſion, than the wicked *Clodius*; for he not only accepted of that commiſſion, but, after his return, gave a plain inſtance of his approving whatever had been done. As ſoon as *Clodius* ended his tribuneſhip, *Cicero* accuſed him before the ſenate, and endeavoured to perſuade the fathers to annul all the laws he had made during his authority. But on this occaſion *Cato* declared, in favour of his greateſt enemy, againſt his beſt friend, ſaying, that if the acts of *Clodius* were annulled, the treaſures brought from *Cyprus* ought to be reſtored to the inhabitants of that iſland; and to prevent this, the virtuous *Cato* prevailed upon the ſenate to confirm ſuch acts of *Clodius*, as regarded the depoſing of the king, and the ſeizing of his moveable riches and dominions [r].

[r] Velleius Patercul. ubi ſupra.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of Samos.

Name.

THE name of *Samos* was in antient times common to three iſlands, viz. *Cephalenia*, *Samothracia*, and this which we are now to write of. *Cephalenia* had the name of *Samos* from its metropolis *Sama*, as *Thucydides* informs us [s], and *Samothracia* from a colony of *Samians*, who, being driven out of their own iſland by their domeſtic tyrants, ſettled in that [t]. The iſland ſtill known by the name of *Samos* was in former ages diſtinguiſhed from the other two by the epithet of *Ionian*, being inhabited chiefly by the *Ions*, to whoſe confederacy it belonged. It had alſo the following names, *Parthenia*, according to *Ariſtotle* the moſt antient of all [u], *Dryuſa*, *Anthemuſa*, *Melamphyllus*, *Cyparisſia*, *Parthenoaruſa*, *Stephane* [w], *Anthemus*, and *Parthenias* [x]. Whence it had the name of *Samos*, which in proceſs of time prevailed over all the reſt, is uncertain: Some writers, quoted by *Strabo* [y], are of opinion that it was ſo called from the *Saæ*, a people of *Thrace*, who ſettled in the iſland; but *Strabo* himſelf ſeems to inſinuate, that it borrowed this name from ſome hero, a native of the country. As this iſland is full of eminences and precipices, it is not unlikely, that the name of *Samos* was given it on that account, ſince the word *Samos* was uſed by the antient *Greeks*, as *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* informs us, to ſignify *any high place* or *eminence*.

Situation.

Samos lies between the continent of *Aſia* and the iſland of *Icaria*, being divided from the former by a ſtrait, according to *Strabo* 875, but in reality above a thouſand paces broad, and from the latter by another which is eight miles over. The ſtrait, which parts *Samos* from the continent of *Aſia*, is called by the *Turks the little Bogazi*, that word ſignifying in their language a *canal* or *ſtrait*, and the other which ſeparates it from the iſland of *Icaria*, the *great Bogazi*: As all the veſſels, trading from *Conſtantinople* to *Syria* and *Egypt*, paſs through one of theſe ſtraits, the courſe by *Mycone* and *Naxia* being too long, they are ſtill frequented by pyrates as they were in *Strabo*'s time. In the middle of the little ſtrait ſtands a rock, between which and the iſland of *Samos* lies the ſmall iſland of *Nartecis* mentioned by *Strabo* [z], who places it over-againſt the cape *Poſidium* in *Samos*, famous for a ſtately temple built there by the *Samians* in honour of *Neptune*, whence it had the name of *Poſidium*, or *Neptune*'s cape. The iſland of *Samos* lies between the 38th and 39th degrees of north latitude, and is about eighty-ſeven miles in circumference.

The city of Samos.

THE metropolis of *Samos*, and the only city in the country mentioned by the antients, bore the ſame name as the iſland. It ſtood on the ſouth coaſt, partly in the plain and partly on the hills, being divided into the upper and lower town. The former took up the hills about the preſent city of *Cora*, which is near three miles from the

[s] Thucyd. l. ii. [t] Suidas verbo Σαμοθράκη. [u] Apud. Plin. l. v. c. 31. [w] Plin. ibid
[x] Strab. l. x. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Strab. xiv.

a the sea, and the latter the plain which extends from the present port of *Tigani* to the cape of *Juno* [a]. *Strabo* tells us, that this city was built by *Tembrio* and *Procles*, or, as some read it, *Patrocles*, who settled here with a colony of *Ionians*. But *Vitruvius* [b] is of opinion, that *Samos* and the thirteen towns of the *Ionian* confederacy were all built by *Ion* the *Athenian*, who gave his name to the country of *Ionia*. The city of *Samos* was in the flourishing times of *Greece* very populous, wealthy, and well fortified. We may judge of the antient splendor and greatness of this city, from the ruins of it, which are still to be seen, and are fully described by a modern traveller [c]. *Herodotus* [d] takes notice of three things very remarkable at *Samos*; the first was a way opened through a mountain, seven furlongs in length, eight foot in heighth, and b as many in breadth. A canal twenty cubits deep, and three foot broad was carried along the side of the aperture, and served to convey, through various pipes, the water of a plentiful spring into the city. *Eupalinus* of *Megara*, the son of *Naustrophus*, was the contriver and director of this work. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the spring, which tempted the *Samians* to undertake so great a work, was that which is still to be seen at *Metelinous*; for that spring is by far the best of the island, and the bored mountain stands between the small town of *Metelinous* and the ruins of antient *Samos* [e]. The entrance of the opening, which was carried quite through the mountain, is to be seen to this day, but the other parts have been long since filled up. The second thing, which *Herodotus* observed at *Samos*, was a mole c or pier, a hundred and twenty foot high, which formed the harbour and advanced above two furlongs into the sea. Such an extraordinary work in those early times shews, that the *Samians* were among the first of the *Greeks* who applied themselves to navigation; and indeed we find them employing *Aminocles* the *Corinthian*, the ablest ship-builder of his time, near three hundred years before the *Peloponnesian* war [f]. The third thing, counted by *Herodotus* among the wonders of *Samos*, was the famous temple of *Juno*, the most spacious, as that historian affirms, which he ever saw [g]. The ruins of this edifice are still to be seen about half a mile from the sea, and the like distance from the river *Imbrasus*. A modern traveller gives us a distinct account of them, which it would be too long to insert here [h]. *Menodorus* the *Samian*, who d wrote a treatise on the curiosities of that island, tells us, that this temple was built by *Caricus*, and certain nymphs [i]; for he supposes the island to have been first possessed by the *Carians*, so called, from *Caricus* their leader. *Pausanias* writes, that it was the work of the *Argonauts*, who brought from *Argos* to *Samos* a statue of the goddess, and placed it in a magnificent temple built by them in this island, which was in a peculiar manner sacred to *Juno*, who was supposed to have been born here on the banks of the river *Imbrasus*, under one of those trees which we call *Agnus Castus*. The stump of this tree was shewn, as the same author informs us, for many ages in the temple, and no less honoured than *Juno* herself [k]. The statue of the goddess, as the same *Pausanias* tells us, was the work of *Smilis*, a famous sculptor of *Ægina*, and contemporary with *Dædalus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* [l] speaks of this tem-
c ple, as one of the most stately buildings of antiquity, and adds out of *Æthlius*, a very antient author, that the *Samians* at first worshipped only the stump of a tree, which was afterwards formed into a statue. The *Tyrrhenian* pirates, if we believe *Menodotus* [m], having attempted to carry away this statue, and put it already on board one of their ships, were kept in the harbour with contrary winds till they carried it back to the temple; the fame of this pretended miracle drew crowds of votaries from all parts, and greatly increased the worship which was paid to the *Samian Juno*.

Three remarkable things at Samos.

The *Heræan* games which were instituted by the *Greeks* in honour of *Juno*, whom they called *Here*, were celebrated in this island with the utmost magnificence. The
f fabulous opinion, which prevailed in *Samos*, that *Juno* had lived there from her earliest infancy, till she became marriageable, and that *Jupiter* had married her there, gave rise to the solemnity which they annually celebrated in honour of that goddess. The *Samians* then renewed the nuptial rejoycings in her temple, where was amongst other statues one of this their tutelary goddess, under the figure of a new-married woman, to perpetuate the memory of her marriage with *Jupiter*. We have still remaining

[a] Idem ibid. [b] Vitruvius Archit. l. iv. c. 1. [c] Tournefort. Voyage au Levant, &c. Vol. I [d] Herodot. l. iii. [e] Tournefort. ibid. [f] Thucyd. l. i. [g] Herodot. ibid. [h] Tournefort ubi supra. [i] Apud Athenæum, l. iii. [k] Pausan. in Arcad. [l] Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. i. [m] Menodotus apud Athen. ibid.

maining, in the antient monuments, several traces of the zealous worship the *Samians* paid to *Juno*. Most of the *Samian* medals are stamped with the figure of this goddess, holding a sceptre in her hand, to shew her dominion over the island, and have on the reverse a peacock her favourite bird. The temple of *Juno*, where the *Heræan* solemnities were performed, was one of the most antient of *Greece*, having been built, if we believe *Herodotus* [n] by one *Rhœcus* the son of *Phileus*, a native of *Samos*, soon after the *Ionians* settled in the island. This antient temple was burnt down to the ground by the *Persians*, but soon after rebuilt, and so enriched with gifts that there was no room for statues and pictures [o]. *Verres* on his return from *Asia*, notwithstanding the miracle which had saved the goddess from the *Tyrrhenians*, did not scruple to rifle the temple, and strip it of all its rich moveables, as appears from *Tully*, who upbraids him with this impiety [p]. The pirates shewed no more respect to the goddess and her temple in *Pompey*'s time. In a court adjoining to the temple was an immense number of statues, done by the most famous statuaries of *Greece*, and amongst other three of a colossean size, all on the same base, representing *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*. They were the work of *Myron*, who made the brazen cow so much celebrated by the *Greek* wits of those days in their epigrams, which have been translated by *Ausonius* into *Latin*. *Mark Anthony* carried these three statues to *Rome*; but *Augustus* restored those of *Minerva* and *Hercules* to the *Samians*; that of *Jupiter* he kept at *Rome*, and placed it in a little temple which he caused to be built on the capitol. The amours of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were painted on the ceiling of the temple, and represented so naturally, that *Origen* reproaches the gentiles with exposing them to the eyes of the multitude [q].

Soil. The fruitfulness of its soil is highly commended by the antients, namely by *Strabo*, who seems to prefer it in this respect to the most fertile countries of *Asia*. Here the trees, if we believe *Æiblius* as quoted by *Athenæus*, yielded fruit twice a year [r]. *Pliny* takes notice of the pomgranates of *Samos*, some of which had red grains, others white [s]. The only thing which *Strabo* did not admire in *Samos* was the wine, which was but very indifferent in his time, though all the neighbouring islands were famous on account of their excellent wines.

Arts, &c. The *Samians* applied themselves very early to trade and navigation; for *Herodotus* speaks of them as trading to *Egypt*, *Thera*, and *Spain*, before any of the other *Greeks*, except *Sostratus* of *Ægina*, were acquainted with those countries. They are said by *Pliny* to have been the first contrivers of vessels fit for the transporting of cavalry [t]. *Samos* was in former ages famed for earthen ware, which, if we believe *Gellius* [u], was first made in this island, and in great request among the antients, who used the *Samian* earthen ware in their most splendid entertainments [w]. The earth about the present village of *Bavonda* is still deemed very proper for potter's ware; but no-body in the islands now follows that profession, the inhabitants being supplied with that ware from *Ancona* and *Scio*.

Inhabitants and government. The island of *Samos* was first peopled, according to *Strabo* [x] and other antient writers, by the *Carians*, and afterwards by colonies from *Ithaca* and *Cephalenia*. Some ages after the *Ionians*, having seized part of *Caria*, passed over into the island of *Samos*, and settling there under the conduct of *Tembrio* and *Procles*, united the city of *Samos* to the *Ionian* confederacy. This happened, as *Eusebius* informs us [y], in the twelfth year of the reign of *Rehoboham* king of *Hierusalem*. *Heraclides* [z] tells us, that this island lay desolate till the time of *Macareus*, the son of *Æolus*, who, having killed the wild beasts that infested it, settled there, and continued in possession of the island till the arrival of the *Carians*. But whoever were the first inhabitants, it is certain, that the city of *Samos* in after-ages held a considerable rank among the twelve cities of the *Ionian* confederacy, being celebrated by the antients, as no-way inferior either to *Miletus* or *Ephesus*, which were the chief cities of the *Ionians*.

The *Samians* were first governed by kings; for *Herodotus* [a] names one *Amphicrates* reigning at *Samos*; but how long this kind of government continued, or on what account it was abolished, is what we find no-where recorded. From the kings the

[n] Herodot. l. iii. [o] Pausan. ubi supra. [p] Cic. Act. 3. in Verr. [q] Origin. l. iv contra Celsum. [r] Athen. Deipn. l. xiv. [s] Plin. l. xiii. c. 10. [t] Idem. ibid. [u] Gell. Noct. Attic. l. vi [w] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 16. Cic. in Verr. [x] Strab. l. xiv. [y] Euseb. in Chron. [z] Heraclid. de Polit. [a] Herodot. l. iii.

a the administration passed into the hands of the *Geomori*, who formed a kind of senate and had much the same power as the ephori of *Sparta*. This form of government gave room to a democracy, and the democracy to an oligarchy. The *Samians* continued for many ages free from all foreign subjection, but were often reduced to a state of slavery by their domestic tyrants, as we shall relate in their history.

History of Samos.

The first enterprize of the *Samians*, mentioned in history, is their sailing to *Egypt*, and planting a colony there in the city of *Oasis*, which, as *Herodotus* informs us [b], was inhabited by *Samians* of the *Æschrionian* tribe. But as to the time of this expedition we are quite in the dark, as also of their first voyage to *Tartessus* in *Spain*, which is related by *Herodotus* thus: A *Samian* vessel, bound homewards from *Egypt*, under the command of one *Colæus*, was by stress of weather driven into the harbour b of *Platæa*, an island of *Lybia*. From thence *Colæus* set sail with a design to recover the coasts of *Egypt*, but had scarce left the island, when a violent easterly wind arising carried him, in spite of all his endeavours, beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, nor did it ever cease or abate till he arrived at *Tartessus*. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the inhabitants flocking to the shore bought their commodities at such prices as they were pleased to set upon them; whence the profits they made were so considerable, that upon their return to *Samos* they made with the tenth part of their gain, amounting to six talents, a bason of brass, surrounded with the heads of griffins inclining to each other, and placed it in the temple of *Juno*, supc ported by three statues of brass in a kneeling posture seven foot high [c]. In the reign of their king *Amphicrates* they made war upon the inhabitants of *Ægina*; but all we know of this expedition is, that it reduced both parties to great extremities [d]. This war happened before the reign of *Cambyses* king of *Persia*, for in his time the *Ægi-nates*, entering into an alliance with the *Cretans*, revenged themselves on the *Samians* for the evils they had suffered on this occasion, as we shall see anon. The *Samians*, as the same *Herodotus* informs us [e], maintained their liberties both against *Crœsus* and *Cyrus*, after those princes had reduced the other *Ionian* states on the continent. They were expert mariners, and had a considerable fleet, which protected them against any foreign invasion. However, they were very early brought under subjection by d their own tyrants. Among these we may reckon the *Geomori*, that is, the nobility of *Samos*, so called from their dividing the lands among themselves, after they had entirely suppressed the popular faction. During the usurpation of the *Geomori*, the inhabitants of *Megara* having attacked the city of *Perinthus*, which the *Samians* had built and peopled, a war was kindled between these two nations. The *Geomori*, who then governed with an absolute sway, commanded thirty ships of war to be equipped, and committed the management of the war to nine commanders, each of which had an equal power. These falling upon the *Megarenses* routed them with great slaughter, and took six hundred prisoners. Being elated with this victory they resolved to try whether they should be attended with the same success against their c domestic enemies; for these commanders were all of the popular faction. Accordingly having armed the six hundred *Megarenses*, whom they had taken prisoners, on their return they attacked the *Geomori* while they are assembled in council, put most of them to the sword, and restored the democracy [f]. Not long after a war breaking out between the *Samians* and *Æolians*, the former chose one *Syloson* to command their forces, who, as he was an ambitious man, instead of attacking the enemy, remained at *Samos* under various pretences, till such time, as he had gained both the officers and soldiers over to his party, and then made himself master of the city in the following manner. The *Samians* used annually to perform with great solemnity certain ceremonies in honour of *Juno* in the temple of that goddess, which f stood without the walls of the city. As they were then ready to engage in a war, *Syloson* under pretence of piety prevailed upon the citizens to march all at once in procession from the market-place to the temple. This procession he led himself, but stealing away assoon as the crowd got into the temple, he returned to the city, and, by means of the soldiers he had left on board the fleet in the harbour, possessed himself of all the important posts; so that the citizens on their returning home were forced to submit to their new tyrant, having neither courage nor arms to oppose him [g].

Syloson *tyrant of* Samos.

About

[b] Herodot. l. iii. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem l. i. [f] Plut. in Problemat [g] Polyænus.

Year of the flood 2383. *Before Christ* 616.

About this time the *Samians*, by disobliging the *Corinthians*, sowed the seeds of those animosities, which broke out between the two nations in the following age. The matter is thus related by *Herodotus* [h]: *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth*, to revenge the death of his son on the *Corcyreans*, by whom he had been murdered, seized three hundred youths of the chief families of *Corcyra*, and put them on board certain *Corinthian* ships in order to send them to *Sardis*, where they were to be made eunuchs, and as such serve *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*. But the ships that transported them touching at *Samos*, the *Samians* advised the *Corcyræan* youths to take sanctuary in the temple of *Diana*, and would not suffer the *Corinthians* to remove them from thence, saying, that they were under the protection of the goddess. The *Corinthians* beset the temple in order to prevent any provisions from being conveyed to them, and by that means oblige them to abandon their asylum. But the *Samians* assembling their youth of both sexes, under colour of celebrating a festival in honour of *Diana*, ordered them to dance round the temple with cakes of flower and honey in their hands, to the end that the *Corcyræans* might snatch them from them, and by that means sustain themselves. This practice they continued till the *Corinthians*, after having waited a long time, thought fit to leave the island; when the *Samians*, putting the youths of *Corcyra* on board their ships of war, conveyed them safe to their native country. This the *Corinthians* remembered, and many years after joined the *Lacedæmonians* in the war which they made upon the *Samians*, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

Æaces.

The *Samians* after the death of *Syloson* enjoyed their liberty for some time, but were again brought under subjection by one of their chief citizens named *Æaces*, of whom mention is made by *Herodotus* [i]. *Æaces* had three sons, *Polycrates*, *Pantagnostus*, and *Syloson*. *Polycrates* in his father's life-time formed a design of seizing on the government, but could not put it in execution till some years after his death, the *Samians* guarding themselves with great care against any attempts of that nature. However, he at length compassed his design in the following manner. As his father had left an immense treasure, he gained the affection of the populace by living in a most splendid and elegant manner. He made frequent entertainments, inviting to them even those of the lowest rank among the people. He provided at a vast expence the richest furniture that had ever been seen till his time in the island, and was ever willing to lend his silver and gold plate or stately beds to such as were to solemnize marriages or make entertainments. Being by this means become the darling of the people, he imparted his design of making himself absolute to his brothers, promising to share with them the island and such other acquisitions as he might make. They readily came into his measures; whereupon it was agreed, that they should fall upon the people with a body of armed men, whom *Polycrates* had gained with large promises, while they were celebrating a feast in honour of *Juno*, and that *Polycrates* should at the same time possess himself of the city. The antients tell us, that *Polycrates* in this undertaking was assisted by fifteen men only, not venturing to admit others into the conspiracy for fear of being betrayed; so universally did the love of liberty prevail among the *Samians* [k]. With this small body he made himself master of the most important places of the city, reduced the citadel called *Astipalæa*, and maintained himself in it against the utmost efforts of the *Samians*, till he was relieved by a body of *Naxians*, sent him by *Lygdamis* tyrant of *Naxus*. With this reinforcement he settled himself on the throne after having either banished or put to death all those who had declared against him. Having thus got rid of his enemies, he amply rewarded his friends by conferring upon them the chief employments of his new kingdom; he divided the island, pursuant to his promise, with his two brothers; but soon after repenting of what he had done caused *Pantagnostus* to be put to death, and banished *Syloson*. By this means being master of the whole island, he began to entertain thoughts of inlarging his dominions, and that he might not be diverted by the king of *Egypt*, he entered into an alliance with *Amasis*, who then reigned there. The friendship between these two princes was cultivated with mutual presents: amongst others *Amasis* sent to *Samos* two statues of himself curiously carved in wood, which were still to be seen in the time of *Herodotus*, standing behind the gates of the temple of *Juno*. Having nothing to fear on the side of *Egypt*,

Polycrates.

Year of the flood 2470. *Before Christ* 518.

[h] Herodot. l. iii. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. Strab. l. xiv. Pausan. in Attic. Polyænus, l. i. Athenæus, l. xii. c. 9. Dion. Chryst. Orat. 17.

a *Egypt*, which was then a powerful kingdom, he equipped a fleet of an hundred gallies, and putting on board a thouſand choſen archers and other land-forces, he fell upon the neighbouring iſlands, being in all his enterprizes attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that he attacked no place without maſtering it. He did not ſpare even his friends and allies, ſaying that they would be more obliged to him if he reſtored to them what he had taken, than if had left them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their lands and dominions. After he had reduced moſt of the iſlands he landed his forces on the continent of *Aſia*, and made himſelf maſter of many cities on the coaſt; inſomuch, that embaſſadors were ſent to him from all the neighbouring ſtates, offering to ſubmit upon what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe. The *Leſbians* alone oppoſed him, but were entirely defeated in a ſea-fight, in which he took a great many priſoners, and b condemning them all to the chain employed them in ſurrounding the city of *Samos* with a deep and wide ditch. When news was brought to *Amaſis* of the ſucceſs that attended him in all his expeditions, he is ſaid to have wrote to him in the following terms. *Amaſis* to *Polycrates*: I have heard with pleaſure the fortunate ſucceſſes that attend the enterprizes of a friend and ally. But the unuſual greatneſs of your proſperity alarms me, being well appriſed that the gods are envious. As for me, I would rather chuſe that my affairs and thoſe of my friends ſhould be alternately attended with good and bad fortune through the whole courſe of my life, than be always accompanied with an uninterrupted felicity. For I do not remember c to have ever heard of a man, who having been always happy did not at laſt periſh by ſome ſignal calamity. Be adviſed therefore by me, and guard yourſelf againſt the bad conſequences of good fortune in this manner: conſider what you value moſt, and would be greatly concerned to loſe, and of that, be it what it will, deprive yourſelf. If your proſperity ſtill continues without any viciſſitude, repeat the ſame remedy. *Polycrates*, having read the letter, approved of the advice given him by his friend, and after deliberating with himſelf what thing he would be moſt unwilling to part with, came at laſt to this reſolution. He had a ſeal cut in an emerald, and ſet in gold by one *Theodorus* a *Samian*. This he valued above all his treaſures, and therefore to counterbalance his good fortune, going on board a galley of fifty d oars, and advancing far into the deep, in the preſence of all thoſe who attended him, he threw the emerald into the ſea. He then commanded them to ſail back, and on his return was greatly grieved for the loſs of ſuch an ineſtimable treaſure. But a few days after a fiſherman having taken a fiſh of an extraordinary ſize, and thinking it a preſent worthy of *Polycrates*, carried it to the palace. *Polycrates* was highly pleaſed with it, and, having invited the fiſherman to dine with him, ordered it to be dreſſed that very day. When the ſervants opened the belly of the fiſh they found, to their great ſurprize, the emerald lodged there, and immediately carried it to *Polycrates*, who being perſuaded that ſuch an extraordinary event could not be imputed to chance, but to a particular providence of the gods, acquainted *Amaſis* with his throwing the ſignet into the ſea, and the manner in which he had recovered e it. *Amaſis*, having read his letter, and not doubting but ſome great misfortune would ſoon or late befal him, immediately diſpatched an herald to *Samos*, enjoining him to renounce in his name the friendſhip of *Polycrates*, and diſſolve all the obligations of hoſpitality, that had been contracted between them; leſt the calamities, which threatened *Polycrates*, ſhould affect him with that grief which a friend owes to the misfortunes of a friend [1].

Polycrates, being no longer under any engagements with the king of *Egypt*, ſent embaſſadors to *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia*, enjoining them to conclude an alliance with that prince, and offer him what forces he required for the expedition he was f meditating againſt *Egypt*. *Cambyſes* readily accepted of the offer made him by the embaſſadors, and at the ſame time acquainted *Polycrates* that he ſtood in no need of land-forces, but wanted a fleet to convey his troops into *Egypt*. Hereupon *Polycrates* having equipped forty gallies ſent them to *Cambyſes*, with all thoſe *Samians* on board, whom he ſuſpected of ſeditious deſigns, requeſting him not to ſuffer them ever to return to their native country. Some writers affirm that theſe *Samians* never arrived in *Egypt*, but in their paſſage having called a council of war reſolved not to proceed farther than the *Carpathian* ſea. Others tell us, that they arrived in *Egypt*, but finding

[1] Herodot. l. iii. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1. & l. xxxvii. c. 1. Solin. c. 35. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 11. Lucian. in Charonte.

finding themſelves there carefully watched by the *Perſians*, laid hold of the firſt opportunity to make their eſcape, and on their return to *Samos* met the fleet of *Polycrates*, which they defeated, and landed ſafe in their own country, where they fought an unſucceſsful battle at land, and afterwards ſet ſail for *Lacedæmon*. Some writers ſay, that in this action too they carried the day; but this opinion, as *Herodotus* rightly obſerves, is quite groundleſs; for they would not have been obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, if they had found themſelves in a condition to make head againſt the forces of the tyrant. Beſides, it is very improbable, that one, who had a numerous army of mercenaries, and a choſen body of *Samian* bowmen in conſtant pay, ſhould be overcome by ſo unequal a number as thoſe were who returned from *Egypt*, eſpecially if we conſider, that *Polycrates*, as *Herodotus* informs us, to prevent any treachery had ſhut up the wives and children of all the *Samians* in the arſenal, reſolving to burn them together with the naval ſtores, if he found himſelf betrayed to the exiles [m].

THESE *Samians*, thus expelled by *Polycrates*, had recourſe to the *Lacedæmonians*, by whom they were at firſt received but very indifferently; for having made a long ſpeech ſetting forth the calamities they had ſuffered, the *Lacedæmonians* gave them no other anſwer, than that they had forgot the firſt part of their ſpeech, and therefore did not underſtand the laſt. The *Samians* being a ſecond time admitted into the aſſembly brought with them an empty baſket, and ſhewing it, only ſaid, *It is empty*, ſignifying thereby that they wanted bread. The *Lacedæmonians* anſwered, that the baſket alone ſufficiently declared their wants, and immediately decreed to aſſiſt them. The *Samian* writers, quoted by *Herodotus*, tell us, that the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the defence of the exiles, in requital of the aſſiſtance they had formerly received from them in a war with the *Meſſenians*; but the *Lacedæmonians* ſay, that they eſpouſed their cauſe not out of any good will to the exiles, but to be revenged on the *Samians* for having formerly intercepted a curious baſon, which they had ſent as a preſent to *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, and robbed them the year before of a rich preſent, which the king of *Egypt* had ſent them. But whatever was the motive that prompted them to aſſiſt the baniſhed *Samians*, they equipped a powerful fleet, and being joined by the *Corinthians*, whom the *Samians* had formerly diſobliged as we have related above, ſet ſail for *Samos* and laid ſiege to the capital of the iſland. *Polycrates* made a vigorous defence, and frequently ſallying out cut great numbers of the aggreſſors in pieces. In one of theſe ſallies the *Samians* being entirely routed were purſued with great ſlaughter to the very gates of their city, which the *Lacedæmonians* would have taken had they followed the example of their leaders *Archias* and *Lycopes*. For theſe two entered the city together with the flying *Samians*, and finding their retreat cut off, died valiantly fighting within the walls. The *Lacedæmonians* continued before the place for the ſpace of forty days; but finding they could not maſter it, raiſed the ſiege and returned to *Lacedæmon*. Some writers tell us that *Polycrates*, having agreed to pay them on their departure a large ſum of money, cauſed a great many pieces of lead to be coined and gilt, and with theſe purchaſed a peace, without leſſening his treaſures or enriching the enemy [n].

AFTER their departure, thoſe *Samians*, who had brought the war upon *Polycrates*, finding themſelves abandoned, ſet ſail for the iſland of *Siphnus*, which is one of the *Cyclades*. The affairs of the *Siphnians* were then in a flouriſhing condition, and their riches immenſe; that iſland ſo abounding in mines of gold and ſilver, that the tenth of the money they coined being ſent yearly to *Delphos* equalled the greateſt treaſure there; for they divided once a year the riches which they drew from their mines, ſending the tenth part of the whole as a preſent to *Apollo*. One year, after having made the uſual offering, they conſulted the oracle to know whether their proſperity ſhould continue longt and received this anſwer from the *Pythian*. When the public ſtructures ſhall be cloathed in white, let the wiſe men beware of a wooden force and red embaſſadors. The prytanean court and porticos at *Siphnus* were then adorned with white *Parian* marble; and yet the *Siphnians* did not underſtand the meaning of the oracle even upon the landing of the *Samians*, though they ſent immediately one of their ſhips, which according to the *Samian* faſhion was painted red, with embaſſadors to the city of *Siphnus*. The *Samians*, being admitted to audience, defired

[m] HERODOT. ibid. STRAB. l. xiv. ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſtor. l. ix. c. 4. MAX. TYRIUS, Serm. 31.
[n] HERODOT. l. iii

a desired a loan of ten talents; but receiving a denial returned to their companions and ravaged the territories of *Siphnus*. Whereupon the *Siphnians* drawing together all their forces engaged the *Samians*, but were defeated and many of them taken prisoners, for whose ransom the *Samians* received an hundred talents. With this supply they repaired their ships and sailed to *Hermione*, the inhabitants of which place, through fear of being treated by them as the *Siphnians* had been, gave them the island of *Thyrea*, situate near *Peloponnesus*, which they committed to the care of the *Træzenians*, and pursued their course to the island of *Crete*, where they founded the city of *Cydonia*, after having driven out of that part of the island the *Zacynthians*. They continued in this settlement five years, and built the temple of *Dictynna* with b several others, which were still standing in the time of our historian. But in the sixth year they were entirely defeated together with the *Cretans* in a sea-fight by the inhabitants of *Ægina*, who took off the prows of their ships and placed them in the temple of *Minerva*. Thus the *Æginates* revenged themselves on the *Samians*, for having formerly made war upon them without any provocation, under the conduct of their king *Amphicrates*, as we have hinted above [o]. The *Samians*, being driven from *Crete*, sailed, if we believe *Eusebius* [p], to *Italy*, and there founded the city of *Dicæarchia*, called afterwards *Puteoli*, and at present *Puzzoli*.

But to return to *Polycrates*; upon the departure of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Samian* exiles, he began to entertain thoughts of subduing all *Ionia*, together with the *Asiatic* c islands, an enterprize, as *Herodotus* observes, which no one before him had ever attempted. He raised a numerous army, equipped the greatest fleet that had been seen in those seas till that time, and made all the other necessary preparations for so difficult an undertaking. But before he could accomplish his design, he was cut off by an untimely death, which is thus related by *Herodotus*. *Oroetes* a *Persian*, who had been appointed governor of *Sardis* by *Cyrus*, and another of the same nation, by name *Mitrobates* governor of *Dascylium*, falling one day out, *Mitrobates* upbraided *Oroetes* for not having reduced the island of *Samos*, which lay so near his govern- ment, and had been brought under subjection by *Polycrates*, with the assistance only d of fifteen men. This reproach left a deep impression on the mind of *Oroetes*, who from that time watched all opportunities of being revenged, not on *Mitrobates*, who had affronted him, but on *Polycrates* as the cause of the affront, though he had never seen him or been any ways injured by him. Other ancient writers say, that *Oroetes* sent a messenger to *Polycrates* about some private affairs, and that *Polycrates* happening on the arrival of the messenger to be lying on a couch, *Anacreon* of *Teos*, the famous lyric poet, sitting by him, he did not condescend to give the mes- senger any answer, or even to look at him, continuing the whole time he delivered his message with his face towards the wall. This, they say, was what provoked the haughty *Persian*, and prompted him to put *Polycrates* treacherously to death. e *Oroetes* resided at that time in the city of *Magnesia*, whence he sent one *Myrsus* the son of *Gyges*, a *Lydian*, to *Samos*, enjoining him to acquaint *Polycrates*, that he had heard what great things he had in view, but had been at the same time informed that he wanted money to put his projects in execution. Wherefore he designed to assist him with great treasures, provided he would engage to protect him against *Cambyses*, who was determined, according to the private intelligence he had received, to take away his life. The messenger was ordered to add, that if *Polycrates* questioned the truth of what he said concerning the treasures, he might easily satisfy himself in that particular, by sending one of the most trusty persons he had about him to see them. *Polycrates* received this proposal with joy, and immediately sent his secretary f *Mæandrius* to take a view of the treasures. When *Oroetes* heard he was coming with this design, he caused eight chests to be filled with stones, which he covered with some pieces of gold, and by that means deceived *Mæandrius*, upon whose infor- mation *Polycrates* resolved to go in person to *Oroetes*, though he was earnestly dis- suaded by his friends, and, if we believe *Herodotus*, by the gods themselves (N). But

[o] Herodot. l. iii. [p] Euseb. in Chron.

(N) *Herodotus* tells us, that his daughter dreamt she saw her father elevated in the air, and anointed by the sun, and that, being deeply affected with her dream, she endeavoured by all means to divert him from his intended voyage, accompanying him even to the sea-side, and assuring him that nothing but misfortunes could attend his enterprize. But *Polycrates* rejecting all advice embarqued on a galley of fifty oars, threatening his daughter, who left no stone unturned to prevent his journey, that if he returned

But he despising their advice set out with divers of his friends, among whom was *Democedes* the *Crotonian*, the most skilful physician of his time. When he arrived at *Magnesia*, the treacherous *Oroetes* caused him to be seized and crucified, a death, as *Herodotus* observes, unworthy of a man, who far excelled in all respects the greatest heroes of his age [P]. *Valerius Maximus* [q] and *Tully* [r] tell us, that he was crucified by *Orontes*, for so they call him, governor under *Darius Hystaspis*, upon the top of mount *Mycale*, which is a promontory of *Ionia* over-against *Samos*. But it is very plain from all the ancients, that *Darius* was then only one of *Cambyses*'s guards, and that *Polycrates* came to this tragical end while *Cambyses* was delirious in *Egypt*. *Pliny* [s] in this agrees with *Herodotus*; for according to him *Polycrates* was put to death in the 230th year of *Rome*, which, if we follow *Varro*, fell upon the sixty-fourth olympiad. [b] Thus died *Polycrates*, a prince, who to the hour of his death had never felt the least shock of adverse fortune, being attended, during the whole course of his life, in every thing he undertook, with all the success and prosperity he could have wished for. All the ancients speak of his prosperity as miraculous, and amongst others *Valerius Maximus*, who tells us, that he never formed a design, which he did not with great ease put in execution, nor earnestly wish for a thing which he did not obtain, as if fortune had been wholly employed in waiting upon him [t]. He was, without all doubt, a man of most extraordinary parts, and, if we believe *Herodotus* [u], superior in wisdom, greatness of mind, and other princely qualities, to all the *Greek* tyrants, not even those of *Syracuse* excepted. He took great delight in the conver- [c] sation of learned men, and used to spend great part of his time, when at leisure from public affairs, with *Anacreon* and *Pythagoras*. The former he once presented with five talents, and the latter he recommended in a very obliging manner to *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, when that philosopher undertook for his improvement a journey into that kingdom. He embellished the city of *Samos* with many magnificent and stately buildings, which, as *Aristotle* informs us [w], were still standing in his time; nay great part of the palace, which he built for himself, was remaining in the time of the *Roman* emperors; for *Caligula*, as we read in *Suetonius* [x], had some thoughts of repairing that noble fabric, which was a subject of admiration even in those days. As to his character there is no small disagreement among authors, some painting him [d] as a cruel tyrant, and others representing him as a prince of great humanity and moderation. *Diodorus Siculus* [y] tells us, that he oppressed his own subjects in a most tyrannical manner, and with no less cruelty treated such strangers as happened to come into his country; which so shocked *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, that, after having advised him in vain to rule with more humanity and moderation, he at last renounced the friendship which he had contracted with him, saying, that he foresaw the miserable fall that would soon overtake one who governed so tyrannically. This, as we have seen above, is related in a very different manner by *Herodotus*, who seems to have entertained a far better opinion of *Polycrates*; for he commends him as a prince of great generosity, and speaking of his unhappy end says, that he was put to death in [e] a manner unworthy of a man of his dignity and grandeur, and not to be mentioned without indignation [z]. But *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, *Gellius*, and *Eusebius* seem to agree with *Diodorus*, for they are all unanimous in telling us, that *Pythagoras* (O) abandoned his native country, because he could not endure the tyranny of *Polycrates*.

Polycrates

[P] HERODOT. ibid. STRAB. l. xiv. PAUSAN. in Atticis. [q] VAL. MAX. l. vi. cap. ult. [r] CIC. l. iii. de Finibus. [s] PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 1. [t] VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 11. [u] HERODOT. ibid. [w] ARISTOT. l. v. Polit. c. 11. [x] SUET. in Calig. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. c. 5. [z] HERODOT. ubi supra.

returned safe, she should long continue unmarried. Upon his arrival at *Magnesia* being seized by *Oroetes* and crucified, the dream of his daughter, says *Herodotus*, was accomplished; for as he hung on the cross exposed to the heat of the sun, he was first all covered over with the sweat of his body, and afterwards, a violent shower happening to fall, washed, we may say, by *Jupiter*, who sent it (3). By the help of such distorted interpretations there is no dream, but what may be easily fulfilled.

(3) *Herodot. l. 3.*

(O) This celebrated philosopher was a native of *Samos*, and for some time a great favourite of *Polycrates*; but on his return from *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, and *Chaldea*, whither he had travelled for his improvement, not being able to endure the tyranny of *Polycrates*, he retired to that part of *Italy*, which was called *Magna Græcia*, and founded there a famous sect of philosophers. Most writers acknowledge him to be the inventor of arithmetic, which *Plato* (4) ascribes to the *Egyptian Mercury*, and some others

(4) *Plato in Phæd.*

Mæandrus. *Year of the flood* 4[illegible]. *Before Christ* 523.

a *Polycrates* was succeeded in the tyranny by *Mæandrius* his secretary, whom upon his departure for *Magnesia* he had appointed to govern during his absence. When *Mæandrius* heard of his death, he took the whole power into his own hands, *Syloson* the late king's brother being then in banishment. *Mæandrius* was a man of great probity, and therefore no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereign power, but he resolved to resign it, and restore his countrymen to their former liberty. Having therefore erected an altar to *Jupiter the deliverer*, and marked out the ground for a temple, he summoned a general assembly of the citizens, and addressed them thus: "You know that I was entrusted with the sceptre and all the power of *Po-*
"*lycrates*, and that the government is wholly in my hands. But I will not be guilty
b "of a crime, which I should condemn in another. The arbitrary power assumed
"by *Polycrates* over men equal to himself was never approved of by me; neither
"shall I ever approve of it in any other person. Now that the decree of the gods
"has been fulfilled in him, I surrender the government into your hands, and pro-
"claim an equal liberty to all. Only I desire you would grant me six talents out
"of the treasures of *Polycrates*, and confer upon me and my descendents for ever
"the

to *Palamedes* (5). St. *Austin* (6) speaks of a goddess *Numeria*, whom the *Pagans* worshipped as the goddess of numbers, believing they had been first introduced by her. *Pythagoras* is said to have been the first who taught the immortality of the soul. As to the transmigration of souls, which was the principal part of his philosophy, some writers endeavour to excuse him, saying, that he meant only the sensitive soul or vital principle of the animal. We are told, he was never seen to weep or laugh. *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, and others, who have wrote his life, greatly vary among themselves as to the particulars and circumstances of his death; some saying he was assassinated, others that he died suddenly, *&c.* He died, according to *Eusebius* (7), in the fourth year of the seventieth olympiad, and eightieth or ninetieth of his life. *Cedrenus* tells us, that he wrote an account of the war which *Cyrus* made upon the *Samians*, and relates from him that *Cyrus* was killed in this war. But that writer was certainly mistaken, since *Plutarch*, *Lucian*, and *Porphyrius* assure us, that *Pythagoras* resolved to leave nothing in writing. *Josephus* likewise (8) informs us, that in his time no one piece ascribed to this philosopher was allowed to be genuine; and *Rufinus*, in his answer to S. *Hierom*, who had quoted *Pythagoras*, urges, that there were no genuine writings of that philosopher remaining; to which *Hierom* replied, that what he had said of him was not meant of his writings, but of his opinions, which he had learnt from *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and *Seneca*. However, *Diogenes Laertius* in his life mentions three books written by him, namely of *instruction*, *politics*, and *natural philosophy*. The book of verses, which bears his name and is a collection of the opinions and maxims of the *Pythagorean* philosophers, was not written by him, but by one *Lysis*, if we believe *Laertius*, a *Pythagorean* of *Sarepta*, who retired from *Thebes*, and was preceptor to *Epaminondas*. Others ascribe this book to *Philolaus*, some to *Eudoxus*, and some to *Empedocles*.

Pythagoras was not the only great man this island produced; *Chœrilus*, *Conon*, *Cacophylus*, *Pythagoras* the statuary, *&c.* were natives of *Samos*, and are mentioned by *Strabo* and other ancient writers as the ornaments of the ages they lived in (9). *Chœrilus* wrote in verse the actions of *Xerxes* and *Darius*, kings of *Persia*, and of *Archelaus* king of *Macedon*, to which he added some of his verses on the expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, wherein he speaks of a nation serving under that prince come from *Phœnice* using an unknown language, and dwelling on the mountains of *Solyma* near a great lake; which, in the opinion of *Josephus*, is plainly meant of the *Jews*, the mountains of *Solyma* and the lake of *Asphaltites* being in their country. *Suidas* and *Strabo* (10) cite other verses from the same poem, and *Hesychius* tells us, that the *Athenians* gave him a stater of gold for each verse of the poem he wrote on the victory obtained by the *Greeks* over *Xerxes*. Some writers have confounded *Chœrilus* the *Samian* with another poet bearing the same name, who lived in the time of *Alexander*. The latter was a wretched writer, as appears from what *Horace* says of him in the following verses:

Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui versibus & male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos (11).

And elsewhere (12),

Sit Chœrilus ille,
Quem bis terque bonum cum risu miror, &c.

Chœrilus the *Samian* lived before *Alexander*, and withdrew from *Samos* to the court of *Archelaus*, where he died. Some of his verses, which have been transmitted to us by *Aristotle* (13) and *Tatian*, shew that he was no contemptible poet.

Conon was a famous mathematician, and is said to have wrote seven books of astronomy. He lived in an intimate friendship with *Archimedes*, and taught him, as *Pomponius Mela* informs us, the first rudiments of mathematics. It was he who gave out, that the hair of *Berenice*, the wife of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, was taken up into heaven, and there transformed into seven stars called from thence *Coma Berenices*. He is mentioned by *Strabo* (14), *Virgil* (15), and others. *Creophylus* was an excellent poet, and contemporary with *Homer*, who presented him, as we read in *Strabo* (16), with a poem on the taking of the city of *Oechalia*. This poem is mentioned also by *Pausanias* and *Callimachus*; but both these writers make *Creophylus*, and not *Homer*, the author of it. *Creophylus* entertained *Homer* in his house, and is said by some to have been his master, and to have had great share in the composing of the divine work, as *Cicero* stiles it, which passes under the name of that inimitable poet. *Hierophyle*, one of the sybils, was likewise a native of *Samos*, and is commonly known by the name of the *Samian Sybil*.

(5) *Vide Beda in lib. de Comput. & Isidor. l.* iii. (6) *Augustin. de Civit. Dei, l.* iv. (7) *Euseb. in Chron.* (8) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* ii. (9) *Strab. l.* vi. (10) *Idem, l.* vii. (11) *Horat. l.* ii. *ep.* 1. *v.* 232. (12) *Idem de Art. Poetic.* (13) *Aristot. Rhetor.* (14) *Strab. l.* xiv. (15) *Virgil. Eclog.* 3. *v.* 40. (16) *Strab. l.* xiv. (17) *Pausan. in Messen.*

" the prieſthood of the temple of *Jupiter the deliverer*, as a juſt reward of the
" benefits you are to receive by my means." Having thus ſpoke, one *Teleſearchus*,
a leading man among the *Samians*, bitterly inveighing againſt him, inſiſted upon his
giving an account of the public money he had ſpent, during the ſhort time he had
governed. *Mæandrus* perceiving by the tenor of this ſpeech that, if he diveſted him-
ſelf of the power, he could be no longer ſafe in his own country, and that ſome
other would ſoon uſurp it, reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of the government; and accord-
ingly retiring to the citadel, and ſending for the citizens under colour of giving
them an account of the public treaſures, he ſeized their perſons and kept them
under cloſe confinement to prevent inſurrections in the city. In the mean time *Mæ-
andrus* falling ſick, his brother *Lycaretus*, imagining he could not recover, put all
the priſoners to death, that he might with more eaſe uſurp the ſovereignty. But *Mæ-
andrus* recovered and ruled quietly in *Samos* till he was driven out by the *Perſians*,
who placed *Syloſon*, the brother of *Polycrates*, in his room. This event is related
by *Herodotus* [a] in the following manner. *Syloſon* being baniſhed by his brother, as
we have related above, retired into *Egypt*, where *Cambyſes* was at that time making
war upon *Amaſis* king of that country. While he reſided at *Memphis*, *Darius*, who
was one of *Cambyſes*'s guards and made then no great figure, was greatly taken
with a ſcarlet cloak which *Syloſon* wore, and aſked him whether he would ſell it.
Syloſon, perceiving him to be paſſionately fond of the garment, anſwered, that he
would not part with it for any riches, but would willingly give it him, if he cared
to receive it as a preſent. *Darius* accepted the offer, and *Syloſon*, who was then
but in very indifferent circumſtances, thought himſelf a loſer by his forward gene-
roſity. But when he heard that *Darius*, after the death of *Cambyſes* and deſtruction
of the mages, was advanced to the throne, he haſtened to *Suſa*, and deſired audience
of the king, telling the guards that he had been a benefactor to him; which when
Darius heard, he anſwered with ſurprize; What *Grecian* is this who pretends to have
conferred benefits upon me, and to be reſpected on that account? I have but lately
taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and have ſeen here few or none of that country;
neither can I remember that I am at all obliged to any *Grecian*. However, bring
in the man that I may hear what he ſays from his own mouth. *Syloſon* was imme-
diately introduced, and aſked by the interpreters who he was, and what he meant
by ſaying that he had been a benefactor to the king. Then *Syloſon* related what had
paſſed in *Egypt* between *Darius* and himſelf, which the king remembering anſwered:
O thou moſt generous man! art thou then the perſon from whoſe hands I received
that preſent, which, though ſmall in itſelf, yet at that time when I had no power,
was of more value to me than any thing that can be offered me at preſent? I will
reward thee plentifully with gold and ſilver, that thou mayeſt not repent thy kind-
neſs to *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpis*. *Syloſon* replied, that he neither aſked gold nor
ſilver, but only that he would ſave his country, which ever ſince the death of his
brother *Polycrates* had been poſſeſſed by one who had no claim to it. Give me,
ſaid he, *Samos* without blood, and without expelling my countrymen. *Darius*,
having heard his requeſt, immediately ſent an army under the conduct of *Otanes*,
one of the ſeven, to *Samos*, ordering him to act agreeable to the directions of *Sy-
loſon*. *Otanes* arriving on the coaſt of *Samos* landed his forces without the leaſt op-
poſition. As they drew near the city, *Mæandrus* with thoſe of his party offered
to depart the iſland under a promiſe of indemnity and protection. *Otanes* readily
agreed to the propoſal, and a truce was concluded on both ſides. But in the mean
time *Charilaus*, another brother of *Mæandrus*, who had been ſhut up in a dungeon
for ſeveral crimes he was guilty of, having overheard what was doing, and from an
aperture of his priſon obſerved the *Perſians* ſitting before the caſtle without the leaſt
apprehenſion, demanded to ſpeak with his brother. He was accordingly brought
into his preſence, when he began with moſt opprobrious and reviling language to ſtir
him up againſt the *Perſians*, calling him a coward for parting ſo tamely with a
kingdom, and demanding leave to do for him what he had not courage enough to
do for himſelf. He engaged, if he would but truſt him with the command of
his forces for a few days, not only to make the *Perſians* repent their coming, but
to drive them out of the iſland. *Mæandrus* accepted the offer, not that he ima-
gined his troops able to cope with the *Perſians*, but out of envy to *Syloſon*, and in
order

[a] Herodot. l. iii.

a order to weaken the power of the *Samians* before he took poſſeſſion of the iſland. For he knew, that the *Perſians* would not fail to take a ſevere revenge on the *Samians* for the outrages they ſhould ſuffer; and as for himſelf, he could make his eſcape out of the iſland when he pleaſed, having made a private paſſage under-ground, leading from the caſtle to the ſea. *Charilaus* no ſooner ſaw himſelf at the head of the troops, but ſallying out of the citadel upon the *Perſians*, who expected no hoſtilities, every thing having been already agreed on, he ſurprized and killed the chief men among them. But the reſt of the army, taking the alarm, came in to their relief, and repulſed the *Samians* into the caſtle. *Otanes*, being provoked at the great loſs he had ſuſtained, commanded his army, notwithſtanding the orders given him by *Darius*
b not to kill or take any *Samian* priſoner, to put all they met to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age. So that while one part of his forces was employed in beſieging the caſtle, the reſt were buſied in plundering the houſes and murdering the inhabitants, without ſparing even ſuch as had taken ſanctuary in the temples. *Mæandrus* made his eſape by ſea, and fled to *Lacedæmon*, where ſoon after his arrival having commanded his ſlaves to take out and cleanſe his gold and ſilver plate, he conducted *Cleomenes*, the ſon of *Anaxandrides*, then king of *Sparta*, to his houſe, hoping he might take a fancy to ſome of his rich moveables, and thereby give him an opportunity of gaining him over to his views. The king was greatly ſurprized at the workmanſhip of ſome cups, which *Mæandrus* perceiving preſſed him to take what-
c ever he pleaſed, and repeated his offer ſeveral times. But *Cleomenes* conſtantly refuſed to accept of any thing; and being afterwards informed that other citizens had received his preſents, he went immediately to complain of him to the ephori, who, fearing leſt he ſhould introduce luxury among them, commanded him to depart *Peloponneſus* that very day [b].

THE *Perſians*, upon the flight of *Mæandrus*, put *Samos*, plundered and depopulated Syloſon.
as it was, into the hands of *Syloſon*. *Otanes*, the *Perſian* general, is ſaid to have repeopled it upon a viſion he ſaw in a dream, and a diſtemper with which he was ſeized. *Syloſon*, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of the iſland and ſupported by the *Perſians*, oppreſſed his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that moſt of them, abandoning their native
d country, ſettled either in the neighbouring iſlands or on the continent, ſo that *Samos* became again almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, the lands lying every-where untilled, and the whole country reſembling a deſart [c].

Syloſon after a ſhort reign was ſucceeded by his ſon *Æaces*, who attended *Darius* in Æaces.
his expedition into *Scythia*, and is counted by *Herodotus* among the *Ionian* tyrants, who had no ſmall ſhare in the eſteem of *Darius*. *Æaces* being driven out, as well as the other tyrants of *Ionia*, by *Ariſtagoras* the *Mileſian*, the *Samians* openly declared againſt *Darius* and joined the other *Ionians* in the revolt. But when the two fleets, the *Ionian* conſiſting of three hundred and ſixty-three ſhips and the *Perſians* of ſix hundred,
e were ready to engage near *Lade*, a ſmall iſland over-againſt *Miletus*, *Æaces*, who had received on board the *Perſian* fleet, ſent a meſſenger to the *Samians*, exhorting them to abandon the confederacy, ſince they could not poſſibly prevail againſt the king, who, if that fleet were deſtroyed, could fit out another five times as powerful. The *Samians* hearkened to this meſſage, and in the heat of the engagement hoiſting ſail abandoned their confederates, and returned with fifty ſhips to *Samos*. However, eleven of the *Samian* ſhips refuſed to obey their leaders, and together with the *Chians* fought till they were quite diſabled. The commanders of theſe were rewarded by the community of *Samos* with an inſcription on a pillar, declaring their names and families, in order to tranſmit their memory to poſterity, and this monument was ſtill ſtanding in *Herodotus*'s time [d]. The example of the *Samians*, who
f retired in the beginning of the fight, being followed by the *Lesbians* and all the confederates, except the *Chians*, the *Perſians* gained a complete victory, took *Miletus*, and were preparing to invade *Samos*, in order to replace *Æaces*, to whom they were chiefly indebted for their ſucceſs, on the throne of *Samos*. But many of the *Samians*, chuſing rather to abandon their country than to live in ſubjection to him and the *Perſians*, ſet ſail for *Sicily*, being invited thither by the *Zanclæans*, who were deſirous to have in their territory a city inhabited by the *Ionians*, and had allotted for that purpoſe a place on the coaſt which faces the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, and was then called *the Beautiful Coaſt*. Upon their arrival in *Sicily* they found the city of *Zancle* quite aban-

[b] HERODOT. l. iii. PLUT. in Apophtheg. ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 5. EUSEB. in Chron. JULIAN in epiſt. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. [c] PLUT. l. xiv. EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. [d] HERODOT. l. vi

abandoned, the *Zancleans* being with their king *Scythes* employed in the siege of a *Sicilian* city. Hereupon *Anaxilaus*, tyrant of *Rhegium* and an enemy to the *Zanclæans*, insinuated to the *Samians*, that it would be more advantagious for them to seize on the city of *Zancle* in the absence of the inhabitants, than to settle on the coast designed for their establishment. The *Samians* were easily prevailed upon to follow his advice, which the *Zanclæans* understanding, hastened to recover their city, calling in to their assistance *Hippocrates* tyrant of *Gela* their ally. But *Hippocrates*, betraying his friends, agreed with the *Samians* to leave them in possession of the city, and deliver up to them the rest of the *Zancleans*, provided they yielded to him one half of the slaves and of the plunder of the city, with all the booty that should be found in the country. Thus the *Samians* made themselves masters of one of the greatest and most beautiful cities of *Sicily*. As to the *Zanclæans*, they were either banished or reduced to slavery by *Hippocrates*, to whom they were delivered by the *Samians* pursuant to their agreement. *Scythes* their king was banished with his brother *Pythogenes* to *Inycum*, whence he made his escape to *Himera*, and there imbarking passed over into *Asia* to *Darius* [e].

IN the mean time the *Persians*, after the reduction of *Miletus*, put over with their fleet to *Samos*, and reinstated *Æaces* in his former government, for the eminent service he had rendered them, by persuading his countrymen to abandon the rest of the *Ionians* in the engagement at *Lade*. *Samos* by this means was the only city, of all those which revolted from *Darius*, that escaped undestroyed. *Æaces*, being thus restored to his authority, continued faithful to the *Persians*, and served under *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*, obliging the *Samians*, contrary to their inclinations, to assist the *Persians* with their navy against their countrymen. During the *Grecian* war *Æaces* died, and was succeeded by *Theomestor*, whom *Xerxes* raised to that dignity for his couragious behaviour in the sea-fight at *Salamis*, on which occasion he took several of the *Greek* ships, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner; as also did *Phylacus* another *Samian*, who was not only admitted into the number of those, who from deserving well of the king were called by the *Persians Orosanges*, but rewarded with large possessions and great wealth [f].

'Theomestor. *Year of the Flood* 2520. *Before Christ* 479.

THE *Samians* continued thus subject to the *Persians* and their own tyrants, who were but mere tools of the *Persian* kings, till the famous victory gained by the *Greeks* at *Mycale*, when they were restored to the full enjoyment of their antient liberties. Before this engagement, while the *Grecian* fleet was anchored at *Delos*, under the command of *Leotychides* the *Lacedæmonian*, the *Samians*, without being suspected either by the *Persians* or their own tyrant *Theomestor*, sent three of their chief citizens, *Lampon*, *Athenagoras*, and *Hegesistratus*, to assure the commanders of the *Greek* navy, that the *Ionians* would not fail to revolt from the *Persians* as soon as their fleet appeared. *Hegesistratus*, who spoke for the rest, added, that if they entertained the least suspicion of their sincerity, they were all three ready to remain with them as hostages. *Leotychides* after hearing him had the curiosity to ask his name, and understanding that he was called *Hegesistratus*, which in *Greek* signifies *leader of an army*, he resolved forthwith to set sail and attack the *Persian* fleet which lay then off of *Samos*. Having therefore obliged the three *Samian* embassadors to confirm with an oath the truth of what they had said, he retained *Hegesistratus*, taking his name for a presage of success, and suffered the other two to return home. The next day *Leotychides*, having offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods, put to sea, and standing towards *Samos* came to an anchor near the temple of *Juno*. But the *Persians*, being informed of their approach, made towards the continent, and hawling their ships ashore fled to their land-forces, which were encamped at *Mycale* to the number of sixty thousand men. In the mean time the *Persian* generals caused all the *Samians* to be disarmed, fearing they were disposed to favour the enemy, because they had already redeemed all the *Athenians* taken in *Attica* by the forces of *Xerxes*, brought them to *Samos*, and thence sent them back to *Athens* furnished with provisions for their voyage. The *Samians*, though thus disarmed, in the very beginning of the engagement revolted to the *Greeks*, and assisted them in the best manner they could. Their example was immediately followed by the rest of the *Ionians*, who abandoning the *Persians* joined their countrymen, and greatly contributed to that victory, which put an end to the designs of *Xerxes* upon *Greece* [g].

FROM

[e] HERODOT. l. vi. [f] HERODOT. l. viii. & ix. [g] HERODOT l. ix. DIODOR. SICUL. JUSTIN. l. ii c. 14.

The Samians and other islanders enter into an alliance with the Athenians.

FROM *Mycale* the *Greeks* returned to *Samos*, where it was propoſed, in a council held by the chief commanders, to tranſplant the *Ionians* out of *Aſia*, where they were expoſed to the inſults of the *Perſians*, into *Greece*, and there beſtow upon them the cities and lands of thoſe *Greeks* who had ſided with the *Perſians*. But this motion was not approved of by the *Athenians*, who, apprehending that the *Ionians*, if once tranſplanted into *Greece*, would no longer look upon *Athens* as their mother city, engaged to protect them on all occaſions againſt the common enemy. Wherefore, having obliged the *Samians*, *Chians*, *Leſbians*, and other iſlanders, who had revolted to them from the *Perſians*, to ſwear, that they would continue in their alliance, they ſet ſail together with them for the *Helleſpont* to purſue the war on that ſide againſt the *Perſians*.

The Samians revolt from the Athenians.

THE *Samians*, being thus delivered from the *Perſian* yoke, continued ſtedfaſt in their alliance with the *Athenians* for the ſpace of thirty-ſeven years, governing themſelves entirely by their own laws, and enjoying the full poſſeſſion of their antient liberties. But in the ſixth year of the thirty years peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, they revolted from the *Athenians* on the following occaſion. The *Mileſians* and *Samians* falling out about the city of *Priene* in *Caria*, to which both parties laid claim, the former not finding themſelves in a condition to maintain a war againſt the *Samians*, gained over ſuch of them as deſired to alter the form of government, and with them repaired to *Athens*, where they complained of the injuries they had ſuffered from the republic of *Samos*, which had driven them by force from a city, which they had as good a right to as themſelves. Hereupon the *Athenians* ſent meſſengers into *Samos*, requiring the *Samians* to forbear all hoſtilities, and refer their differences to their arbitration; which they refuſing to do, by reaſon they apprehended the *Athenians* more favourable to the *Mileſians* than to them, *Pericles* prevailed upon his republic to declare war againſt *Samos*, not out of any motive of juſtice, but to gratify the famous courteſan *Aſpaſia*, who was the daughter of *Axiochus* a *Mileſian*, and greatly beloved by *Pericles*, not ſo much on account of her beauty as of her wit. The management of this war was committed to *Pericles* himſelf, who, having equipped a ſquadron of forty gallies, ſet ſail for *Samos*, laid ſiege to the city, and reduced it without any conſiderable oppoſition. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of the place, but he changed the ariſtocracy into a democratical kind of government, and having impoſed a fine of eighty talents on the inhabitants, and received fifty *Samian* youths for hoſtages, he committed them to the care of the *Lemnians* and returned to *Athens*. He was ſcarce gone, when ſuch of the *Samians* as diſliked the popular government, entering into an aſſociation, ſent deputies over into *Aſia* to *Peſſuthnes*, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, *Peſſutbines*, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes* and governor of *Sardis*, ſoliciting him to ſend them ſuccours againſt the *Athenians* the ancient enemies of *Perſia*. *Peſſuthnes*, hoping by means of theſe troubles and domeſtic broils to bring *Samos* under his power, lent them a body of ſeven hundred men. With theſe the *Samian* deputies ſetting ſail from *Aſia* in the dead of the night, with the aſſiſtance of their friends in the iſland, ſurprized the city, and having ſeized on the heads of the popular faction, and taken the *Athenians*, who were there in gariſon, priſoners, ſent them all as a preſent to *Peſſuthnes*. Having thus aboliſhed the democracy eſtabliſhed by *Pericles*, they paſſed over into the iſland of *Lesbos*, reſcued their hoſtages, and then proclaimed war againſt the *Athenians*. When news of this revolt was brought to *Athens*, *Pericles* was again diſpatched to *Samos* with ſixty ſail well manned, in order to reduce the revolters. *Pericles* arriving on the coaſt of *Aſia* detached ſixteen ſhips of his ſquadron to obſerve the motions of the *Phœnicians*, whom *Peſſuthnes* had ſent to join the *Samians*, and to bring in ſuccours from *Chios* and *Lesbos*; which when the *Samians* heard they immediately recalled twenty ſhips, which they had ſent to attack *Miletus*, and, joining to them fifty more, went to meet *Pericles*, who with forty-four ſhips entirely defeated their fleet conſiſting of ſeventy. Soon after this victory the *Athenian* ſquadron being reinforced with forty ſail from *Athens* and twenty-five from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, *Pericles* landed his men in the iſland of *Samos*, overthrew the *Samians* in a pitched battle, and laid ſiege to their metropolis, incloſing it with a triple wall on the land-ſide, and blocking it up by ſea with his fleet. But in the mean time *Pericles* receiving intelligence by letters from *Caria* and *Caunus*, that the Phœnician fleet was advancing to the relief of the beſieged city, and that *Stheſagoras*, the *Samian* admiral, had already joined them with a ſquadron under his command, charged

charged his collegues to purſue with all poſſible vigor the ſiege, while he with three- a
ſcore ſail went out in queſt of the enemy. The *Samians*, taking advantage of his abſence, made a ſally at the inſtigation, and under the conduct, of one *Meliſſus* the ſon of *Ithogenes*, routed the *Athenians*, poſſeſſed themſelves of their camp, and obliged them to retire from before the city. Being elated with this ſucceſs they attacked the enemies fleet, which blocked up the harbour, ſunk many of their ſhips, and forced the others to ſhelter themſelves in the neighbouring iſlands. But *Pericles*, receiving notice of this overthrow, returned with all poſſible expedition, and being reinforced with forty ſhips from *Athens* under the command of *Thucydides*, *Agnon*, and *Phormio*, and ſoon after with twenty more commanded by *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*, and moreover with forty from *Chios* and *Leſbos*, he attacked *Meliſſus*, and defeated the *Samians* both by ſea and land, began the ſiege with new vigor, and brought the citizens into great diſtreſs. The town was battered both day and night without intermiſſion; but the *Samians*, though quite tired out with frequent aſſaults on all ſides, and reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, yet ſuſtained the ſiege for the ſpace of nine months, without once offering to capitulate. On this occaſion the battering rams, ſcorpions, and galleries are ſaid to have been firſt invented by one *Artemon* of *Clazomenæ*, whom *Ephorus* the hiſtorian confounds with *Artemon Periphreſus*, mentioned by *Anacreon*, as quoted by *Athenæus* [h]. The *Samians* at length, ſeeing they had no hopes of relief, and that their walls were in great part ruined, ſurrendered. The only terms they could obtain were the following, *viz.* that they ſhould demoliſh their walls, give hoſtages for their fidelity in time to come, deliver up their navy, and pay the charges of the war. The *Byzantines*, who had joined the *Samians* in this war, ſubmitted at the ſame time to the *Athenians*. Thus *Pericles*, having put to death the authors of the revolt and re-eſtabliſhed the democracy, returned to *Athens* [i]. This war happened according to *Thucydides* in the ſixth of the thirty years truce between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*; but *Diodorus Siculus* places it in the fourth year of the eighty-fourth olympiad, that is, after the ſaid truce was expired.

From this time the *Samians* continued ſubject to the *Athenians* till the twentieth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, when the common people of *Samos* taking up arms againſt the nobility, who had again uſurped all the power, ſlew two hundred of them, baniſhed the reſt, and divided their lands and houſes among themſelves. This ſo pleaſed the *Athenians*, at whoſe inſtigation the people had revolted, that they reſtored to them all their antient privileges, and allowed them to govern their republic according to their own laws. The enſuing year, when the government of the four hundred was ſet up at *Athens*, the great men among the *Samians*, to the number of three hundred, formed a new conſpiracy againſt the democracy, and being aſſiſted by *Piſander* and other *Athenians*, who favoured the oligarchy, they attempted to make themſelves maſters of the city, with a deſign to murder all thoſe who were for the popular faction. But the people, having timely notice of their deſign, and being ſupported by *Leon*, *Diomedon*, *Thraſybulus*, and other *Athenians*, who were then in *Samos* and profeſſed enemies to the oligarchy, repulſed them, and having killed about thirty of the three hundred conſpirators, obliged the reſt to ſubmit to the democracy. In this ſtate the iſland of *Samos* continued long ſubject to the *Athenians*, and was reſorted to by ſuch of them as could not endure the tyranny of the four hundred uſurpers. When *Athens* was beſieged and taken by *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* admiral, after his famous victory at *Ægos-potamos*, the iſland of *Samos* was alſo reduced by the conqueror, who aboliſhed the popular government, and put the whole power into the hands of ten men, who from their number were called the *Decarchæ*. This form of government continued for the ſpace of near ten years, till the *Athenians*, having regained the ſovereignty of the ſeas by their ſignal victory over the *Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidus*, reſtored the democracy, and took a new poſſeſſion of the iſland. But ſoon after the *Samians* revolting from *Athens* entered into a confederacy with the *Lacedemonians*; but being in the mean time attacked by *Tigranes*, one of the *Perſian* governors of the *Leſſer Aſia*, and by him brought under ſubjection to the king of *Perſia*, they had recourſe to the *Athenians* their ancient allies, who immediately ſent *Timotheus* to their aſſiſtance. *Timotheus*, landing his men in the iſland, laid ſiege to the city, and in a few days obliged the *Perſians*, who held it,

[h] Athen. l. xii. [i] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. Plut. in Pericl.

it, to capitulate and leave the *Samians* in the full possession of their antient liberties [k].
a From this time the island of *Samos* continued faithful to the *Athenians* till they were reduced by the *Romans*, who obliged the *Samians* and other islanders to pay a yearly tribute to *Rome*. But in the *Roman* times the *Samians* were a very inconsiderable people, and had quite degenerated from the valour of their ancestors. Not being able to defend themselves, they were an easy prey to the princes of *Macedon*, *Syria*, and *Pergamus*. They became subject to *Rome* upon the death of *Eumenes* the last king of *Pergamus*, who bequeathed, as the *Romans* pretended, his dominions to their republic. *Augustus* restored them, for what service we know not, to their former liberty, suffering them to live according to their own laws, in the same manner as
b they had done during their alliance with *Athens*. By this indulgence the island, which had come into the hands of the *Romans* in a mean condition, began to flourish again, and in a short time became so populous, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their country, which could not maintain such multitudes, and settle in the neighbouring island of *Icaria*, which was then but thinly inhabited [l]. In this happy state they continued till the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced *Samos*, with the other *Greek* islands, to a *Roman* province [m].

[k] Probus in Timoth. [l] Strab. l. xiv. Dion. lib. liv. Euseb. Chron. [m] Sueton. in Vespas.

SECT. VII.

The History of the other Greek *islands.*

c BESIDES the *Greek* islands we have already described, there are many others, which if we dismissed this subject without taking some notice of, as they make no small figure in the antient history of *Greece*, we should after all look upon ours as maimed and imperfect. These lie partly in the *Ægean* and *Icarian*, and partly in the *Cretan*, *Myrtoan*, and *Ionian*, seas, or in the *Propontis*; whence we shall, with *Strabo* [n], begin our account of them, describing first such as are on the coast of *Asia*, and therefore reckoned by all geographers among the *Asiatic* islands. In the *Propontis*, now the *Sea of Marmora* (P), the following islands are taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, &c. viz. *Proconnesus*, *Besbicus*, *Phœbe*, *Alone*, *Phrysia*, *Ophiodessa*, *Gonimi*, and *Liparæ*. *Proconnesus*, or, as others write it, *Præ-*
d *connesus*, was antiently known likwise by the name of *Elaphonnesus*, that is, *the island of Stags* [o], it being particularly remarkable, as the scholiast of *Apollonius* observes, for the vast numbers of stags with which it was stocked. *Pliny* [p], *Strabo* [q], and *Vitruvius* [r] greatly commend the marble quarries of *Proconnesus*, and tell us, that the stately palace of *Mausolus* at *Halicarnassus* was lined with this marble, which, according to *Vitruvius*, received a brighter polish than any other. Hence *Constantine the Great*, if we believe *Zosimus* [s], made use of the *Proconnesian* marble only in embellishing the public structures of his new city. *Ptolemy* places this island on the coast of *Thrace*, wherein he contradicts all the antient geographers, who speak of it as lying on the coast of *Asia* over-against *Cyzicum*; whence the *Proconnesian* marble, as *Pliny* observes, is often from that city called *Cyzican* (Q) [t].

Islands of the Propontis.
Proconnesus.

Besbicus,

[n] Strab. l. xiii. p. 425. [o] Plin. l. iii. c. 4. Scholiast. Apoll. ad lib. ii. v. 279. [p] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 6. [q] Strab. ubi supra. [r] Vitruvius, l. xi. c. 7. [s] Zosimus, l. ii. c. 20. [t] Plin. ibid.

(P) The *Propontis*, so called according to *Suidas* because it lies before the *Pontus*, and is, as it were, an inlet into that sea, extends from the *Hellespont* to the *Bosphorus Thracius*, and is about three hundred miles in compass, being confined on the north by *Thrace*, and on the south by the kingdom of *Pontus*. It is now called by the *Turks* the *White Sea* in opposition to the *Pontus Euxinus*, which they stile the *Black Sea*; and by the *Franks the Sea of Marmora*, from an island, formerly known by the name of *Proconnesus*, which name in process of time was changed by the *Latins* into that of *Marmora*, by reason of the excellent marble found in its quarries.

(Q) *Stephanus* and *Scylax* speak of *Proconnesus* and *Elaphonnesus* as two different islands, and tell us, that in the former were antiently two cities both bearing the name of the island, and distinguished by the epithets of *the New* and *the Old Proconnesus*; the first, say they, was built by the *Milesians*, and the other by the inhabitants of the island. *Aristæas* and *Bion* were both natives of *Proconnesus*. *Aristæas* was born, according to *Suidas*, in the fiftieth olympiad, and lived in the reigns of *Cyrus* and *Cræsus*. He was the son of *Democharis*, or as others will have it of *Caustrobius*. He wrote a *Theogony* in prose, and the history of the *Arimaspians*, an *Hyperborean* people

Besbicus. *Besbicus*, a small island between *Cyzicum* and the mouth of the *Rhyndacus*, is [a] counted by *Pliny* [u] among those islands which, being first joined to the continent, were separated from it by the violence of the seas or earthquakes. The others, to which he supposes the same misfortune to have happened, are *Sicily*, *Cyprus*, and *Eubœa*, the first having been separated, according to him, from *Italy*, the second from *Syria*, and the last from *Bœotia*. The other islands in the *Propontis* are of no note, and therefore leaving them, since we know nothing of them but their bare names, we shall proceed to the *Ægean* sea (R), describing such islands as lie on the coast of *Asia* and make any figure in history.

THE

[u] Idem, l. ii. c. 88.

people, in verse. This poem, as *Suidas* informs us, was comprised in three books. He is quoted by *Herodotus* in the following words (18). *Aristæas*, a poet of *Proconnesus*, and son to *Caustrobius*, says in his verses, "that he was transported by *Apollo* into "the territories of the *Issedonians*; beyond whom "the *Arimaspians* dwell, who are a people having "but one eye; that the next region abounds with "griffins, which guard the gold of the country; "and that the *Hyperboreans* are situate beyond them, "their country bordering on the sea; that all these "nations, except the *Hyperboreans*, were continually "employed in making war on their neighbours; "that the *Issedonians* were expelled by the *Arima-*"*spians*, the *Scythians* by the *Issedonians*, and the "*Cimmerians*, inhabiting the coasts of the south-sea, "by the *Scythians*. Our historian adds, that *Aristæas* was in no respect inferior to any of his fellow citizens, and that entering one day into a fuller's shop, he there died suddenly. Hereupon the fuller, having shut his door, went to acquaint the relations of the deceased with what had happened. The news of his death being spread over the city, a certain *Cyzicenian*, arriving from *Artace*, disputed the truth of the report, affirming, that he had met him and conversed with him in his way to *Cyzicus*. While he obstinately persisted in maintaining his assertion, the relations of *Aristæas* came with all things necessary for removing the body; but could not find *Aristæas* either alive or dead. Seven years after he appeared again in *Proconnesus*, composed those verses which are by the *Greeks* called *Arimaspian*, and then disappeared a second time. *Herodotus* adds, that three hundred and forty years after this second disappearing of *Aristæas*, he shewed himself anew in the city of the *Metapontins*, exhorting them to erect an altar to *Apollo*, and a statue by the altar, which should bear the name of *Aristæas* the *Proconnesian*; he told them on that occasion, that they were the only nation of the *Italian* coast that had ever been favoured with the presence of *Apollo*, and that he himself attended the god in the shape of a raven. Having pronounced these words, he vanished; and the *Metapontins*, going to consult the oracle of *Delphos* concerning the apparition, were admonished by the *Pythian* to do as they had been directed, if they desired their affairs to prosper. In pursuance therefore of this oracle they erected an altar to *Apollo*, and near it a statue to *Aristæas*, which were still remaining in our historian's time (19). The same story is related by *Pliny* (20), *Apollonius* (21), *Maximus Tyrius* (22), *Origenes* (23), *Hesychius* (24), and *Tzetzes* (25), *Strabo*, *Tatian*, and *Pausanias* likewise mention this author. *Longinus* in his treatise of the *sublime* quotes some of his verses, as does also *Julius Pollux*. *Gellius* ranks him among the writers of extraordinary events and fables (26), and *Pliny* cites him to prove, that the *Arimaspians*, who had but one eye, were continually at war with a kind of wild beasts called *Griffins*, that guarded the gold, which the *Arimaspians* dug out of the mines (27). All these relations are fabulous, and therefore, in the opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, the poem, entitled *Arimaspians*, was a spurious piece falsly ascribed to *Aristæas*. *Tatian* tells us, that *Aristæas* flourished before *Homer*; but *Strabo* will have him to be that poet's master.

Bion was contemporary with *Pherecydes*, who flourished about the fiftieth olympiad. He copied the titles, and abridged the works, of *Cadmus* the *Milesian*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us (28). The same author quotes several of his apothegms. *Cadmus*, whose works *Bion* is said to have abridged, was the first who wrote a history in prose (29), and is commonly believed to have lived before the *Trojan* war. *Strabo* mentions this *Cadmus* (whom we must distinguish from another *Cadmus*, a *Milesian* also, but of a much later date) and says, that he, *Pherecydes*, and *Hecatæus*, were the first three writers in prose (30).

(R) The *Ægean* sea, now the *Archipelago*, is that sea which separates *Europe* from *Asia*, washing on one side *Greece* and *Macedon*, and on the other *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Phrygia*. There is a great variance among authors about the etymology of its name. *Pliny* will have it to be so called from *Ægis* an island, or rather a rock, sacred to *Neptune*, and lying between the islands of *Tenos* and *Chios* (31). *Solinus* and the scholiast of *Apollonius* agree with *Pliny*. The island of *Ægis* borrowed its name, according to the same *Pliny* (32), from the *Greek* word *Aix*, signifying *a goat*, which that island at some distance resembles. *Festus* offers three different opinions; the *Ægean* sea, says he, was so named either from its islands, which, lying scattered up and down, look at a distance like so many goats, or from *Ægea* queen of the *Amazons*, who was drowned in it, or because *Ægeus*, the father of *Theseus*, apprehending his son might be devoured by the *Minotaur*, threw himself out of grief into the sea and perished. *Strabo* (33) derives it from a city of *Eubœa* called *Ægæ*; *Statius* from *Ægeon*, one of the giants that warred against *Jupiter*, and was by *Neptune*, who overcame him, chained to a rock in this sea; and *Nicocrates* from *Ægeus*, a name antiently given to *Neptune*. *Bochart* recurs, according to his custom, to the *Phœnician* language, and forms the name of *Ægeum* from the word *Az*, signifying among the *Phœnicians wild*, *cruel*, and *violent*, which he pretends to have been given to this sea by the *Phœnicians*, who first inhabited the islands, by reason it is subject to frequent storms, which among so many rocks and islands prove very dangerous (34). The

Icarian,

(18) *Herodot. l.* iv. (19) *Idem ibid.* (20) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 3. (21) *Apollon. in Hist Mirab.* (22) *Maxim. Tyr. Dissert.* 22. & 28. (23) *Origen. in Celsum, l.* iii. (24) *Hesych. de Philosoph.* (25) *Tzetzes Chil.* 2. *hist.* 50. (26) *Aul. Gell. l.* ix. (27) *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 2. (28) *Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. l.* vi. (29) *Plin. l.* ii. *c.* 5—6. (30) *Strab. l.* i. (31) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 11. (32) *Idem ibid.* (33) *Strab. l.* viii. *p.* 266. (34) *Bochart. Phaleg. l.* i. *c.* 3.

The islands of the Ægean sea on the coast of Asia.

a THE antient geographers reckon fifty-three islands from *Tenedos* to *Crete*, and comprehend them all under two general denominations. Those which form a circle round *Delos*, a little island revered by the antients for being reputed the birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, they call the *Cyclades* from the *Greek* word *cyclos*, signifying *a circle*; such as are at a greater distance from *Delos* they call *Sporades* from the *Greek* word *Speiro*, importing *to scatter* or *sow*, these islands being scattered up and down the *Ægean* sea. To begin with the *Sporades* on the coast of *Asia*, *Pliny* [w] mentions the following islands at the mouth of the *Hellespont* over-against the country of *Troas*, viz. the *Ascanian* islands, so called, according to some, from *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, according to others, from *Askenaz* one of *Gomer*'s sons, the islands of b *Platæa*, *Lamia*, *Plitania*, *Piate*, *Scopelos*, *Gethone*, *Arthedon*, *Calæ*, *Lagussæ*, and *Didymæ*. These islands are very small, and therefore scarce taken notice of by other geographers or historians. Near them lies the island of *Tenedos* about two leagues from the shore. Behind this island the *Greeks*, as is well known, feigning to return into their own country, lay concealed till their plot against *Troy* took effect. But as we have already given an account of this island [x], we shall only add here, that the learned *Bochart* derives the name of *Tenedos* from the *Phœnician* word *Tin-edum*, signifying *red clay*, which was found here and in great request for the making of earthen-ware [y].

Tenedos.

Lesbos. *Names.*

Lesbos, one of the most considerable islands of the *Ægean* sea or *Archipelago*, was c antiently called *Pelasgia*, from the *Pelasgi*, by whom it was supposed to have been first peopled; *Macaria*, from *Macareus* the grandson of *Jupiter*, who settled here; *Lesbos*, from the son-in-law and successor of *Macaræus*, who bore that name, *&c.* It is, according to *Strabo* [z], sixty-two, according to *Pliny*, fifty-six, miles distant from *Tenedos*, divided from the continent of *Asia* by a straight seven miles and a half over, in length seventy miles, and an hundred and sixty-eight in compass. All the antient historians, geographers, and others, who speak of the greater islands in the *Mediterranean* and *Ægean* seas, constantly reckon *Lesbos* in the seventh place, tho' no two of them agree in the disposing of the rest. This *Bochart*, who, if we may be allowed to use the common saying, sees farther into a mill-stone than any other, d surmised to be mysterious; and accordingly, with the help of his *Phœnician* etymologicon, found out, that the island of *Lesbos* was without change put in the seventh place, because its name was derived from the *Phœnician* word *Esbuith*, signifying *seven*. But to derive *Lesbos* from *Esbuith* requires several alterations, and withal a greater stock of anagrammatical wit than is fallen to every body's share. This island had in former times, if we believe *Pliny* [a], eight cities of note; *Herodotus* [b] speaks of six, but *Pomponius Mela* and *Scylax* name only five; the former leaves out *Methymna*, and the latter *Arisba*. These cities were, *Arisba*, which was quite ruined by an earthquake; *Pyrrha*, seated on the western coast of the island towards *Greece*, and distant from *Mitylene*, which stands on the other sea, eighty furlongs [c]. This city under- e went the same fate as *Arisba*, and also the cities of *Hiera* and *Agamis* [d]. *Eressus* or *Eresus*, placed by *Ptolemy* between *Pyrrha* and *Mela*, the most southern promontory of *Lesbos*, but by *Strabo* between *Pyrrha* and *Sigrium*, the most northern promontory of the island. *Eressus* was the birth-place of the famous philosopher *Theophrastus*, who succeeded *Aristotle* in the *Peripatetic* school. *Antissa*, which was, according to *Strabo* [e], in antient times an island by itself, and thence called *Antissa*, because it lay over-against *Lesbos*, then known by the name of *Issa*. This city, having

Cities.

[w] PLIN. l. v. c. 31. [x] Vol. II. p. 307. [y] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. [z] STRAB. l. xiii.
[a] PLIN. ubi supra. [b] HERODOT. l. i. [c] STRAB. ubi supra. [d] STRAB. ibid. PLIN. l. iii. c. 9.
[e] STRAB. ibid.

Icarian, *Carpathian*, *Cretan* seas, so called from the islands they wash, and also the *Myrtoan*, are but parts of the *Ægean* sea taken in its full extent. The *Myrtoan* lies, according to *Strabo* (35), *Pliny* (36), and *Pausanias* (37), &c. between *Crete*, *Peloponnesus*, *Attica*, and *Eubœa*, and not on the side of *Asia*, as *Ptolemy* (38) would have it. That author places *Miletus*, *Jassus*, *Myndus*, and the other maritime cities of *Caria* on the *Myrtoan* sea, wherein he contradicts all the antient geographers as well as historians. This sea borrowed its name, either from an island called *Myrtus*, as *Pliny* informs us (39), or from *Myrtilus* the son of *Mercury*, or a nymph named *Myrton*, as *Pausanias* insinuates (40). The *Ægean* is now called the *Archipelago*, from the *Greek* words ἀρχὸς *chief*, and πέλαγος *the sea*, it being the chief and greatest sea in those parts.

(35) *Strab. l.* xi. *p.* 85. (36) *Plin. l* xiv. *c.* 11, *&* 12. (37) *Pausan. Arcad. c.* 14. 38) *Ptol. l.* v. *c.* 11. (39) *Plin. ubi supra.* (40) *Pausan. ubi supra.*

having disobliged the *Romans*, was destroyed by *Lebco*, and the inhabitants transplanted to *Methymna* [f]. *Methymna*, the native city of *Arion*, who is supposed to have been the first inventor of tragedies and of the *Dithyrambic* verse. This city borrowed its name from *Methymna*, one of the daughters of *Macareus* [g], of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon; and was the second city in rank of the whole island, especially after the inhabitants of *Antissa* were transplanted hither by the *Romans*. *Methymna* was famous for the fruitfulness of its territory and the excellent wines it produced. When the other cities of *Lesbos* revolted from the *Athenians*, *Methymna* continued stedfast in its former alliance, and proved very serviceable in the reducing of the rest [h]. *Mitylene*, the capital of the whole island, so called from the daughter of *Macareus*, who married *Lesbos*, as we have hinted above. *Cicero* [i] and *Vitruvius* [k] greatly commend this city, on account of the stateliness of its buildings and the fertility of its soil. *Strabo* tells us, that it abounded with the necessaries and delights of life [l], and *Horace* bestows upon it the epithet of *famous* or *renowned* [m]. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the present city of *Castro* was built on the ruins of *Mitylene*, there being to this day many vestiges of a great city to be seen in *Castro* and its neighbourhood [n]. But *Mitylene* was not so renowned on account of its magnificent buildings and fruitful soil, as for the many great men it produced. *Pittacus*, one of the seven sages of *Greece*; *Alcæus*, the famous *Lyric* poet; *Sappho*, called by *Strabo* a prodigy, by others the tenth muse; *Terpander*, who was the first that fitted seven strings to the lyre, which gave occasion to the fable of *Orpheus*'s head being heard to speak in this island after it was cut off in *Thrace*, as *Eustathius* ingeniously explains it [o]; *Hellanicus*, the celebrated historian, and *Callias*, famous for his notes on *Alcæus* and *Sappho*, were all natives of *Mitylene*. To these we may add, with *Strabo*, *Diophanes*, a famous rhetorician, who was tutor to *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, and afterwards pressed him to revive the *Licinian* law, which occasioned great disturbances in the republic; *Potamon*, *Lesbode*, *Crinagoras*, and *Theophanes*, all mentioned by *Strabo* as men of great parts and learning. *Theophanes* had a great influence over *Pompey*, who honoured him with his confidence and an employment of distinction in his troops; and the *Greek*, in gratitude to his benefactor, wrote the history of his glorious conquests. *Mitylene* was in antient times the seat of all polite arts and literature. There *Epicurus* read public lectures at thirty years of age [p], and *Aristotle* resided two years to improve by the conversation of the learned men of the place [q]. In the *Roman* times such as were dissatisfied with the government at home, or desirous to perfect themselves in polite literature, retired to *Athens*, *Rhodes*, or *Mitylene*. Among the former was *Marcellus*, who after the battle of *Pharsalia* withdrew to this city, and was so taken with the conversation of the many learned men he found there, that *Cicero* could not prevail upon him to abandon the place and return to *Rome*, even after he had obtained his pardon from *Cæsar* [r]. This city suffered greatly in the *Peloponnesian* war, after it had revolted from the *Athenians*, as we read in *Thucydides* [s]. In the *Mithridatic* war it was the only city that refused to submit to the *Romans*, after the treaty of peace was concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. Wherefore it was besieged, taken, and razed to the ground by *Minucius Thermus*. *Julius Cæsar*, who was then making his first campaign, signalized himself at this siege, and was honoured with several civic crowns. The city was soon after rebuilt, and in favour of *Theophanes* restored by *Pompey* to the full enjoyment of all its antient privileges [t]. *Pliny* says, that in his time it enjoyed the same liberty which *Pompey* had granted it. The emperor *Trajan* embellished it with many costly buildings, and called it from his own name *Trajanopolis*; but the antient name prevailed, and in process of time became common to the whole island, which to this day is called *Metelin*.

Soil. THE fruitfulness of this island is much spoke of by the antients; it produced great quantities of delicious fruits and exquisite wines, which, if we believe our modern travellers, still deserve the mighty praises bestowed upon them by *Strabo*, *Horace*, *Athenæus*, *Elian*, &c. We are told, that while *Aristotle* was dying, a dispute arose among his disciples about the person who should succeed him, some thinking *Menedemus*

[f] LIV. l. xlv. c. 31. PLIN. l. v. c. 31. [g] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [h] THUCYD. l. iii. [i] Cic. de Leg. Agr. [k] VITRUV. l. i. c. 6. [l] STRAB. l. xiii. [m] HORAT. l. i. Od. 7. [n] TOURNEFORT Voyage au Levant, &c. [o] EUSTATH. in Dionys. [p] DIOGEN. LAERT. in vit. Philosoph. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Cic. l. iv. epist. 7. SENECA ad Helviam, c. 9. [s] THUCYD. l. iii. & viii. [t] VELL. PATERCUL. l. iii. c. 18. PLUT. in Pompeio.

a *nedemus* of *Rhodes* the moſt proper man to keep up the reputation of the *Peripatetic* ſchool, and others declaring in favour of *Theophraſtus* the *Lesbian*. The matter was at laſt referred to *Ariſtotle* himſelf, who, having called for ſome wine of both iſlands, and taſted them, ſaid they were both excellent wines, but that the *Rhodian* was not to compare to the *Leſbian*; thereby giving to underſtand, that *Theophraſtus* excelled his competitor as much as the wine of *Lesbos* did that of *Rhodes* [u]. *Triſtanus* mentions a medal of the emperor *Geta*, who, according to *Spartianus*, did not diſlike good wine, with a fortune on the reverſe, holding in her right hand the rudder of a ſhip, and in her left a *cornucopiæ* with a bunch of grapes, and underneath the inſcription *Mitylene*. *Pliny* tells us, that the wine of *Leſbos* was deemed no leſs wholeſome b than pleaſant by *Eraſiſtratus*, one of the greateſt phyſicians of antiquity. The ſame author ſpeaks of the jaſper of *Leſbos*, and of a certain kind of pine-trees yielding pitch. As to the morals of the antient *Lesbians*, we cannot ſay any thing in their commendation; they were given to all kinds of lewdneſs and debauchery, inſomuch, that to expreſs the lewd and diſſolute life of a debauchee, the antients uſed to ſay, *that he lived like a Lesbian* [w]. *Goltzius* exhibits a medal, which does no great honour to the *Leſbian* women.

Inhabitants.

This iſland, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was firſt peopled by the *Pelaſgi*; for *Xanthus* the ſon of *Triopas*, prince of the *Pelaſgians*, who came from *Argos*, having firſt ſettled in *Lycia*, and there reigned ſome time over the *Pelaſgians*, who had attended him in his expedition, ſailed from thence to *Lesbos*, which, as it lay at c that time deſolate, he divided among his followers, changing its antient name of *Iſſa* into that of *Pelaſgia*. In proceſs of time, that is, after ſeven generations, the inhabitants being all deſtroyed by *Deucalion*'s flood, the iſland lay waſte and deſolate, till *Macareus*, happening to touch there, and being taken with the pleaſantneſs and fertility of the country, ſettled in it, and built the city of *Olamus*. The fame of his juſtice and humanity drew many *Ionians* to him, by whoſe means he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, and in a ſhort time became very powerful. In his time *Lesbos*, the ſon of *Lapithas* and grandſon of *Æolus*, arriving in this iſland, by the direction of the oracle at *Delphos*, with a new colony, was kindly received d by the inhabitants, and being allowed to enjoy, with his followers, the ſame rights and privileges as thoſe who were there before him, he married *Methymna* the eldeſt daughter of *Macareus*, after whoſe death he called the iſland from his own name *Lesbos* [x]. This is the account *Diodorus* gives us of the firſt inhabitants of *Lesbos*; but *Strabo* [y], *Herodotus* [z], *Thucydides* [a], *Pauſanias* [b], *Ptolemy* [c], *Velleius* [d], unanimouſly tells us, that it was firſt peopled by the *Æolians*, and conſtantly ſpeak of the *Leſbians* as having come originally from *Æolis*.

Government and hiſtory.

The *Leſbians* were, like moſt of the other *Greek* nations, firſt governed by kings; but of theſe we find four only mentioned in hiſtory, *viz. Macareus*, *Lesbos*, *Æolion*, and *Penthilus*. *Macareus* is ſaid to have ſubdued ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, c *viz. Samos*, whither he ſent one of his ſons, by name *Chycholaus*, who divided the iſland among his followers, and ruled over them as king; *Cos*, over which he appointed his ſecond ſon *Nicander* king; and *Rhodes*, great part of which was held by his third ſon *Leucippus*. Theſe conqueſts *Macareus* made, if we believe *Diodorus* [e], ſoon after the flood of *Deucalion*, that is, about 1046 years before the *Chriſtian* æra, when the iſlands were but thinly peopled. But *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* tells us, that *Xanthus* the *Pelaſgian*, long before the reign of *Macareus*, had peopled *Lesbos*, and that *Macareus* did not ſubdue, but only peopled ſome of the adjacent iſlands [f]. *Macareus* was ſucceeded by *Leſbos* the ſon of *Lapithas*, who, marrying *Methymna* the daughter of *Macareus*, had the iſland for her dowry. *Æolion* f is mentioned by *Homer* as reigning in *Lesbos*; and *Penthilus* by *Pauſanias* [g], who tells us, that *Penthilus* was king of *Mycenæ*, and that he ſubdued great part of *Æolis*, with the iſland of *Leſbos*, whence he placed him among the *Leſbian* kings. In proceſs of time the democratical form of government univerſally prevailed in all the *Greek* ſtates, and, amongſt others, in *Leſbos*, the *Leſbians* having driven out their kings, as *Ariſtotle* informs us [h], when they began to rule not as kings, but as tyrants. Upon this revolution great troubles aroſe in the iſland, each city aſpiring to the ſame power

[u] Aul. Gel. l. xiii. c. 5. [w] Suidas, verbo Λεσβιαζειν. [x] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 16.
[y] Strabo, ubi ſupra. [z] Herodot. l. vi. [a] Thucydid. l. iii & vii. [b] Pausan. in Phocicis.
[c] Ptolem. l. v. c. 2. [d] Velleius Paterc. l. ii. [e] Diodor. Sicult. l. v. c. 16. [f] Dionys. Halicarnas. l. i. c. 33, 34. [g] Pausan. in Corinthiac. [h] Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. 10.

power over the others, which they could not bear in one man. In this conteſt the a
city of *Mitylene* at laſt prevailed, and by that means became ſo powerful, that the
Mityleneans, being diſengaged from all wars at home, began to entertain thoughts of
making conqueſts on the continent. Accordingly, having equipped a fleet, they
made a deſcent on the country of *Troas*, which they in great part reduced, and held
undiſturbed till the time of *Piſiſtratus* tyrant of *Athens*, who took from them the city
of *Sigeum*, and put it into the hands of *Hegeſiſtratus* his natural ſon by a woman of
Argos. This occaſioned a war between the *Athenians* and *Mityleneans*, which was
carried on with great vigour by the contending parties, till they were reconciled by
the mediation of *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth*. The terms of accommodation were,
that each party ſhould retain what they poſſeſſed, and that the *Leſbians* ſhould be b
allowed to make what conqueſts they pleaſed on the continent of *Aſia*. Thus the
Athenians remained maſters of *Sigeum*, and the *Mityleneans* quietly poſſeſſed the reſt
of *Troas*. In a battle fought during this war, the poet *Alcæus* is ſaid to have betaken
himſelf to flight, leaving his armour behind him, which the *Athenians*, who carried
the day, hung up in the temple of *Minerva* at *Sigeum*. This diſgrace the poet
lamented in a poem, which he inſcribed to *Menalippus*, who had attended him in
his flight [i]. This war was ſcarce ended, when the other cities of *Leſbos*, not being
able to brook the yoke laid upon them by *Mitylene*, revolted. Thus a civil war was
kindled anew, which *Myrcilus*, a man of great wealth and authority in the iſland,
taking advantage of, ſeized on the ſovereignty, and ruled without controul. *Alcæus* c
compoſed bitter invectives againſt him, as well as his ſucceſſor in the tyranny *Mega-*
lagyrus [k]. The other tyrants mentioned in hiſtory are *Cleanactis*, *Archæanax*, and
Melanchrus. *Archæanax* is ſaid to have raiſed ſome ſtately buildings with materials
brought from *Troy* [l], *Melanchrus* was driven out by *Pittacus*, with the aſſiſtance
of *Alcæus*, who, on this occaſion, wiped off the diſgrace he had incurred in the
Athenian war. *Pittacus*, having delivered his country from tyrants, took upon him-
ſelf to govern it, being warmly preſſed thereunto by his fellow citizens; but after
having reigned ten years, he reſigned all the power which he had been veſted with,
and ſpent the remainder of his life in ſtudy and retirement. He was not only a great
philoſopher but an experienced officer. In the above mentioned war between the d
Athenians and *Mityleneans*, he had the chief command of the army, on which occa-
ſion he gave a ſignal proof both of his courage and good nature; for being unwilling
to hazard the lives of his fellow citizens, he challenged *Phrynon* the *Athenian* general
to a ſingle combat, notwithſtanding he had been victor at the *Olympic* games.
Phrynon accepted the challenge, but was conquered and killed by *Pittacus*, who is
ſaid to have entangled him in a net, which he had hid under his ſhield. During his
adminiſtration he made many wiſe laws, which he comprehended in ſix hundred
verſes. One of theſe laws, taken notice of by *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, and *Plutarch*, was,
that every fault committed by a man, when drunk, deſerved double puniſhment.
Many of his ſentences were written on the walls of the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*; e
ſo great was the eſteem which the antients entertained of his wiſdom. He died ten
years after he had reſigned the government, in the third year of the fifty-ſecond olym-
piad, and ſeventieth of his age [m]. The *Leſbians* maintained their liberties from the
time of his reſignation to the reign of *Cyrus* the great; but were in that interval
greatly haraſſed by *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, who, having defeated their fleet,
obliged them to pay him an annual tribute. After the defeat of *Craſus* king of
Lydia, they ſubmitted with the other iſlanders to the conqueror, and even agreed,
as ſome authors write, to deliver up to him *Pactyas*, who, after having perſuaded
the *Lydians* to revolt, had taken ſanctuary in the city of *Mitylene*, [n]. Being thus
made tributaries to the kings of *Perſia*, they ſerved *Darius* in his wars, both againſt f
Scythia and *Greece*. In the former *Coes*, the ſon of *Erxandrus*, commander of the
Mityleneans, diſſuaded *Darius* from breaking down the bridge, which he had laid
over the *Iſter*, on his march into *Scythia*; for which piece of good advice he was
rewarded with the ſovereignty of *Leſbos*, which he did not long enjoy, being driven
out by *Ariſtagoras*, at the beginning of the *Ionian* revolt. He was afterwards ſeized
by one *Itragoras*, and delivered up to the *Mityleneans*, who ſtoned him to death [o].
The

[i] HERODOT. l. v. STRABO, l. xiii. [k] STRABO, ubi ſupra. [l] Idem ibid. [m] HERODOT. l. 5. ARISTOT. Ethic. c. 6. & Polit. 3. c. 10. PLUT. in Socrate. Val. MAX. l. vi. c. 5. ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 29, &c. [n] HERODOT. l. i. [o] HERODOT. l. iv. JOANN. TZETZES, Chiliad. 3.

a The *Lesbians*, being thus delivered from the tyranny of *Coes*, readily came into the measures of *Histiæus* and *Aristagoras*; but in the sea-fight near *Lade*, over-against *Miletus*, followed the example of the *Samians*, retiring in the heat of the engagement and abandoning their allies. By this means the *Persians* having gained a compleat victory, soon reduced *Lesbos*, as well as the other islands. The *Lesbians*, after the defeat of the confederate fleet, had joined *Histiæus*, and subdued the island of *Chios*; on which account they were treated by *Darius* with more severity than the other islanders. This treatment they were forced to endure till the battle of *Mycale*, when they revolted with the other *Greeks*, and joined their countrymen against the common enemy. After the signal victory obtained at *Mycale* by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, they entered into an alliance with the conquerors, who promised to b protect him, whenever they should be attacked by the *Persians* [p]. In the course of the war, being provoked at the haughty behaviour of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* commander, they, together with the other allies, deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the *Athenians*, by which means the *Lacedæmonians* lost the chief command [q]. Neither did the *Lesbians* long continue faithful to the *Athenians*, but abandoned them in the third year of the *Peloponnesian* war. But of this revolt, and the evils which it brought upon *Mitylene*, we have spoke at length in the foregoing volume [r]. After the great overthrow received by the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they revolted anew from *Athens*; but were soon again brought under subjec- tion, as we have related in the history of *Athens* [s]. From this time to the reign of c *Alexander*, we find nothing upon record concerning the *Lesbians* worth mentioning. In the war which that prince made upon the *Persians*, the *Lesbians* readily joined him; whereupon *Memnon* the *Rhodian* made a descent upon the island, and reduced it, not without great loss, the city of *Mitylene* having stood a long siege. At last the *Mitylenians* surrendered, upon condition, that the *Macedonians*, who were there in garison, should be suffered to depart unmolested; which so pleased *Alexander*, that after he had regained the city, he restored the inhabitants to their former liberty, enlarged their territory, and confirmed many privileges, not on them only, but on all the *Lesbians* [t]. *Alexander* having made himself master of the whole island, by driving d the *Persians* from all the places they possessed there, delivered up the tyrants, namely, *Aristonicus* and *Chrysolaus*, to those whom they had oppressed, allowing them to inflict upon their oppressors what punishments they pleased. They were both first cruelly racked, and then put to death, which, as *Diodorus* observes, prevented others from aspiring to the tyranny, even after the death of *Alexander*. Thus they enjoyed their liberty till the time of *Pompey* the great, who reduced the island of *Lesbos* to a *Roman* province, for having delivered up to *Mithridates M. Aquilius*, the chief of the *Roman* deputies sent into *Asia*. However, he soon restored *Mitylene* to the enjoyment of its antient privileges, as we have related above, whence it is counted by *Pliny* among the free cities.

Hecatonnesi. In the strait which separates *Lesbos* from the continent, are a great many small e islands called *Hecatonnesi*, from *Apollo*, named antiently *Hecatos*, to whom they were consecrated [u]. Between the promontory *Malea* in *Lesbos* and that of *Cane in Æolis*, lie the three islands *Arginusæ*, famous for the victory which the *Athenians* gained there in the *Peloponnesian* war [w]. *Cicero*, who mentions this battle, calls the islands *Arginussæ* [x]. The largest of the three, called by *Pliny Arginusa*, had a town bearing the same name [y]. Arginusæ.

Chios. *Chios*, now *Scio*, distant from *Lesbos* about four hundred furlongs, and nine hundred in circuit, lies between *Lesbos* and *Samos*, opposite to the peninsula of *Ionia*, on which stand *Erythræ*, *Clazomenæ* and *Teos* [z]. It is divided from *Ionia* by a channel f which is but three leagues over. This island was known to the antients by the names *Names.* of *Æthalia*, *Macris*, *Pityusa*, &c. but that of *Chios* prevailed over all the rest, which some derive from the name of a nymph, others from the *Greek* word *Chion*, signifying *snow*, the mountains of the island, especially mount *Pelenæus*, being often covered with snow. But *Isidorus* [a] is of opinion, that the name of *Chios* was borrowed from the *Syriac*, that word signifying, in the *Syriac* tongue, *mastic*, with which this island abounds above all other places.

[p] Herodot. l. ix. [q] Plut. in Aristide. [r] Hist. Univers. Vol. II. p. 505. [s] Ibid. p. 521. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Curt. l. iv. [u] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 425. [w] Srabo, ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 98. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 606. Xenoph. l. i. Rer. Græc. p. 261. [x] Cic. l. i. Offic. c. 24. [y] Plin. l. v. c. 31. [z] Strabo, ubi supra. [a] Isidor. in Origin.

Soil, &c.

As for its ſoil, *Athenæus* calls it a mountainous and rugged country; however, it produced excellent wine, and is on that account highly commended by the antients. *Oenopion*, the ſon of *Bacchus*, if we believe *Theopompus* as quoted by *Athenæus*, taught the *Chians* the manner of cultivating the vine, and they the reſt of mankind. The ſame author adds, that the firſt red wine was made in this iſland. *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Silius Italicus* ſeem not to have diſliked the wine of *Chios*, eſpecially that which was ſqueezed from the grapes of *Ariuſa* or *Ariſia*, and is called by *Virgil* [b] *Arviſian nectar*, by *Silius Ariſian ambroſia* [c]. *Strabo* prefers this to all the wines of *Greece* [d]. *Pliny* often ſpeaks of it, and quotes *Varro* to prove, that it was often preſcribed at *Rome* as an excellent ſtomachic [e]. The ſame author adds, that *Hortenſius* left to his heir ten thouſand caſks of this wine. *Julius Cæſar* uſed to regale his friends with the *Arviſian* wine in his public entertainments, that wine being, as *Athenæus* ſubjoins, an excellent digeſter, exceeding wholeſome, and far ſurpaſſing all other in taſte and flavor [f]. Hence we may eaſily comprehend, why we find ſo many medals of *Chios* in *Goltzius* [g], with bunches of grapes, casks, and other implements for making of wine. The figs of *Chios* were likewiſe in great reputation, and are no leſs commended by the antient writers than the wine. *Strabo* takes notice of the quarries of *Chios*, and *Pliny* tells us, that the firſt jaſper was diſcovered in this iſland. *Cicero* happening to be here when it was firſt made uſe of, the inhabitants ſhewed him it as a curioſity; but the *Roman*, after having viewed it with attention, ſaid, That he ſhould be better pleaſed with the fabric they were then carrying on, if it were built with ſtone from *Tibur*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. But the chief produce of this iſland is *maſtic*, which is produced by the lentiſk-trees in greater plenty here than any-where elſe. But for the deſcription of the *maſtic*, and the trees that produce it, we refer the readers to our modern travellers [h], who give a very diffuſe account of them. *Vitruvius* mentions a ſpring in *Chios*, which deprived of their ſenſe all thoſe who taſted its waters; for which reaſon an epigram was placed over it, warning all paſſengers of the danger [i]. *Chios*, the chief town of the iſland, ſtood on the eaſtern coaſt, in the moſt pleaſant and fruitful part of the country, and was, according to *Strabo*, forty ſtades in circumference [k]. This city pretended to be the birth-place of *Homer*; and *Leo Allatius*, a native of *Scio*, has taken a great deal of pains to ſhew, that this pretenſion was well grounded [l]. The inhabitants, to this day, ſhew the ſchool they ſuppoſe he went to, which is cut out of a rock at the foot of mount *Epos*, on the ſea-ſide, about four miles from the preſent town of *Scio*. They likewiſe pretend to ſhew his dwelling-houſe in a place which bears the poet's name, on the north ſide of the iſland, near *Voliſſo*, called *Boliſſus* by *Thucydides* and the author of *Homer*'s life. *Boliſſus* ſtands in the midſt of the *Arviſian* fields, ſo famed for the wines they produced. Theſe perhaps did not a little contribute to the raiſing of the poet's vein. The inhabitants of *Chios* were ſo prepoſſeſſed with this opinion that *Homer* was born in their iſland, that, according to *Julius Pollux*, they ſtamped his figure of their money. Several medals are ſtill to be ſeen, which preſerve the traces of this antient tradition. On one, mentioned by *Beger*, *Homer* is repreſented ſitting in a chair, and holding the *Iliad* in his hand; and on the reverſe, an harp, the ſymbol of poetry, with a ſphinx, which agrees very well with what is ſaid of *Homer*, *viz.* that he knew how to inculcate the fineſt maxims of morality under beautiful allegories and alluſions, and that his fables are ſo many *myſtical veils* which conceal the moſt important truths and profound knowledge [m]. This iſland has given to the world other very extraordinary men, namely, *Ion*, *Theopompus*, *Theocritus*, and *Metrodorus* (S).

This

[b] Virg. Eclog. v. ver. 71 [c] Sil. Italic. l. vii. ver. 210. [d] Strabo. l. xiii. p. 444. [e] Plin. l. iv. c. 7, 14, 15. [f] Athenæus Deipn. l. i. [g] Goltz. de inſul. Græc. tab. 15, 16. [h] Tournefort, ubi ſupra. Thevenot. &c. [i] Vitruv. l. iii. c. 3. [k] Strabo, ibid. [l] Leo Allat de patria Homeri. [m] Leo Allat. ibid.

(S) *Ion* flouriſhed about the eighty-ſecond olympiad, and is often mentioned and commended by *Ariſtophanes*, *Athenæus*, and *Suidas*, as an elegant writer of tragedies. His firſt performance was exhibited in *Athens*, in the eighty-ſecond olympiad, and met with general applauſe. This cannot be the *Ion*, whom *Plato*, in one of his dialogues, introduces reaſoning with *Socrates*, as ſome writers have imagined; for this tragic poet was of *Chios*, and the other a native of *Epheſus*.

Theopompus flouriſhed in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus* in *Perſia* and *Philip* the father of *Alexander* the great in *Macedon*. He was diſciple to *Iſocrates*, and, in the opinion of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, far excelled his maſter. The ſame author tells us, that he wrote ſeveral books, *viz.* orations, in imitation of thoſe

Inhabitants, government, and history.

a THIS island was first peopled, according to *Strabo*, by the *Pelasgians*; according to *Diodorus* by *Macareus* and his followers, after they had made themselves masters of *Lesbos*. But the opinion of *Herodotus*, who will have the *Chians* to be *Ionians*, has generally obtained [n]. As to their government, they were first subject to kings; but of these we find *Hippoclus* alone mentioned in history. This prince being murdered by his subjects, as *Strabo* informs us [o], for a pretended affront offered to the bride of one of the chief men of the island, the *Chians* formed themselves into a republic; but as to the laws and constitutions of their new government, we are altogether in the dark. In process of time, with the assistance and under the direction of *Isocrates*, they new-modelled their republic, forming it on the plan of that b of *Athens* [p]; but they did not long enjoy the blessings of liberty, being, like the other small states of *Greece*, brought under subjection by their domestic tyrants. *Athenæus* speaks of *Amphicus* and *Polytechnus*, as the first who aspired to the sovereignty of the island, and assumed all the power into their own hands [q]. In the reigns of *Sadyattes* and *Halyattes* kings of *Lydia*, they assisted the *Milesians* against these princes, remembering, says *Herodotus*, that the *Milesians* had assisted them in their wars with the *Erythræans* [r]; but neither the occasion, nor the success of this war, nor even the time in which it happened, have been transmitted to us. After the defeat of *Crœsus* by

[n] HERODOT. l. i. [o] STRABO, ubi supra. [p] DIONYS. in vita Isocrat. [q] ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c. 6. [r] HERODOT. l. i.

those wrote by *Isocrates*, among which was a funeral oration on *Mausolus*, called by some, *The epitaph of* Mausolus; a book of epistles; an epitome of *Herodotus*; a treatise on the doctrine of *Plato*; another of wonderful things, and two histories. His epistles, as *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* informs us, were stiled Ἀχαϊκαὶ, or, as others read it, Ἀχαϊκὰς. *Athenæus* quotes two of his epistles, one addressed to the inhabitants of *Chios*, and the other to *Alexander*. *Harpocration* mentions a third written to *Tizamenes*. *Suidas* mentions his abridgment of *Herodotus*, and says, that he was therein assisted by *Ephorus*. His treatise on the doctrine of *Plato* is quoted by *Athenæus*; and that of wonderful things by the scholiast of *Aristophanes*, by *Apollonius*, and *Laertius*. The same scholiast mentions a treatise of his on piety and religion. The scholiast of *Apollonius* quotes the twenty-first and twenty-second books of his *Philippics*. *Longinus*, in his treatise on the sublime, produces two passages out of *Theopompus*, the one relating to *Philip*, and probably taken from his *Philippics*, where he says, that *Philip swallowed, without reluctancy, such affronts, as the necessity of his affairs obliged him to bear*. This expression is censured by *Cecilius*, but approved of by *Longinus*, as just and proper. The other passage relates to the descent of the king of *Persia* into *Egypt*, where the author, in the opinion of *Longinus*, enters into a detail of too mean particulars, which greatly lessen the beauty of his relations; but the chief works of *Theopompus* were his two histories, the one comprehending the last years of the *Peloponnesian* war, and the other the actions of *Philip*. Both these pieces are highly commended by *Athenæus* and *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*. The former praises *Theopompus* as a lover of truth, and one who spared no pains in the search of it. The latter tells us, that his diction was pure and simple, and yet sublime and noble; that it had something very pompous, but was tempered with a just harmony; that the whole was well connected, plain, and easy, &c. However, some authors have found fault with him as an ill-natured writer, and one who took pleasure in railing. *Cornelius Nepos*, in the life of *Alcibiades*, and *Lucian*, think his invectives too bitter, and add, that his design seems to have been rather to censure, than to relate, facts. *Josephus* ranks him among the historians, whose chief aim was to dis-

parage cities and nations. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* endeavours to excuse him in this particular, telling us, that he acted like a prudent and skilful surgeon, who cuts off, or burns, the corrupted part of the body, making deep incisions, and applying caustics, without ever hurting such parts as are sound and vigorous. *Theon* blames his digressions as too long, and making the reader forget the main subject. *Quintilian*, and with him most of the ancients agree, that he wrote in the stile of an orator rather than of an historian. His history of *Philip* consisted of 58 books, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Photius* inform us, and not of 72, as *Suidas* affirms. These *Philip* of *Macedon*, the father of *Perses*, reduced to 16, by retrenching the many digressions with which he had filled them. His history of the *Peloponnesian* war was comprised in 11 books, according to the anonymous author of the olympiads, in 12 according to *Suidas*. He began where *Thucydides* left off, and ended with the sea-fight near *Cnidus*. Some authors have ascribed to him the eighth book of *Thucydides*; but this opinion is rejected by *Marcellinus*. *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacus* published a history under his name, which was looked upon as a spurious piece. *Photius* epitomized one of the books of his history; and this epitome is the only part of his works that has reached our times. The same *Photius* gives a very particular account of his birth, education, manner of life, works, &c. which it would be too tedious to insert here (41).

Theocritus was contemporary with *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*, and wrote, as *Suidas* witnesses, some learned epistles, and the history of *Libya*. *Strabo* (42) calls him a sophist, and ranks him and *Theopompus* among the illustrious men of *Chios*, who, with mutual emulation, strove for the administration of affairs in their republic. This perhaps is the *Theocritus*, whom *Fulgentius* quotes in his *Mythology*, in the fable of *Perseus* and the *Gorgons* (43).

Metrodorus flourished in the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Persia*, and was, according to *Suidas*, preceptor to *Hippocrates* and *Avaxarchus*. He was by profession a philosopher and a physician, and wrote several books relating to physic, which are often quoted by *Pliny*. *Athenæus* informs us, that he likewise wrote a book intitled *Troica*; but none of his works have reached us.

(41) *Vide Photium Biblioth. Cod.* 177. (42) *Strabo, l.* xiv. (43) *Fulgentius, l.* i.

by *Cyrus*, they ſubmitted with the other iſlanders to the conqueror, and even delivered up to him *Pactyas* the *Lydian*, who had ſtirred up his countrymen to revolt againſt the *Perſians*. This *Pactyas*, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt *Mazares*, whom *Cyrus* had ſent againſt him, fled for refuge to the city of *Cymæ*. The *Cymeans*, being unwilling to deliver him up to *Mazares*, and, on the other hand, not caring to draw a war on themſelves by protecting him, ſent him to *Mitylene*; but the *Mityleneans*, at the requeſt of *Mazares*, agreeing to deliver him into the hands of the *Perſians*, the *Cymeans* diſpatched a veſſel to *Leſbos*, and tranſported him to *Chios*. The *Chians*, terrified at the threatening meſſages of *Mazares*, dragging him from the very altar of *Minerva*, the tutelary goddeſs of their city, put him into the hands of *Mazares*, who, for their ready compliance with his requeſt, beſtowed upon them the city of *Atarneus* in *Myſia*, over-againſt *Leſbos*, with its territory. Our hiſtorian adds, that, for many years after, the *Chians* declined uſing in their ſacrifices the growth of land thus acquired, looking upon the corn and fruits of *Atarneus* as unhallowed, and not fit to be offered to the gods [s]. Being reduced by the *Perſians*, they were, like the other iſlanders, employed by them in all their naval expeditions. They ſerved *Darius*, as the ſame hiſtorian tells us, in his expedition againſt the *Scythians*; on which occaſion *Strattias*, ſtiled by *Herodotus* tyrant of *Chios*, ſignalized his affection to that prince, by ſtrenuouſly oppoſing ſuch of the *Ionians* as were for abandoning him and returning home [t]. In the *Ionian* revolt the *Chians* readily joined *Ariſtagoras*, ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke, and equipped an hundred ſhips, each of which had forty choſen citizens on board. In the ſea-fight at *Lade*, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner; for the *Samians*, *Leſbians*, and moſt of the other *Ionians* betaking themſelves to flight in the very beginning of the engagement, the *Chians* fought to the laſt, took many of the enemy's ſhips, and gave ſuch proofs of their valour and zeal for the common cauſe, that, had the other *Ionians* followed their example, *Ionia* had been that day delivered from the *Perſian* yoke; but, as they were abandoned by all their allies, except eleven *Samian* ſhips, they were at laſt overpowered, and obliged to ſave themſelves by running their ſhips a-ground at *Mycale*; whence they marched into the territory of *Epheſus*. As they arrived in the neighbourhood of the city by night, while the women were celebrating the rites of *Ceres*, the *Epheſians*, not knowing what had happened, and ſeeing an armed multitude making towards them, took them for robbers come to ſtrip the women, and without examining further into the matter, ſallying out of the city with their whole force, killed all the *Chians* on the ſpot [u]. Nor did the misfortunes of *Chios* end here; for *Hiſtiæus*, after the defeat of the *Ionians*, retiring to *Chios*, and not being received there, attacked thoſe who oppoſed him, and, with the aſſiſtance of the *Leſbians*, reduced the whole iſland, the *Chians* being greatly weakened by the loſs they had ſuſtained in the fight at ſea. Thus were the *Chians* rewarded by *Hiſtiæus*, who had been the chief cauſe of their revolt, and whom they had aſſiſted to the utmoſt of their power, in hopes of reſcuing their country, under his command, from the *Perſian* bondage. *Hiſtiæus* not being able to keep poſſeſſion of the iſland, abandoned it to the *Perſians*, who puniſhed the *Chians* with the utmoſt ſeverity. The moſt handſome of their youths they made eunuchs, and their daughters they ſent to the king of *Perſia*, after having deſtroyed both their houſes and temples, ravaged their territories, and reduced the few inhabitants that remained to a ſtate of ſlavery [w]. Before this laſt cataſtrophe, two great misfortunes befel the *Chians*, which our hiſtorian looks upon as previous ſigns of the many calamities they were to ſuffer from the *Perſians*. They had ſent an hundred young men of the chief families of the iſland to *Delphos*, perhaps with ſome offering; but of that number two only returned home, all the reſt dying of the plague. Not long before the ſea-fight off of *Lade*, the ſchool, where their youth were educated, falling down, buried an hundred and nineteen of them in the ruins [x]. Thus they continued ſubject to the *Perſians*, whom they aſſiſted with a conſiderable ſquadron in their expedition againſt *Greece*, till the battle of *Mycale*, when they revolted with the other *Ionians*, and entered into an alliance with the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* againſt the common enemy [y]. The *Chians*, being thus delivered from the *Perſian* yoke, and reſtored to their ancient liberty, flouriſhed, if we believe *Thucydides*, above

[s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Herodot. l. vi. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.

above all the ſtates of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon* alone excepted [z]. When the ſupreme command was, by the unanimous conſent of the allies, conferred upon the *Athenians*, the *Chians*, who greatly contributed thereunto, were favoured by the *Athenians* above the other allies, being exempted from all manner of tribute, and obliged only to furniſh a certain number of ſhips [a]. They continued faithful to the *Athenians* till the twentieth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, when they revolted to the *Lacedemonians*, upon the dreadful overthrow received by the *Athenians* in *Sicily*; and tho' in this they acted, as *Thucydides* owns, a very prudent part, yet they were, after the loſs of three battles, conſtrained to return to their ancient alliance, in which they continued till *the ſocial war*, when, growing weary of their alliance with *Athens*, they joined the *Rhodians*, *Coans* and *Byzantines*, with a deſign to throw off the *Athenian* yoke, and ſet themſelves free. In this they were attended with better ſucceſs than they had been in their former revolt; for, after having maintained the war three years, they concluded a peace almoſt upon their own terms [b], as we have related in the hiſtory of *Athens* [c]. From this time they enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity till the downfal of the *Perſian* empire, when they, together with the other *Greek* ſtates in *Europe* and *Aſia*, became ſubject to the *Macedonian* princes. Their city was beſieged and reduced to great ſtraits by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, who, finding he could not take it by force, proclaimed liberty to all the ſlaves who ſhould revolt, and beſides promiſed them their maſters wives in marriage; but, notwithſtanding this offer, not one ſingle ſlave, and there were more ſlaves in the city of *Chios* than in any other of *Greece*, attempted to revolt or betray their maſters: Whereupon *Philip* was obliged to break up the ſiege, after he had loſt a great number of his men [d]. In the war which the *Æolians* waged with the ſame *Philip* and *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, they ſided with the former, which coſt them dear, their territories being laid waſte, and all the open places in the iſland utterly deſtroyed by the troops of the confederate princes. Afterwards they aſſiſted the *Romans* in their wars againſt *Philip*, his ſon *Perſes*, and *Antiochus* ſurnamed *the great*, king of *Syria*, and were, for their eminent ſervices, not only declared free, but honoured with the title of friends and allies of the people of *Rome*. They were ſtrangely oppreſſed and loaded with taxes by *Zenobius*, one of *Mithridates Eupator*'s lieutenants, for refuſing to join that prince againſt the *Romans*, but amply rewarded by *Sylla*, after he had overthrown *Mithridates*, for their attachment to the intereſt of *Rome*. The *Roman* general reſtored them to the full enjoyment of all their ancient rights and privileges, which they maintained undiſturbed, living in great eaſe and plenty, till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who reduced *Chios*, with the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, to a *Roman* province; but, at the ſame time, allowed the *Chians* to live according to their own laws, under the ſuperintendence of a *Roman* prætor, whoſe province comprehended all the iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea, from the mouth of the *Helleſpont* to *Rhodes*.

Iſlands lying round Chios.

SEVERAL ſmall iſlands lie round *Chios*, which were formerly ſubject to that ſtate, *viz.* *Thaluſſa* or *Daphnuſa*, *Oenuſſa*, *Elaphitis*, *Eurynaſſa*; and over-againſt *Epheſus*, at a greater diſtance from *Chios*, the iſlands of *Piſiſtratus*, as *Pliny* ſtiles them, *viz.* *Anthinæ*, *Myonneſos*, and *Diarrheuſa* [e]. Theſe iſlands are alſo mentioned by *Thucydides* [f], *Herodotus* [g], *Strabo* [h], &c.

Icaria.

Icaria, now *Nicaria*, lies about twenty miles weſt of *Samos*, and is, according to *Strabo*, three hundred furlongs, that is, thirty-ſeven miles and a half in circumference. It was anciently called *Doliche*, *Macris*, and *Iſchſiæſa*. The name of *Icaria* it is ſuppoſed to have borrowed from *Icarus* the ſon of *Dædalus*, who is ſaid to have been drowned near this iſland, whence the neighbouring ſea took the name of the *Icarian* ſea, which, according to *Pliny*, extends from *Samos* to *Mycone*. *Bochart* derives the name of *Icaria* from the *Phœnician* word *Icaure*, which ſignifies *full of fiſh*, and agrees with the name of *Ichthueſſa*, given to this iſland by the ancient *Greeks*. *Icaria*, if we believe *Strabo*, was never well peopled; however, it had two pretty conſiderable towns, *viz.* *Dracanon* and *Ænoe*. It had good paſture ground, and was on that account, as the ſame writer tells us, of great uſe to the *Samians*, who were long maſters of it [i]. The inhabitants of *Icaria* were particularly addicted to the worſhip of *Diana*, whence *Callimachus* did not ſcruple to ſay, that the goddeſs took more delight in the iſland of *Icaria*, than any other of the *Ægean* ſea. He alluded

[z] THUCYD. l. viii. [a] Idem, l. vi. [b] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. [c] HIST. UNIVERS. Vol. II. p. 543. [d] ARRIAN. l. iii. [e] PLIN. l. v. c. 31. [f] THUCYD. l. viii. [g] HERODOT. l. i. [h] STRABO, l. xiv. p. 443. [i] STRABO, l. xiv.

alluded, without doubt, to the famous temple erected by the *Icarians* in honour of *Diana*, and called by the ancients *Tauropolium*. Some medals of this island are still to be seen, representing *Diana* in the attire of a huntress, and on the reverse a woman on a bull, whom some take for *Europa*; but *Nonius* is of opinion, that the woman represents the same *Diana*, and the bull the richness of the pastures for which this island was once famous.

Patmos. *Patmos*, or, as others write it, *Pathmos*, lies forty-five miles south of *Icaria*, and is, according to *Pliny*, thirty, according to our modern geographers, only eighteen, miles in compass. It is a barren, mountainous, and rocky country. It had formerly, and has still, several safe and capacious harbours; that which is now called port *La Scala*, is one of the best in the *Archipelago*. Near this harbour are to be seen [b] some pieces of broken columns, which the antiquaries reckon the most ancient in the *Archipelago*. The chief town of this island, as *Galen* informs us, bore likewise the name of *Patmos*. The *Romans* used this island as a place of banishment, under which punishment St. *John* resided here, and wrote his revelations. The present inhabitants pretend to shew the house he lived in, which they call the *Apocalypse*. *Patmos* is now known by the name of *Palmosa*.

Leros. *Leros* is a small island, about eighteen miles in compass, lying south of *Patmos*. It was anciently very populous, and furnished the neighbouring countries with aloes [k]. It had formerly two convenient havens. The inhabitants, called *Lerii*, were reckoned very corrupt by the ancients.

Pharmacusa. *Pharmacusa* is placed by *Stephanus* over-against *Miletus*. [c] In this island king *Attalus* was killed, and near it *Julius Cæsar* taken prisoner by the pirates [l]. Between *Pharmacusa* and the continent, over-against *Miletus*, is the island

Lade. of *Lade*, mentioned by *Thucydides* [m], *Strabo* [n], *Pausanias* [o], *Herodotus* [p], *Arrian* [q], &c. It was anciently called *Late*, as *Pliny* informs us, and inhabited by the *Ionians*. *Minyia*, *Arcesine*, *Belgialis*, *Amorgus*, and *Caryanda* are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and placed between *Patmos* and *Cos*. Some geographers have placed *Caryanda* in a lake near the coast of *Ionia*; but *Pliny*, and *Scylax*, who was a native of this island, counted it among the other islands of the *Archipelago*.

Cos. *Cos*, *Coos*, or *Cous* is counted by *Pliny* [s] among the most considerable islands of the *Ægean*, or rather *Myrtoan*, sea. It was formerly known by the names of *Meropis*, [t] *Cea*, *Nymphæa*, and *Caris*. It lies, according to some, in the *Carpathian*, according to others, in the *Myrtoan*, sea, at a small distance from the coast of *Caria*, and fifteen miles from *Halicarnassus*. It was once very famous for its excellent wines, which are highly commended by all the ancients. *Strabo* and *Pliny* agree in making it about eighty miles in compass. The chief city of the island was first called *Astypalæa*, and afterwards *Cos*. This city is mentioned by *Homer*, who calls it a place well-peopled. *Strabo* speaks of a stately temple erected by the *Coans* in honour of *Æsculapius*, the tutelar god of their island, and enriched with offerings and presents of great value; but the chief ornament of the place was a *Venus* rising out of the sea, done by *Apelles*, and reckoned one of his best performances. This inimitable piece was by *Augustus* conveyed to *Rome*, and there dedicated to *Cæsar*, *Venus* being reckoned the mother of the *Julian* family. To make some amends to the *Coans* for the loss of so valuable a treasure, the same *Augustus* eased them of a considerable part of their annual tribute [t]. This island was, in the *Roman* times, famous for a kind of fine stuff, which was in great request among the women of distinction at *Rome*. It covered them indeed, says the historian, but, at the same time shewed them naked [u]; and hence it is so much spoke of, and inveighed against, by the *Latin* poets [w]. But nothing has rendered this island more famous than the many great men it has produced, *viz. Hippocrates*, the reviver of physic, *Senius*, another famous physician, *Ariston*, a *peripatetic* philosopher, and *Apelles*, the so much celebrated painter (T). This island was, according to *Homer* and *Strabo*, inhabited by *Greeks*

[k] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [l] SUET. c. iv. Plut. in ejus Vita. [m] THUCYD. l. viii. p. 561. [n] STRABO, l. xiv. p. 437. [o] PAUSAN. in Atticis, c. 35. [p] HERODOT. l. vi. c. 7. [q] ARRIAN. l. i. p. 52. [r] PLIN. l. v. c. 31. [s] PLIN. l. v. [t] STRABO, l. xiv. p. 452. [u] VELL. PATERC. l. i. [w] HORAT. l. iv. Od. 13. PROPERT. l. i. Eleg. 2. TIBULL. l. ii. Eleg. 4 & 6.

(T) To these we may add *Sisyphus*, who is said to have been secretary to *Teucer*, and to have possessed the records of the *Trojan* war, which *Homer* made use of. He is mentioned by *Tzetzes*, and in a manuscript chronology quoted by the learned *Leo Allatius*. As to *Hippocrates*, he learned, if we believe *Pliny* (44), the first rudiments of physic, by perusing certain tablets, called by the *Latins*, *tabellæ votivæ*, which

(44) *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 37.

a *Greeks* before the *Trojan* war, a colony of *Dorians* having paſſed over into it from the continent [x]. The *Coans* were firſt governed by kings, among whom we find mention made of *Eurypylus* contemporary with *Hercules*; of *Chalcon*, *Antiphus*, and *Phidippus*. The two latter are ſaid by *Homer* and *Theocritus* to have ſerved at the ſiege of *Troy*. The kingly government gave room to a democracy, and this, as *Ariſtotle* informs us [y], to an ariſtocracy, which was aboliſhed by ſome private men, who, taking the whole power into their hands, governed with an abſolute ſway. Among theſe *Nicippus* and *Scythes* are mentioned by *Ælian* [z]. *Hippocrates*, in one of his letters, tells us, that the *Coans* refuſed to give earth and water to the meſſengers of *Darius* and *Xerxes*; but this does not agree with what we read in *Herodotus*, who counts b the *Coans* among the *Greeks* who ſerved as auxiliaries in the army of *Xerxes* [a]. In the twentieth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, the city of *Cos*, as we read in *Thucydides* [b], was thrown down by an earthquake, the moſt violent one that had ever happened in thoſe parts. Soon after this calamity, before they had time to repair the walls of their city, *Aſtyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* making a deſcent on the iſland, for the *Coans* ſided with the *Athenians*, laid waſte the whole country, plundered the city, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains, and retired to *Cnidus* with an immenſe booty. When *Mithridates* commanded all the *Romans* in *Aſia* to be maſſacred, the only place that ſhewed any regard to them was the iſland of *Cos*, where they were ſuffered to enjoy the common rights of aſylum in the ſacred places [c]; c *Mithridates* ſoon after invaded the iſland, took the metropolis, and committed great devaſtations in their territory; but the *Coans* no ſooner ſaw *Lucullus*'s queſtor appear off their coaſt, than they roſe up in arms, drove out the king's gariſon, and received the *Romans*, by whom they were amply rewarded, *Sylla* having exempted them from all manner of tribute, and allowed them to live according to their own laws [d]. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Coans* continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, did them many good ſervices, and greatly contributed to ſome victories gained by their fleets. However, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, we find them, like the other *Greek* ſtates, paying an annual tribute to *Rome*, which that emperor eaſed them of, in compliance with the requeſt of *Xenophon* his phyſician, whom he pretended to be one d of the deſcendants of *Æſculapius* [e]. This immunity from all impoſitions, taxes, and tributes they enjoyed till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who, reducing them to a *Roman* province, exacted the ſame tribute from them as from the other *Aſiatic* iſlands. *Strabo* tells us, that the iſland of *Niſyra*, called formerly *Porphyris*, was once joined to *Cos* [f], Niſyra. but ſeparated from it by the violence of the winds and ſeas. This iſland is ſixty furlongs from *Cos*, and as many from *Telos*, being, according to *Strabo*, eighty furlongs in compaſs.

Carpathus lies between *Rhodes* and *Crete* in the ſea, which from this iſland is Carpathus, called the *Carpathian* ſea, and has to the north the *Ionian*, to the ſouth the *Egyptian*, to the weſt the *Cretan* and *African* ſeas [g]. This iſland is two hundred furlongs e in compaſs, and an hundred in length [h]. It had anciently, according to *Strabo*, four cities; according to *Scylax* only three. *Ptolemy* mentions but one, which he calls *Poſidium*. This iſland is now called *Scarpanto*. Divers other iſlands lie diſperſed on this coaſt, and are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Thucydides*, &c. *viz. Caſos*, Caſos, &c. eighty furlongs in compaſs; *Synic*, over-againſt the continent of *Caria*, between *Eorima* and *Cnidus*; *Chalæ*, diſtant from *Carpathus* four hundred furlongs; *Telos*, over-againſt *Triopium*, an hundred and forty furlongs in circuit; *Arconneſus*, lying off of *Halicarnaſſus*, with ſeveral other iſlands mentioned by *Pliny* [i], in the *Ceramic* gulf, that is, in the ſea between the city of *Halicarnaſſus* and the iſland of *Cos*. This bay was

[x] Strabo, l. xiv. [y] Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. 3. [z] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 29. [a] Herodot. l. ix. [b] Thucyd. l. viii. [c] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. Plut. in Sylla. Dio. legat. 36. Memnon, c. 33. [d] Plut. ubi ſupra. [e] Tacitus Annal. l. xii. [f] Strabo, l. x. prope finem. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid. & Scylax, p. 93. [i] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

which were hung up in the temples; for, agreeable to an ancient cuſtom, which prevailed all over *Greece*, ſuch as recovered from any diſtemper, uſed to write on a tablet the nature and ſymptoms of their reſpective maladies, and the remedies which had been attended with moſt ſucceſs. Theſe tablets *Hippocrates* is ſaid to have copied and followed when he firſt began to practiſe. A tablet of this nature was diſcovered at *Rome*, not many years ago, among the ruins of the ancient temple of *Æſculapius*, with this inſcription in *Greek*; Julianus *being afflicted with vomiting of blood, and abandoned by men, the gods haſtened to his relief, and having nouriſhed him for the ſpace of three days with honey, reſtored him to his health; for which favour he came to return them thanks in the preſence of the people.*

was so called from the city of *Ceramus*, which *Pliny* places in the island of *Arconnesus*; but all other geographers on the continent, between *Cnidus* and *Halicarnassus*. This bay is called by some writers the *Ceraunian* bay, and the city, from which it borrowed its name, *Ceraunus*. [k]. a

Islands in the Cretan *sea.*

The *Cretan* sea is properly that part of the *Ægean* sea which lies about *Crete*, and formerly belonged, together with the islands it contained, to the *Cretans*. These islands are, *Claude*, *Dia*, *Letoa*, *Ægilia*, *Calymna*, *Astypalæa*, *Thera*, &c. *Claude*, which is mentioned in the *Acts* [l], and had, in *Pliny*'s time, a city called *Gaulos*, and now *Gozo*, lies south of *Crete*. *Dia*, now *Standia*, is about three leagues distant from *Crete*, and rather a rock than an island. *Letoa* is now known by the name of *Cristina*, and *Ægilia* by that of *Cerigo*. The former lies near *Crete*; the other not far b from *Peloponnesus*. *Calymna* is celebrated by the antients for its excellent honey [m]. *Astypalæa*, now *Stampala*, lies off the south-west coast of *Cos*, is about sixty miles in compass, and had formerly a city bearing the same name, with two safe harbours.

Thera.

Thera is placed by *Strabo* between *Crete* and *Egypt*, and said to be twenty-five miles in compass; but the modern geographers more rightly place it between *Crete* and the *Cyclades*, and allow it thirty-six miles in circuit, wherein they agree with *Stephanus Byzantinus*. This island was first peopled by the *Phœnicians*; for *Cadmus* as *Herodotus* [n], *Pausanias* [o], and *Strabo* [p], informs us, arriving here in search of his sister *Europa*, left some of his followers, under the command of his kinsman *Membliares*, to people the island, which was then called *Callista*. This name it changed in c process of time to that of *Thera*, from *Theras* the *Lacedæmonian*, the son of *Autesion* and grandson of *Tisamenes*, who led into this island a colony of *Lacedemonians* and *Mynians*. The story is thus related by *Herodotus* [q]; the *Argonauts*, on their return from *Colchis*, stopped at *Lemnos*, where their posterity retained the name of *Mynians*. These, being driven out of *Lemnos* by the *Pelasgians*, sailed to *Lacedæmon*, and arriving at *Taygetus* landed there. When the *Lacedæmonians* heard of their arrival, they dispatched a messenger to enquire who they were, and whence they came. They answered, that they were *Mynians*, descended from those heroes who had attended *Jason* to *Colchis*. The *Lacedæmonians*, understanding that they were of *Mynian* extraction, sent another messenger to enquire with what design they had landed in d their territories. To this they answered, that being expelled *Lemnos* by the *Pelasgians*, they were desirous to return to and settle in the country of their ancestors. The *Lacedæmonians* readily complied with their desire, allowing them to share with them their lands and privileges, and even to marry *Lacedæmonian* women; but not long after these new-comers conspired together to seize on the lands of the ancient proprietors, and usurp the supreme authority; but their plot being discovered, they were all apprehended and sentenced to die. As the sentence, according to the custom of the country, was to be put in execution in the night, the wives of the *Mynians*, who were daughters to the principal persons of *Sparta*, asked leave to take their last farewel of their husbands; which being granted, they changed their e garments with them, the women remaining in the prison, and the men making their escape, disguised like women, to the city of *Taygetus*. At this time *Theras*, who had been regent of the kingdom of *Sparta* during the minority of his nephews *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, the sons of *Aristodemus*, having resigned to them the government, and not liking to obey after he had tasted the pleasure of commanding, declared his resolution to leave *Lacedæmon* and settle in the island of *Callista*, which was then held by the *Phœnicians*. As the *Lacedæmonians* pursued the *Mynians* to *Taygetus*, with a design to seize them there and put them to death, pursuant to the sentence pronounced against them, *Theras* interceded in their behalf, promising to transport them out of the country, and by that means free the *Lacedæmonians* from their f troublesome guests. The *Lacedæmonians* complied with his desire, and *Theras*, with the *Mynians* and a great many of his countrymen, set sail to *Callista*, where they all settled. Thus was the island peopled, first by the *Phœnicians*, and afterwards by the *Mynians* and *Lacedæmonians* under the conduct of *Theras*. *Herodotus*, who gives us this account of the inhabitants of *Thera*, names two of these descendants of *Theras* who reigned here, *viz.* *Æsanius* and his son *Grynus*. The latter went to *Delphos* to sacrifice an hecatomb in honour of *Apollo*, attended by the most eminent citizens of the

[k] STRABO, l. xiv. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 16. [l] ACTS xxvii. 16. [m] POMP. MELA, p. 213. OVID. Metam. l. viii. ver. 222. [n] HERODOT. l. iv. [o] PAUSAN. l. iii. & vii. [p] STRABO, l. viii. [q] HERODOT. ubi supra.

a the place, among whom was *Battus* the son of *Polymnestus* or *Cyrnus*, a man of great distinction among the *Minians*. While *Theras* consulted the oracle about other affairs, the *Pythian* commanded him to build a city in *Libya*; from the execution of which command he excused himself on account of his age, desiring the oracle to employ therein some of the young men there present, at the same time pointing to *Battus*. On their return they slighted the oracle, nor did they know in what part of the world *Libya* was; but a drought, which lasted seven years in *Thera* and destroyed all the trees in the island, except one, obliged the king to return to the oracle, which commanded them again to build a town in *Libya*, and send a colony b zens to *Crete*, with orders to enquire, whether any of the *Cretans*, or other inhabitants of that island, had ever been in *Libya*. These messengers, travelling from place to place, arrived in the city of *Itanus*, where having met with one *Corobius* a dyer of purple, who told them, that he had, by distress of weather, been driven to an island of *Libya* called *Platæ*, they prevailed upon him, with the promise of a great reward, to go with them to *Thera*. The *Theræans* found means to persuade him to conduct a small number of men to the island of *Platæa*, whence they soon returned to give an account of the place to their countrymen, leaving *Corobius* there with provisions for two months; but as they did not return within the time appointed, *Corobius* was reduced to the last extremity, when a ship from *Samos*, bound homec wards from *Egypt*, arrived in the harbour. The *Samians* being informed by *Corobius* of all that had happened, left him subsistence for a year; during which time the *Theræans* returned with a numerous colony, and having divided the lands among them, chose *Battus* for their king. *Battus* seeing himself raised to this dignity, made many wise laws, governed his new kingdom with great prudence, and built a city, which, by order of the oracle, he called *Cyrene*. This city, in process of time, became very famous, and one of the most powerful states of *Africa*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history [r].

The islands of *Thera* and *Melos* were the only two places, that, in the *Peloponnesian* war, sided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and held out to the last against the *Athe*d nians, tho' solicited, with advantagious offers, to join the other islands. *Thera* made then, as *Herodotus* informs us [s], a very considerable figure, was well peopled, and had no fewer than seven cities of no small note. It has still five towns pretty well peopled, *viz. Apanomeria*, *Scaro* or *Castro*, *Pyrgos*, *Emperio* or *Nebrio*, and *Acroteri*. Near *Apanomeria* is a capacious harbour, in the shape of a half-moon; but ships cannot anchor in it, no bottom having ever yet been found. In this harbour there are two small islands, and at a little distance from it two others, called by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Seneca*, *Hiera* or *Automate*, and *Therasia*. *Seneca* tells us [t], that the island of *Therasia* appeared first in his time; and *Pliny* [u] speaks of another, which e he calls *Thia* and places near *Hiera*, as quite new. This island, says he, has been seen issuing out of the sea in our days; and *Justin* [w] tells us [x], that in his time, a great earthquake happening between the islands of *Thera* and *Therasia*, a new island sprung up, to the great surprize of all who beheld it. *Dion Cassius* [x] also speaks of an island appearing here in the reign of *Claudius*, which *Aurelius Victor* [y] calls a considerable island, and *Syncellus* mentions as appearing first in the forty-sixth year of the *Christian* æra. *Cedrenus* [z] tells us, that in the tenth year of *Leo Isauricus* there appeared, for some days together, a thick fog between the islands of *Thera* and *Therasia*, and a smoke, as if a burning kiln or furnace were rising up; and that, on a sudden, there appeared, floating on the surface of the water, a new island, which at f last fastened to the island of *Hiera*, and considerably increased its bulk. At the same time such vast quantities of pumice-stone were cast up, as covered the coasts of *Macedon* and *Asia*, as far as the *Dardanelles*. This happened, according to *Theophanes*, in the year of Christ 712, according to *Nicephorus* in 720. A modern writer, who describes the island of *Thera*, called by the inhabitants *Santorin*, tells us, that, in his time, there were many old men in the island, who assured him, that they had seen, in 1573, a violent fire break out of the sea, and soon after a new island appear, which from thence they called *Micri Cemmeni*, that is, *the little burnt island* [a]. This seems to confirm what *Strabo* says [b], *viz.* That in his time the sea between

[r] Herodot. ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Seneca Quæst. natural. l. vi. c. 21. [u] Plin. l. ii. c. 77. [w] Justin. l. xxx. c. 4. [x] Dion. l. lx. [y] Aurel. Victor in Claud. [z] Cedren. Compend. Hist. ann. Christ. 713. [a] Father Richards in his account of St. *Erini*, [b] Strab. l. i.

between *Thera* and *Therafia* was obſerved to boil four days together, and that an iſland 1500 paces in compaſs ſuddenly appeared, as if it had been plucked up by engines from the bottom of the water. A modern traveller tells us, that, a few years before his arrival in the iſland, an immenſe quantity of pumice-ſtone aroſe out of the harbour of *Thera*, with ſuch a dreadful noiſe, that at *Scio*, which is above 200 miles diſtant from *Thera*, they imagined the *Venetian* and *Ottoman* fleets had engaged [c]. In 1707 a new iſland appeared, if we may credit the accounts from the *Levant*, near *Santorin* or *Thera*, which was two miles in circuit at its firſt appearance, and was a few months after conſiderably increaſed by additional rocks caſt up in violent earthquakes by the ſea. The preſent inhabitants of *Thera* never fail to acquaint ſtrangers, that the many rocks which are ſeen about their iſland, were all brought into the world by earthquakes. *Pliny* tells us [d], that *Thera* itſelf firſt appeared after a violent earthquake; and that *Thia*, which is but two furlongs from it, was caſt up by the ſea in his time, on the eighth of the *Ides* of *July*, *M. Junius Silanus* and *L. Balbus* being then conſuls. What *Pliny* advances is vouched by many other antient writers.

There are ſtill to be ſeen in *Thera* the ruins of the temples of *Neptune* and *Minerva*, mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and the ſcholiaſt of *Pindar*. The iſland was conſecrated to *Apollo*, and thence is called by *Pindar the holy iſland* [e]. The many inſcriptions, that are ſtill remaining, ſhew, that this iſland made no ſmall figure even in the *Roman* times. It is now known by the name of *Santorin* or *Santorino*, probably derived from St. *Irene*, the tutelary ſaint of the iſland. Theſe are the chief iſlands in the *Ægean*, *Icarian*, and *Cretan* ſeas on the coaſts of *Aſia*. We ſhall now proceed to the *Cyclades*, the number and order of which is, according to *Strabo* [f], as follows, *Helena*, *Ceos*, *Cythnus*, *Seriphus*, *Melos*, *Siphnus*, *Cimolis*, *Prepeſinthus*, *Olearus*, *Naxus*, *Parus*, *Syrus*, *Myconus*, *Tenus*, *Andrus*, *Gyarus*. Moſt of theſe iſlands lie ſouth of *Delos*; ſo that this iſland is not ſtrictly in the midſt of the *Cyclades*, as the antients ſeem to have ſuppoſed.

The Cyclades.

Helena.

Helena, now *Macroniſi*, was antiently known by the names of *Macris* and *Cranae*; but that of *Helena* prevailed over the other two, and was borrowed, according to *Strabo* [g], *Pauſanias* [h], and *Stephanus*, from the *Grecian* beauty of that name, *Paris* having ſtopped ſome time with her in this iſland. It is about three miles in breadth and eight in length, whence it is called *the Long iſland*. *Pliny* ſays it was ſeparated from the iſland of *Rubœa* by an earthquake. It is a barren and inhoſpitable place, being covered over with a deep ſand, and having but one ſpring, and that, as our modern travellers inform us, but a very poor one. Some have been of opinion, that this iſland was never inhabited; but *Goltzius* mentions two medals relating to its antient inhabitants. It is ſeparated from the continent of *Attica* by a ſtraight eight miles over [i].

Ceos.

Ceos, *Cea*, or *Cia*, lies oppoſite to the promontory of *Achaia* called *Sunium*, and is fifty miles in compaſs [k]. This iſland is commended by the antients on account of its fertility and richneſs of its paſtures [l]. The firſt ſilk-ſtuffs, if *Pliny* and *Solinus* are to be credited, were wrought here. *Ceos* was particularly famous for the excellent figs it produced, as the ſame *Pliny* informs us [m]. It was firſt peopled by *Ariſtæus* the ſon of *Apollo* and *Cyrene*, who, being grieved for the death of his ſon *Actæon*, retired from *Thebes*, at the perſuaſion of his mother, and went over with ſome *Thebans* to *Ceos*, at that time uninhabited [n]. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that he retired to the iſland of *Cos*; but the antients, as *Servius* obſerves, called both theſe iſlands by the ſame name of *Cos*. Be that as it will, the iſland of *Ceos* became ſo populous, that a law obtained there, commanding all perſons upwards of ſixty to be poiſoned, that others might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt; ſo that none above ſixty were to be ſeen in the iſland, being obliged, after they arrived at that age, either to ſubmit to the law, or abandon the country, leaving all their effects behind them [o]. *Ceos* had, in former times, four famous cities, *viz. Julis*, *Carthæa*, *Coreſſus*, and *Præceſſa*. The two latter were, according to *Pliny*, ſwallowed up by an earthquake [p]. The other two flouriſhed in *Strabo*'s time. *Carthæa* ſtood on a riſing ground, at the end of a valley, about three miles from the ſea. The ſituation of it, as deſcribed by *Strabo*,

[c] Thevenot, c. 68. [d] Plin. l. ii. c. 87. [e] Pindar. Od. 4. [f] Strabo, l. x. p. 334. [g] Strabo, l. ix. p. 275. [h] Pausan. in Atticis. [i] Strabo, l. x. [k] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [l] Idem ibid. & Virg. Georg. l. i. ver. 14. [m] Plin. l. xvi. c. 27. [n] Servius in Virg. Georg. l. i. [o] Strabo, l. x. [p] Plin. ubi ſupra.

a *Strabo*, agrees with that of the preſent town of *Zia*, which gives name to the whole iſland. The ruins both of *Carthæa* and *Julis* are ſtill remaining; thoſe of the latter take up a whole mountain, and are called by the modern inhabitants *Polis*, that is, *the city*. Near this place are to be ſeen the ruins of a ſtately temple, with a great many pieces of broken pillars and ſtatues of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip. The walls of the city were of marble, and ſome pieces are ſtill remaining above twelve feet in length. *Julis* was, according to *Strabo*, the birth-place of *Simonides*, *Bacchylides*, *Eraſiſtratus*, and *Ariſto* (U). The *Oxford* marbles tell us[q], that *Simonides*, the ſon of *Leoprepis*, invented a ſort of artificial memory, whereof he ſhewed b the principles at *Athens*, and add, that he was deſcended of another *Simonides*, who was a poet no leſs renowned than himſelf. One of theſe two poets invented thoſe doleful verſes, which are ſung at funerals, and are called by the *Latins*, *Næniæ*[r]. *Strabo* tells us, That the *Athenians* having beſieged the City of *Julis*, raiſed the ſiege, upon advice, that the inhabitants had reſolved to murder all the children under a certain age, that other uſeful perſons might not be employed in looking after them[s]. *Ceos* was, with the other *Greek* iſlands, ſubdued by the *Romans*, and beſtowed upon the *Athenians* by *Marc Antony* the *triumvir*, together with *Ægina*, *Tinos*, and ſome other adjoining iſlands[t], which were all reduced to one *Roman* province by *Veſpaſian*.

Cythnus. c *Cythnus*, about twelve miles eaſt of *Ceos*, is counted, by *Strabo*, among the moſt fruitful iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea. It was the birth-place of *Cyadias*, an eminent painter, mentioned by *Dionyſius* and his commentator *Euſtathius*. The cheeſe of *Cythnus* was, according to *Stephanus* and *Julius Pollux*, in great requeſt among the antients. The iſland is now called *Thermia*, from the *Greek* word *Thermos*, ſignifying *hot*, by reaſon it abounds with hot ſprings, which are much commended by the antients. There are ſome remains of an ancient and very magnificent city on the ſouthern coaſt.

Seriphus. *Seriphus*, now *Serpho*, is a barren rock rather than an iſland, whence *Tacitus* calls it *the Seriphian rock*[u]. *Pliny* allows it only twelve miles in compaſs[w]; but, accord- d ing to our modern travellers, it is thirty-ſix. The rugged and ſteep mountains of *Seriphus* gave the poets occaſion to feign, that *Perſeus* transformed the inhabitants into ſtones. *Strabo* tells us, that on this coaſt was found the cheſt, wherein *Acriſius* had ſhut up *Perſeus* and his mother *Danae*[x]. *Origen* ſpeaks of the inhabitants of this iſland

[q] Epoch. 55. [r] Vide HORAT. l. ii. Od. 1. [s] STRABO, ubi ſupra. [t] APPIAN, l. i.
[u] TACIT. Annal. iv. c. 25. [w] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [x] STRABO, l. x.

(U) The antients mention two great men natives of *Ceos*, both bearing the name of *Simonides*. The elder, the ſon of one *Leoprepis*, was born in the fifty-ſixth olympiad, and died in the ſeventy-eighth, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He wrote in the *Doric* dialect the hiſtory of *Cambyſes* and *Darius Hyſtaſpis* and deſcribed in *Lyric* verſes the battles of *Artemiſium* and *Salamis*. He is ſaid to have added to the *Greek* alphabet the four letters H, Ω, Ξ, Ψ. He had, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Quintilian*, a particular talent in moving his readers to compaſſion; and to this probably *Catullus* alluded in the following lines:

Paulum quidlibet adlocutionis
Mæſtis lacrymulis Simonideis.

He was highly favoured by the greateſt princes of *Greece* and *Sicily*, eſpecially by *Pauſanias* and *Hiero*. He wrote ſeveral books, a catalogue of which may be ſeen in *Suidas* and the anonymous author of the chronology of the olympiads (35). He carried the prize of poetry, probably in *Syracuſe*, being then in the eightieth year of his age. After his death the *Syracuſſans* erected a magnificent monument to his memory, which was afterwards demoliſhed by *Phænix* general of the *Agrigentines*. On this occaſion *Callimachus* wrote a piece againſt *Phœnix*, wherein he introduced *Simonides* complaining of that general, for not ſhewing the ſame regard to him, which *Caſtor* and *Pollux* had ſhewn, when they reſcued him from the danger he was in of being cruſhed under the ruins of a houſe that was ready to fall, as *Phædrus* relates in his fables.

The other *Simonides* was grandſon of *Simonides* the elder, and flouriſhed a little before the *Peloponneſian* war. He was, as *Suidas* informs us, author of the three books of inventions, and wrote as many of genealogies, whence the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* gives him the ſurname of the *Genealogiſt*. *Bacchylides* was nearly related to *Simonides*, and wrote ſome tragedies. *Ariſto* was a *Peripatetic* philoſopher of no mean character. *Eraſiſtratus* was an eminent phyſician, the grandſon of *Ariſtotle*, and flouriſhed under *Ptolemy Philadelphus* or *Antiochus Nicanor*. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who diſcovered that *Antiochus Soter* was in love with his mother-in-law *Stratonice*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that prince's reign. *Eraſiſtratus* is mentioned by *Pliny* (36), *Plutarch* (37), *Appian* (38), *Gellius* (39), *Valerius Maximus* (40), &c.

(35) *Suidas in lex. & anonym. olymp.* 82. (36) *Plin. l.* xiv. *c.* 7. *l.* x. *c.* 9. xxvi. *c.* 2. *l.* xxix. *c.* 1. (37) *Plut. in Demet.* (38) *Appian. in Syriac.* (39) *Aul. Gell. l.* xvi. *c.* 3. (40) *Val. Max. l.* v. *c.* 7.

iſland with great contempt [y]; but *Herodotus* lets us know, that the inhabitants of *Seriphus*, *Siphnos*, and *Melos* were the only iſlanders that refuſed to admit the fleet and troops of *Xerxes* [z]. The ſame author adds, that the *Seriphians* were originally *Athenians*, and that they aſſiſted their countrymen with two gallies againſt the *Perſians*. They were in antient times governed by kings; but of theſe we find one only mentioned in hiſtory, *viz. Polydectes*, and of him we know nothing but what we read in the poets. To this place the *Romans* confined enormous offenders. Here died *Caſſius Severus* the famous orator, baniſhed by *Auguſtus* for ſpeaking with too much freedom; a fault which ſeventeen years of baniſhment in the iſle of *Crete* had not cured him of [a]. *Veſtilia* the wife of *Labeo*, being convicted of adultery, was ſent to *Seriphus* to ſpend the remainder of her life there [b]. One *Stratonicus*, mentioned by *Plutarch* [c], being baniſhed to this iſland, found the place ſo very diſagreeable, that he one day aſked his landlady, what crimes were puniſhed in his country with baniſhment? The *Seriphian* anſwered, Perjury. Why then, replied *Stratonicus*, don't you forſwear yourſelf, that you may be baniſhed from ſuch an execrable place? *Pliny* [d] and *Ælian* [e] tell us, that the frogs of *Seriphos* are naturally mute, but as noiſy as any others when tranſported out of the iſland. *Jupiter*, ſay the poets, ſtruck the frogs dumb at the requeſt of *Perſeus*, who could not ſleep here for the noiſe they made; but *Theophraſtus* aſcribes their ſilence to the chillneſs of the waters in this iſland. The waters, as our modern travellers obſerve, are not colder here than elſewhere, nor the frogs leſs noiſy [f]. However, this groundleſs report gave riſe to the proverb, quoted by *Stephanus* and *Suidas*, *As ſilent as a frog of* Seriphus. This iſland abounds with mines of iron and load-ſtone, and had anciently a very convenient harbour. The onions of *Seriphos* are highly commended by *Spon*; they grow on ſmall ſpots of ground between the rocks, and are cultivated by the inhabitants with extraordinary care, being the only commodity the iſland affords.

Melos.

Melos lies about twenty-four miles off of cape *Scyllæum*, now *Schilli*, in *Peloponneſus*, is ſixty miles in compaſs, and, according to *Pliny* [g], almoſt round. This iſland, though ſmall, made a very conſiderable figure in the flouriſhing ages of *Greece*. *Melos*, ſays *Thucydides* [h], enjoyed its liberty ſeven hundred years before the *Peloponneſian* war. The inhabitants, ſays the ſame *Thucydides* [i], were originally *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore refuſed in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war to join the *Athenians*, declaring, that they would maintain a ſtrict neutrality, which they did accordingly. *Stephanus* and *Feſtus* will have the *Melians* to be a colony of *Phœnicians*, and the iſland to have borrowed its name from one *Melos* who led the colony. Be that as it will, the *Melians* could never be prevailed upon to join the other iſlanders and *Athenians* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; which the *Athenians* reſenting, ſent *Nicias* with a fleet of threeſcore ſail and two thouſand land-forces to beſiege the capital of the iſland. *Nicias* landed in the iſland, laid waſte the country, but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the town, the *Melians* having made a more vigorous reſiſtance than he expected [k]. Some time after, the *Athenians* made another deſcent with three thouſand men under the command of *Cleomedes* and *Tiſias*, but could not reduce the town, till they were reinforced with new troops from *Athens*, which arriving with *Philocrates* brought the *Melians* to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. The *Athenians*, at the inſtigation of *Alcibiades*, treated them with great cruelty, putting to the ſword all thoſe who were able to bear arms, and carrying into *Attica* the women and children, where they were ſold for ſlaves. The iſland being thus quite unpeopled, a new colony was ſent thither from *Athens*. But not long after *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* general, having obliged the *Athenians* in their turn to ſurrender at diſcretion, releaſed the captive *Melians*, and reſtored them to their native country, after having driven from thence the *Athenian* colony [l]. *Melos* afterwards underwent the ſame fate as the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, that is, it fell under the yoke of the *Romans*, and was by them reduced with the other iſlands to a province. *Melos* was the birth-place of the philoſopher *Diagoras*, who was the firſt, as *Lactantius* informs us, that aſſerted there were no gods, whence he had the ſurname of *Atheiſt*. This iſland abounds with iron mines, and was in former ages famed for its wine and honey; from the latter ſome are of opinion it took the name of *Melos*.

Clemens

[y] Origen. in Celſ. l. i. [z] Herodot. l. viii. c. 41. [a] Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 21. [b] Euseb. Chron. p. 158. [c] Plut. de Exil. [d] Plin. l. iii. c. 37. [e] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. viii. c. 58. [f] Tournefort Voyage au Levant, &c. [g] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [h] Thucyd. l. v. [i] Idem. l. ii. [k] Idem, l. iii. & Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. [l] Thucyd. l. v. Plut. in Alcibiad. Plut. in Lyſandr. [m] Clem. Alexand. Pædagog. l. ii. c. 1. [n] Jul. Poll. Onomaſt. l. vi. c. 10.

a *Clemens Alexandrinus* [m] and *Julius Pollux* [n] greatly commend the paſtures and mineral waters of this iſland; but *Hippocrates* ſpeaks of one, who, being cured of the itch by uſing the waters of *Melos*, fell into a dropſy, of which he died [o]. The allom of *Melos* was in great requeſt among the *Romans*, who preferred it, as we read in *Pliny* [p], to that of any other country except the *Egyptian*.

Siphnus. *Siphnus*, now *Siphanto*, is about thirty ſix miles diſtant from *Melos*, and, according to *Pliny*, twenty-eight in circumference, though our modern geographers allow it to be forty. It was antiently known by the names of *Merope*, or *Merapia*, and *Acis*. The name of *Siphnus*, if we believe *Stephanus*, is of a later date, and borrowed from *Siphnus* the ſon of *Sunion*, who ſettled here with a colony. The air of *Siphnus* is exceeding wholeſome, and the ſoil equally fruitful, producing great plenty
b of delicious fruits, and corn enough to ſupport its inhabitants. The morals of the antient *Siphnians* were very depraved; whence it was proverbially ſaid of perſons leading a debauched and diſſolute life, that *they lived like* Siphnians [q]. *Siphnus* had formerly ſeveral good harbours, and has ſtill five very ſafe ones, viz. *Faro*, *Vati*, *Chitriani*, *Chironiſſo*, and *Calanca*. There were formerly here rich mines of gold, as *Pauſanias* informs us [r], and great plenty of lead; whence the inhabitants were reckoned very rich, and the iſland diſtinguiſhed with the epithet of *happy* [s]. *Theophraſtus* [t] *Pliny* [u], and *Iſidorus* [w] mention certain cups of ſtone made in *Siphnos*, which were in great eſteem among the *Romans*. In the laſt century the Grand-Signior ſent ſome *Jews* to examine into the lead-mines; but the inhabitants, apprehending they
c ſhould be obliged to work in them, bribed the captain of the veſſels, which brought the *Jews*, to ſink his ſhip; by which means the cargo of ore was loſt, and the *Jews*, who deſigned to farm the mines, all drowned. Some time after other undertakers came upon the ſame errand, but as they met with no better ſucceſs, the undertaking was dropt [x].

Cimolis. *Cimolis* is ſeparated from *Melos* by a ſtraight, which is ſcarce a mile ever. It is, according to *Pliny*, twelve miles in compaſs, and was antiently called *Echinuſa*, or the *iſland of Vipers*. It is now known by the name of *Argentiere*, which it borrowed from the *ſilver mines*, with which it is ſaid to abound. The preſent inhabitants
d ſhew theſe mines to ſtrangers, but are afraid to meddle with them, leſt the *Turks* ſhould load them with taxes under pretence that they reaped great advantages from them. This iſland is a very barren place, and full of rocks and mountains. It is ſcarce ever mentioned in hiſtory, having always followed the fate of *Melos*. The *terra Cimolia*, or *Cimolian earth*, is greatly commended by *Pliny* [y]; it is a kind of chalk uſed by the preſent inhabitants, as it was by their forefathers in *Pliny*'s time [z], in waſhing linen and whitening it. The ſame author ſpeaks of the medicinal virtues of this earth; but theſe it has no more at preſent, and perhaps never had. The whole iſland is covered with this ſort of chalk, whence it is called by *Ovid* a chalky country [a].

Prepeſinthus. *Prepeſinthus* is a ſmall iſland between *Siphnus* and *Melos*, about four miles in
e compaſs. It is mentioned only by *Artemidorus* and *Strabo* [b], and contains nothing worthy of notice.

Olearos. *Olearus*, or *Oliaros*, mentioned by *Strabo* [c], *Pliny* [d], *Virgil* [e], *Ovid* [f], &c. is ſixteen miles in compaſs, and ſeparated from the iſle of *Paros* by a ſtraight ſeven miles over. This iſland was, according to *Heraclides Ponticus* as quoted by *Stephanus*, firſt peopled by a *Phœnician* colony from *Sidon*. This iſland, now known by the name of *Antiparos*, exhibits one of the greateſt curioſities in nature, namely the vegetation of ſtones, which is deſcribed at length by a modern traveller, to whom we refer our readers [g].

Naxus. *Naxos* now *Naxia*, was formerly known by the names of *Strongyle*, *Dia*, *Dionyſias*, *Callipolis*, and *Little Sicily*. It was called *Strongyle* from a *Greek* word ſignifyf ing *round*, though in reality it is rather ſquare than round. The names of *Da* or *Divine*, and *Dionyſias* were given it as being conſecrated in a peculiar manner to the fabulous god *Dionyſius* or *Bacchus*. The name of *Callipolis Pliny* and *Colinus* derive from the metropolis of the iſland, formerly a moſt beautiful city, which is the import

of

[m] Hippocr. Epid. l. v. [p] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 15. [q] Stephanus, Hesychius, Suidas, verbo Σιφνίοις & Ξιφνιάζειν. [r] Pausan. in Phocis. [s] Isidorus, Orig. l. xvi. c. 4. [t] Theophrastus de lapid. [u] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 22. [w] Isidor. ubi ſupra. [x] Vide Tournefort Voyage au Levant. [y] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 15. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. 463. [b] Strab. l. x. p. 334. [c] Strab. ibid. [d] Plin. ubi ſupra. [e] Virgil. Æneid. 3. v. 126 [f] Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 126. [g] Tournefort ubi ſupra, Tom 1. epiſt. 5.

of the word *Callipolis* [g]. The great fruitfulneſs of the country gave riſe to the name of *Little Sicily*, *Naxus* being the moſt fruitful of all the *Cyclades*, as *Agathemerus* informs us [h], and no leſs fertile than *Sicily* itſelf. As for the name of *Naxus*, ſome tell us that it was borrowed from one *Naxus*, under whoſe conduct the *Carians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland; others pretend it received this name from *Naxus* the ſon of *Endymion*. *Stephanus*, *Suidas*, and *Phavorinus* derive the name of *Naxus* from the *Greek* word *Naxai*, ſignifying to *ſacrifice*, and will have it to have been ſo called from the many ſacrifices offered here to *Bacchus*. With theſe *Bochart* agrees as to its being called *Naxos* from the ſacrifices performed here in honour of *Bacchus*, but will have the word *Naxos* to be a corruption of the *Phœnician Nacſa* or *Nicſa*, ſignifying *a ſacrifice* or *offering*. *Naxos* is, according to *Pliny* [i], ſeventy-five, according to the preſent inhabitants, an hundred miles in compaſs. It has *Paros* to the weſt, *Myconos* and *Delos* to the north, and *Ios* to the ſouth. This iſland is the moſt fruitful of the *Archipelago*, and was in former ages famed for the excellent wines it produced: *Archilochus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, compares them to the nectar of the gods; and *Aſclepiades*, cited by *Stephanus*, tells us, that *Bacchus* took more delight in *Naxus* than in any other place whatſoever, having himſelf taught the inhabitants to cultivate their vines. The wine of *Naxus* maintains to this day its antient reputation, being by ſome deemed the beſt of the *Levant*. Beſides wine, this iſland abounds with all ſorts of delicious fruits, the plains being covered with orange, olive, lemon, cedar, citron, pomgranate, mulberry, and figtrees. It was formerly famous for quarries of that ſort of marble, which the *Greeks* called *Ophites*, from its being green and ſpeckled with white ſpots like the skin of a ſerpent. The beſt emeril is found here on mountains near the weſtern coaſt, whence the neighbouring cape is called by the *Italians Capo Smeriglio*, or the *Emeril Cape*. As to the inhabitants of *Naxus*, *Diodorus* tells us, that the iſland was firſt peopled by the *Thracians*, who ſettled here on the following occaſion.

Boreas had two ſons, *Butes* and *Lycurgus*, by different mothers. *Butes*, who was the younger, entered into a plot againſt his brother; which being diſcovered, *Boreas* commanded him to leave *Thrace* and find himſelf ſome other habitation. *Butes* imbarqued with his accomplices, and ſteering his courſe to the *Cyclades*, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Naxos*, then called *Strongyle*, and lived upon plunder, ſeizing all the ſhips that ſailed that way. But as *Butes* and his *Thracians* wanted women, and the neighbouring iſlands were either thinly inhabited or quite deſolate, they ſailed to *Theſſaly*, and landing there ſeized upon ſome women, while they were celebrating the myſteries of *Bacchus* on a mountain near the ſhore called *Diros*. *Butes* having uſed violence on this occaſion to *Coronides*, ſhe made her complaints to *Bacchus*, who ſtruck *Butes* with madneſs, which occaſioned his death, he having thrown himſelf down a precipice and died of the fall. The other *Thracians* returned with the *Theſſalian* women to *Strongyle*, carrying with them, amongſt others, *Iphimedia* the wife of *Aloeas* and *Pancratis* his daughter, both women of extraordinary beauty. On their return they created *Agaſſamenus* king of the iſland in the room of *Butes*, beſtowing upon him *Pancratis*, as he did *Iphimedia* on one of his intimate friends, whom he had appointed commander in chief of his forces. In the mean time *Aloeas* ſent his two ſons *Otus* and *Ephialtes* in queſt of his wife and daughter. Theſe landing in the iſland with a ſtrong body of men, engaged the *Thracians*, routed them, took their metropolis by ſtorm, and made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland. Not long after the two brothers fell out, which occaſioned a civil war, wherein many were killed on both ſides, and amongſt the reſt the two brothers by one another; but the *Theſſalians* afterwards adored them as demigods or heroes. After the *Theſſalians* had held the iſland for the ſpace of two hundred years and upwards, they were at length obliged by a drought and famine to abandon it. After the *Trojan* war the *Carians*, being then powerful at ſea, ſettled here, and called the iſland *Naxus* from their king, who was the ſon of *Polemon*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Leucippus*, and *Leucippus* by his ſon *Smardius*, in whoſe reign *Theſeus* coming out of *Crete* landed here with *Ariadne*, whom he was, as *Diodorus* tells us, commanded in his ſleep by *Bacchus* to leave this iſland, which he did accordingly, and *Bacchus* having retired with

[g] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [h] Agath. l. c. 5. [i] Plin. ubi ſupra.

a with her to mount *Arius*, they both ſoon after diſappeared [k] (W). In proceſs of time a colony of *Cnidians* and *Rhodians* ſettled here, under the conduct of *Hippothous* and *Xuthus*; and laſt of all the *Ionians*, who by degrees poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole iſland, whence the *Naxians* are by *Herodotus* called *Ionians*, and ranked among the *Athenian* colonies [l].

Naxus was formerly a very flouriſhing republic, and by far the moſt powerful of the *Cyclades*, as *Herodotus* informs us [m], and had ſeveral cities of note, amongſt others *Naxus* the metropolis of the iſland mentioned by *Ptolemy* [n]; the preſent city of *Naxia*, which is the capital, was perhaps built on the ruins of the ancient *Naxus*, whence it retains the ſame name.

b The *Naxians* were firſt governed by kings, as we have hinted above out of *Diodorus*, but afterwards formed themſelves into a republic, and enjoyed their liberties till the time of *Piſiſtratus* tyrant of *Athens*, who having ſubdued *Naxus* beſtowed it upon *Lygdamis* a native of the iſland, for having aſſiſted him with men and money in uſurping the ſovereign power [o]. Upon the death of *Lygdamis* they recovered their liberty, and even poſſeſſed themſelves of the neighbouring iſlands of *Paros* and *Andros*. In the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Ariſtagoras*, governor of *Miletus* in *Ionia*, formed a deſign of ſurprizing *Naxus*, under colour of reſtoring the nobles, who had been driven out by the popular faction and taken refuge in *Miletus*. *Darius* furniſhed him with two hundred ſhips and a conſiderable body of land-forces to be employed in this expedition. But the *Naxians*, being forewarned by *Megabates* the c *Perſian* general, with whom *Ariſtagoras* happened to fall out, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and obliged *Ariſtagoras*, after a ſiege of four months, to drop the enterprize, and retire to the continent. On the miſcarriage of this expedition *Ariſtagoras*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Perſia*, revolted from the *Perſians*, and prevailed upon the *Ionians* to join in his revolt, which brought endleſs calamities upon *Ionia*. Not long after the *Perſians* made a ſecond deſcent on *Naxus*, under the command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, and meeting with no oppoſition, the inhabitants having at their approach abandoned their habitations and fled to the mountains, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland, ravaged the whole country, and laid d the city with its temples in aſhes [p]. The *Naxians*, being thus brought under the *Perſian* yoke, could not help ſending ſome ſhips of war to their aſſiſtance in their expedition againſt *Greece*; but the officers, who commanded them, at the perſuaſion of *Democritus*, the moſt wealthy and powerful citizen of *Naxos*, inſtead of joining the *Perſians*, went over with their ſhips to the *Athenians*. At the battle of *Platæa* the *Naxians* gave ſingular proofs of their valour, as we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, being above the other iſlanders zealous in the defence of the common liberties of *Greece* [q]. They were at that time, according to *Herodotus*, in a very flouriſhing condition, had a great number of ſlaves, a ſquadron of ſhips well appointed, and eight thouſand land-forces [r]. In the *Peloponneſian* war they declared for the *Athenians*, as did e moſt of the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea; but, being treated by them more like ſubjects than allies, attempted to ſhake off the yoke. The *Athenians* ſent a powerful fleet againſt them, beſieged their capital, and forced them to accept what conditions *Athens* was pleaſed to impoſe. *Thucydides* obſerves, that *Naxus* was the firſt of the confederate cities which the *Athenians* deprived of their liberty [s]. From this time they continued ſubject to the *Athenians* till they fell into the hands of the *Romans*, which happened in the *Mithridatic* war. After the battle of *Philippi Mark Anthony* beſtowed *Naxos*, *Andros*, and ſome other iſlands on the *Rhodians*, who oppreſſed them to ſuch a degree, that he was ſoon obliged to drive them out, and reſtore

[k] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [l] Herodot. l. viii. [m] Idem, l. v. [n] Ptol. Geog. l. iii. c. 15.
[o] Herodot. l. i. [p] Idem, l. vi. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [r] Herodot. l. ix. [s] Thucyd. l. i.

(W) The ancients mention two women, who had the common name of *Ariadne*; and in honour of both feſtivals were yearly ſolemnized in the iſland of *Naxos*. The one was thought to be of a gay and pleaſant temper; and therefore her feſtival was obſerved with muſic and many other expreſſions of joy and mirth. The other was the ſame whom *Theſeus* is ſuppoſed to have left big with child on the coaſt of *Naxus*, and is ſaid to have been of a melancholy diſpoſition, whence the ſolemnity dedicated to her had a ſhew of ſorrow and mourning. In memory of her being left by *Theſeus*, it was uſual on this occaſion for a young man to lie down and counterfeit all the agonies of women in labour. This feſtival is ſaid to have been firſt inſtituted by *Theſeus*, to atone in ſome degree for his ingratitude to her (41).

(41) *Plut. in Theſeo.*

reſtore thoſe iſlanders to their former ſtate of liberty, which they enjoyed till the a
reign of *Veſpaſian* [u].

WITHIN a ſtone's caſt from *Naxus* is a rock, on which is ſtill to be ſeen a very beautiful gate of marble, which the inhabitants call the gate of *Bacchus*'s palace; but is without all doubt part of the magnificent temple, which the *Naxians* built here in honour of that god. For they had a tradition that *Bacchus* was born in their iſland, and educated among them by the nymphs *Philias*, *Coronidis*, and *Cleidis*, and that out of gratitude for the kindneſs ſhewn him in his infancy by the *Naxians*, he had taken the iſland under his protection, and on ſeveral occaſions aſſiſted them in a miraculous manner againſt their enemies. The gate we are ſpeaking of is eighteen foot high, eleven foot three inches broad, and remarkably beautiful. This temple b
and the iſland on which it ſtood were joined to *Naxus* by a ſtone bridge, on which were to be ſeen in 1547 the conduits which ſerved to convey the wine from *Naxus* into the cellars of the temple. This is what we learn from *Bennedetto Berdonio* [w]; but our more modern travellers take no notice of this bridge.

Paros. THE iſland of *Paros* was anciently called *Pactia*, *Minoa*, or *Minoia*, *Demetrias*, *Zacynthus*, *Hyria*, *Hileaſſa*, and *Cabarnis* [x]. The name of *Cabarnis* is borrowed, according to *Stephanus*, from one *Cabarnus*, who firſt acquainted *Ceres* with the rape of her daughter *Proſerpine*; or, according to *Heſychius*, from the *Cabarni*, the prieſts of *Ceres* being ſo called by the inhabitants of this iſland. *Bochart* [y] tells us, that the word *Cabarnis* in the *Phœnician* tongue ſignifies to *ſacrifice*, whence the prieſts were c
called in ſome places, ſuch eſpecially as had any communication with *Phœnice*, *Cabarni*, that is, *ſacrificers*. The name of *Minoa* it borrowed from *Minos* king of *Crete*, who ſubdued this as he did moſt of the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea [z]. It was called *Paros*, which name it retains to this day, from *Paros* the ſon of *Parrhaſius*, or, as *Stephanus* will have it, of *Jaſon* the *Argonaut*. *Paros*, according to *Pliny*'s computation [a], is diſtant from *Naxos* ſeven miles and a half, and twenty-eight from *Delos*. Some of the modern travellers will have it to be fourſcore [b], others only fifty, miles in compaſs [c]. *Pliny* ſays it is half as large as *Naxos*, that is, between thirty-ſix and thirty-ſeven miles in compaſs. It was anciently a rich and powerful iſland, being called by *Stephanus* the moſt wealthy and happy of the *Cyclades*, and d
by *Cornelius Nepos* an iſland elated with its riches [d]. The city of *Paros*, which was the metropolis of the iſland, is ſtiled by *Stephanus* a potent city, and ſaid to have been one of the largeſt in the *Archipelago*; the preſent city of *Paros*, or, as the natives call it *Parichia*, is ſuppoſed to have been built upon its ruins, the neighbouring country abounding with valuable monuments of antiquity; the very walls of the preſent city are built with columns, architraves, pedeſtals, mingled with pieces of ancient marble of a ſurprizing bigneſs, which were once employed in more noble edifices. Every one knows, that *Paros* was formerly famous for its marble, which was of an extraordinary whiteneſs, and in ſuch requeſt among the ancients, that the beſt ſtatuaries uſed no other [e]. *Pliny* tells us [f], that the *Parian* marble and e
no other was made uſe of in adorning the frontiſpiece of the celebrated labyrinth in *Egypt*, which was counted one of the wonders of the world. The beſt quarries were thoſe of mount *Marpeſus* or *Marpeſſus*, mentioned by *Virgil* [g] and his interpreter *Servius*. In this mountain are ſtill to be ſeen caverns of an extraordinary depth, which the modern inhabitants and travellers take to be the ancient quarries. The quarries of *Paros*, if *Pliny* is to be credited, were ſo deep, that even in the cleareſt weather the workmen were obliged to uſe lamps, whence the marble was called by the *Greeks Lychnites*, that is, *worked by the light of lamps* [h]. The ſame author tells us, that in a block of marble, dug up in one of theſe quarries, when broken by the workmen, there appeared a beautiful repreſentation of *Silenus* engraved on the f
ſtone by the hand of nature [i]. In one of the quarries, diſtant about four miles from the preſent city of *Parichia*, is ſtill to be ſeen a baſſo-relievo cut in the rock, and containing twenty-nine figures of nymphs and ſatyrs dancing a kind of brawl. This was done, as appears from the inſcription, by one *Adamas Odryſes* in honour of the nymphs. Though *Pliny* greatly commends the *Parian* marble, yet he prefers to it that of *Luna* in *Italy*, as being both whiter and of a cloſer grain [k]. The iſland is provided

[u] APPIAN. l. v. [w] BORDON. Viaggio all Archipelago. [x] STEPHANUS, HESYCHIUS, SOLIN. &c. [y] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. i. c. 4. [z] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [a] PLIN. ibid. [b] FERRARIUS. [c] PORCHACHI. CORN. NEPOS, in Alcibiade. [d] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. & l. xxxvi. c. 5. [e] Idem ibid. [f] VIRGIL. Æneid. 6. [g] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 5. [h] Idem, l. iii. c. 5. [i] Idem, l. xxxvi. c. 5.

provided with several capacious and safe harbours, and was anciently much resorted
a to by traders. *Archilochus*, the inventor of the *Iambic* verse, was a native of *Paros*. *Horace* was in the right when he said, that rage armed him with *Iambics* [l]; for his verses were so satirical and biting, that *Lycambes*, against whom he wrote, hanged himself out of despair. *Lycambes*, after having betrothed his daughter to him, bestowed her upon another, which affront the poet revenged by composing those bitter invectives, which obliged *Lycambes* to lay violent hands on himself. His books were forbidden at *Sparta* for their wanton and obscene expressions, and himself banished the country. He was contemporary with *Gyges* king of *Lydia*. The author of the most valuable monument of antiquity now extant, that is, of the *Oxford* marbles, was born in this island, as *Gassendus* informs us [m], but his name
b has not reached us. He lived, according to the learned *Usher*, in the third century before the christian æra. As to the inhabitants of *Paros*, this island was, according to *Thucydides* [n], first peopled by the *Phœnicians*, who were before other nations masters of the sea. Afterwards the *Carians* settled here, as we are told both by *Thucydides* [o] and *Diodorus* [p]. But it is no easy matter to reconcile these two authors as to the time when the *Carians* came first into the island; for *Thucydides* tells us, that the *Carians* were driven out by the *Cretans* under the conduct of *Minos*; and *Diodorus* writes, that the *Carians* did not settle here till after the *Trojan* war, and that they found the *Cretans* in possession of the island. *Stephanus* is of opinion, that the *Cretans* mixed with some *Arcadians* were the only nations that ever possessed this island.
c *Minos* himself, if we believe *Pliny* [q], resided some time in the island of *Paros*, and received here the melancholy news of the death of his son *Androgeus*, who was killed in *Attica*, after he had distinguished himself at the public games. When *Hercules* passed through *Paros*, going in quest of the girdle of *Hippolita* by order of *Eurystheus*, he found there *Eurydemon*, *Chryses*, *Nephalion*, and *Philolaus*, the sons of *Minos*, and with them a great many *Cretans* [r].

As to the history of *Paros*, we find the inhabitants of this island chosen from among all the *Greeks* by the *Milesians* to compose the differences, which had for two generations rent that unhappy state into various parties and factions [s]. They acquit-
d ted themselves of this charge with great prudence, and reformed the government in the manner we have related in the history of *Miletus*. They joined *Darius* in his expedition against *Greece*, assisting him with a considerable squadron, but after the victory obtained by *Miltiades* at *Marathon* they were reduced to great straits by that general. The matter is thus related by *Herodotus* [t]: *Miltiades* having by his success at *Marathon* acquired a much greater reputation at *Athens* than he had before, demanded seventy ships of the *Athenians* with men and money in proportion, assuring them, without declaring his design, that he would lead them into a country, from whence they should bring home great riches without any manner of trouble. The *Athenians*, accepting the proposal with joy, prepared the ships, and *Miltiades*, being
e supplied with all things necessary for his enterprize, set sail for *Paros*, under colour of chastising the *Parians* for having assisted the *Persians* at *Marathon*. But the true motive of his expedition was his private hatred against the *Parians*, because one *Lysagoras* the son of *Tisias*, who was of *Parian* extraction, had spoke ill of him to *Hydarnes* the *Persian*. *Miltiades* on his arrival at *Paros* besieged the capital, threatening to take it by storm and plunder the houses, unless the citizens sent him an hundred talents. The *Parians*, instead of granting him his demand, applied themselves wholly to the defence of their city, repairing the fortifications and working in the night, till they had made their walls twice as high as they were before in that part where they were least defensible; insomuch, that *Miltiades* could not by any
f means make himself master of the city. That great general, seeing he could not reduce the *Parians* by force, had recourse to one *Timo*, priestess of the national gods, and then his prisoner, who advised him to perform some secret ceremony in the temple of *Ceres* near the city. *Miltiades* followed her advice, went directly to the inclosure of the temple, and after having endeavoured in vain to open the gate, mounted the wall and leaped down with a design to enter the sacred place. But while he stood before the door of the temple, being seized with a sudden terror, he resolved to return, and leaping down from the same place had the misfortune to break his leg. The ceremony either did not succeed, or was not at least attended with the promised success;

[l] Horat. de Arte Poetica. [m] Gassend. in vita Peiresc. [n] Thucyd. l. i. [o] Idem ibid.
[p] Diodor. l. v. [q] Plin. l. iii. c. 14. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. [s] Herodot. l. vi. [t] Idem, l. vi.

ſucceſs; for *Miltiades*, after having kept the city blocked up for the ſpace of twenty-ſix days, was obliged to drop the enterprize and return to *Athens* with diſgrace [u]. Upon his departure, the *Parians* being informed of the counſel which *Timo* had given to *Miltiades*, and deſirous to bring her to juſtice, ſent deputies to conſult the oracle of *Delphos*, whether they ſhould puniſh her with death for endeavouring to betray the city to the enemy, and diſcovering the ſacred myſteries to *Miltiades*, which it was a great crime to reveal to any man. The *Pythian* anſwered, That *Timo* was not the author of that advice, but that the gods, having determined to deſtroy *Miltiades*, had only made her the inſtrument of his death [w]. *Cornelius Nepos* likewiſe relates the ſiege of *Paros* by *Miltiades*, but varies in ſome particulars from *Herodotus*; for that writer tells us, that the *Athenian* general having inveſted the city by ſea and land, reduced it to ſuch ſtraits, that the inhabitants deſired to capitulate. But in the mean time a wood on the continent taking fire, by what accident was never known, the *Parians* imagined it to be a ſignal given them by the fleet of *Darius* advancing to their relief; whereupon they broke off the conferences, and would no more hearken to the terms offered them by the enemy. *Miltiades* likewiſe, apprehending that the *Perſian* fleet approached, ſet fire to his engines, and weighing anchor returned to *Athens*, where he was condemned to defray the charges of that unſucceſsful expedition, amounting to fifty talents [x]. *Stephanus* tells us, That the *Parians* had already agreed to ſurrender their city; but that a foreſt on the ſide of *Mycone* taking fire, and the *Parians* not doubting but it was a ſignal given them by the *Perſian* general *Datis*, who was haſtening to their relief, would not ſtand to their agreement; which gave riſe to the proverb, *To keep one's word after the* Parian *manner*. After the battle of *Salamis Themiſtocles* ſubjected *Paros* and moſt of the other neighbouring iſlands to *Athens*, obliging them to ſupply him with large ſums, by way of puniſhment for having favoured the *Perſians* [y]. It appears from the famous monument of *Adulas*, which *Coſmos* of *Egypt* has deſcribed with great exactneſs [z], that *Paros* and the other *Cyclades* were once ſubject to the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, theſe iſlands being mentioned in that monument, which was erected in the reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes*. However, *Paros* fell again under the power of the *Athenians*, who continued maſters of it till they were driven out by *Mithridates the great*. But that prince being obliged to yield to the good fortune of *Sylla*, to the valour of *Lucullus*, and to the greatneſs of *Pompey*, as *Florus* expreſſes it, this and the other iſlands of the *Archipelago* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who reduced them to a province with *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, and *Caria*.

Syros. *Syros* is placed by *Strabo* between *Paros* and *Delos* [a], and ſaid by *Pliny* to be twenty miles in compaſs [b]. *Mutianus*, as quoted by *Pliny*, makes it an hundred and ſixty, but our modern travellers agree with *Pliny*. This iſland had formerly a town of no ſmall note bearing the name, as appears from an ancient inſcription ſtill to be ſeen in the preſent town of *Syra*, and from many ruins of ſtately buildings at a ſmall diſtance from the harbour. *Syros*, according to *Homer*'s account of it, abounded with corn, wine, and all other neceſſaries of life, and was reckoned one of the moſt healthy places of the *Ægean* ſea, the plague never having raged there with any violence [c]. This iſland, as we learn from the ſame poet, was frequented in the earlieſt ages by the *Phœnician* merchants, who, after having paſſed a whole year here, carried off with them one of the concubines of *Cteſias* king of the place, ſhe being a native of *Sidon*, and the daughter of *Arybas* king of that city. *Pherecydes*, one of the moſt ancient philoſophers of *Greece*, the diſciple of *Pittacus* and maſter of *Pythagoras*, was born in *Syros*. *Strabo*, *Porphyrius*, *Apuleius*, and the author of the chronology of the olympiads tell us, that he was the firſt, or one of the firſt, that wrote in proſe, *Tzetzes* ſays, he was the firſt who obſerved the periods of the moon and foretold eclipſes; that he was the maſter of *Thales* the *Mileſian*, and that he wrote ten books on the origin of the gods. He was the firſt, according to *Cicero* [d], who taught the immortality of the ſoul. He is charged by *Suidas* with being the author of the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls out of one body into another. He is greatly commended on account of his knowledge by *Diogenes Laertius*, *Apuleius*, *Jamblichus*, *Lactantius*, *Euſtathius*, &c. who all agree him to have been one of the greateſt

[u] Herodot. l. vi. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Cornel. Nepos, in vita Miltiad. [y] Herodot. l. viii. [z] Vide Bernard. de Montfaucon in Topogr. Chriſtian. de Mundo, l. ii. [a] Strab. l. x. [b] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [c] Homer. Odyſſ. 6. v. 405. [d] Cic. Quæſt. Tuſc. l. i. c. 158.

greateſt philoſophers that *Greece* ever produced, and add, that he learnt his philoſophy of the *Phœnicians*, being well acquainted with their language and books (X). *Stephanus* reckons *Syros* among the *Ionian* colonies; it is at preſent known by the names of *Siro*, *Sira*, and *Zyra*, and by many confounded with the iſland of *Skyros*, antiently *Scyrus*, which we ſhall deſcribe in its proper place. Off the eaſtern coaſt of *Syros* lie three ſmall iſlands called *Gadroniſi*.

Myconus lies between *Icaria* and *Delos*, about three miles diſtance from the latter, and is thirty-ſix in circuit. It borrowed the name of *Myconus* or *Mycone* from one *Myconus*, the ſon of *Ænius* and grandſon of *Caryſtus* and *Rhyas* [e]; but who theſe were, neither *Strabo* nor *Stephanus* his tranſcriber have thought fit to acquaint us. This iſland was long uninhabited by reaſon of the frequent and dreadful earthquakes to which it was ſubject; but they no ſooner ceaſed, than the inhabitants of the adjoining iſlands ſettled in it, and built a town to which they gave the name of the *iſland* [f]. The poets feigned, that the centaurs killed by *Hercules* were buried here, whence took riſe the proverb, *To place all things under one Mycone*, applied to thoſe, who under one and the ſame title touched upon quite different ſubjects [g]. *Strabo*, and after him *Euſtathius* [h], obſerves, that the *Myconians* grew bald very early, whence they were called by way of contempt, *The bald heads of Mycone*. Our modern travellers confirm *Strabo*'s obſervation, aſſuring us, that the preſent *Myconians* loſe their hair when twenty or twenty-five years old [i]. *Pliny* tells us, that in this iſland children are all born without hair, and that both men and women ſoon loſe that ornamen given by nature [k]. They were heretofore reckoned arrant paraſites; whence *Archilochus*, as quoted by *Athenæus* [l], taxes one *Pericles* with coming to a feaſt after the *Myconian* manner, that is, *without being invited*. In this iſland there is great ſcarcity of water, but the wine it formerly produced is highly commended by *Pliny* [m]. *Wheeler* ſpeaks of a medal which he purchaſed here, with *Jupiter*'s head on one ſide, and a bunch of grapes on the other. *Virgil* gives the iſland of *Mycone* the epithet of *high* [n], wherein he diſagrees with *Ovid*, who calls it a *low* iſland [o]. But *Virgil* in all likelihood alluded to mount *Dimaſtos*, mentioned by *Pliny* as the higheſt in the iſland [p]; ſince the iſland itſelf lies, according to *Strabo*, very low. Between *Mycone* and *Delos*, about a mile from the former, lies the iſle of *Tragoniſi* about three miles in compaſs. It formerly abounded with goats, whence it had the name of *Tragoniſi* or the *Goat-iſland*.

Myconus.

THIS iſland was firſt called *Hydruſia* from the *Greek* word *hydor*, ſignifying *water*, being more plentifully ſupplied with ſprings than the other iſlands; afterwards it had the name of *Ophiuſa*, from the ſerpents which infeſted the iſland, the *Greek* word *Ophis* ſignifying *a ſerpent*; and laſtly the name of *Tenos* was given it from one *Tenes* the firſt who ſettled here [q]. *Bochart* pretends the word *Tenos* to be derived from *Tannoth*, which in the *Phœnician* language ſignifies *a ſerpent* [r], and anſwers the *Greek* word *Ophiuſa* or *Ophiuſſa*. *Pliny* places *Tenos* one mile from *Andros*, fifteen from *Delos*,

Tenos.

[e] STRAB. l. x. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. & ERASM. Chiliad. [h] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. v. 526. [i] TOURNEFORT, Vol. I. [k] PLIN. l. xi. c. 7. [l] ATHEN. Deipnoſoph. l. i. [m] PLIN. l. xiv. c. 1. [n] VIRGIL. Æneid. l. iii. v. 76. [o] OVID. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 463. [p] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [q] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [r] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. ii. c. 3.

(X) Some writers tell us, that *Pherecydes* was a native of *Babylon*, and in favour of this opinion quote *Euſtathius*; but there is evidently a miſtake in the paſſage which they alledge, ſince *Euſtathius* in the very ſame place calls him a native of *Syros*. Some therefore in the text of that writer inſtead of Βαβυλώνιος read Βαβδε, as it is in *Suidas* and the chronology of the olympiads, or Βάδυος, as in *Laertius*, that is, the ſon of *Babis* or *Badis*. *Heraclides*, *Apuleius*, *Ælian*, *Pauſanias*, *Porphyrius*, and *Jamblichus* mention two other writers bearing the ſame name; the one of *Athens* and the other of the iſland of *Leros*; ſome take theſe two to be but one, born according to them at *Athens*, and brought up in *Leros*; others are of opinion that there was but one *Pherecydes*, and make the *Athenian*, *Lerian*, and *Syrian* one and the ſame perſon; and indeed the paſſages quoted out of the other two by *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, *Germanicus*, *Hyginus*, *Marcellinus*, *Euſebius*, and *Suidas*, ſeem to be taken out of the books, which have been aſcribed to *Pherecydes* of *Syros*. He was called the *Athenian*, ſay they, becauſe he wrote a book, entitled, *The genealogy of the* Athenians; and as to the name of *Lerian*, it might have been given him becauſe he lived ſome time in the iſland of *Leros*. *Strabo* no-where mentions *Pherecydes* of *Leros*, but often ſpeaks of the other two, calling the one a philoſopher and the other an hiſtorian. *Cicero* (42), the ſcholiaſt of *Euripides* (43), *Macrobius* (44), and *Origen* (45) quote *Pherecydes* without mentioning his country; whence ſome have concluded, that there was but one writer of that name. Though it is no eaſy matter to decide this queſtion, yet the authority of *Strabo*, a moſt accurate writer, is of more weight with us than that of our modern critics.

(42) *Cic. de orat.* l. ii. (43) *Scholiaſt. Euripid. in Alceſt.* (44) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* v. *c.* 21. (45) *Origen. in Celſ. l.* i.

Delos, and says 'tis fifteen miles in extent. *Tournefort* will have it to be sixty miles a in compass, *Porchachi* forty, and *Ferrarius* but five and-thirty. It is very mountainous, but nevertheless produces great plenty of excellent fruit. The wine of *Tenos* was in great request among the antients; whence several medals of this island are still to be seen with bunches of grapes on the reverse [s]. The name of *Tenos* was common to the island and its capital [t], which, according to *Strabo*, was not a great, but a well-built, city, and had a stately temple in an adjoining grove dedicated to *Neptune* [u]. This temple and grove enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, which were abridged by *Tiberius*, as were those of the most famous temples in the *Levant* [w]. *Philocorus*, as quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus* [x], tells us, that *Neptune* was worshipped by the *Tenians* as the god of physic. *Golzius*, *Tristanus*, and others exhibit several b medals of this island representing *Neptune*, with his trident on the reverse; the serpent, which is on some medals joined to the trident, was among the antients an emblem of physic; besides, *Tenos* was antiently called *Ophiusa*, or *the Snake-island*, as we have observed already; and *Hesychius* tells us, that it was cleared of the serpents, which infested it, by *Neptune*, who for that purpose brought great flights of storks into the island. The *Tenians* were once very powerful by sea, as *Herodotus* informs us [y]; but nevertheless were so terrified at the approach of the *Persian* fleet, that they submitted without making the least opposition, and assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*. This island afterwards underwent the same fate as the others of the *Archipelago*, being first subdued by the *Athenians*, who drove out the *Persians*, afterwards by the *Macedonian* princes, and lastly by the *Romans*. c

Andros. THE island of *Andros* lies between *Tenos* and *Eubœa*, being distant from the former one mile, and ten from the latter [z]. *Pliny* will have it to be ninety-three miles in compass; but the inhabitants say it is an hundred and twenty. The antients give it various names, viz. *Cauros*, *Lasia*, *Nonagria*, *Epagris*, *Antandros*, and *Hydrusia*. The name of *Andros* it borrowed from one *Andreus*, who was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* [a], one of the generals, whom *Rhadamanthus* appointed to govern the *Cyclades*, after they had of their own accord submitted to him. *Conon* will have this *Andreus* to be the son of *Anius*, and grandson of *Apollo* and *Creusa*, and to have been the first who settled in this island. As to the name of *Antandros*, the same author tells us, d that *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, being taken prisoner by the *Pelasgians*, gave them this island for his ransom, which on that account was called *Antandros*, that is, *delivered for one man* [b]. It had formerly a city of great note bearing the same name, and situated very advantagiously on the brow of a hill, which commanded the whole coast [c]. There are still to be seen about three miles from the present town of *Arna* the ruins of a great and strong wall, with the fragments of many columns, chapiters, bases, broken statues, and several inscriptions, some of which mention the senate and people of *Andros*, and the priests of *Bacchus*; for in the town of *Andros* stood, as we read in *Strabo* and *Pliny*, a famous temple dedicated to that god. The territory of *Andros* was antiently, and is still, one of the most fertile and e pleasant countries in the whole *Archipelago*, abounding with all kinds of delicious fruit, and watered with innumerable springs, whence it had the name of *Hydrusia*, a name given by the *Greeks* to all places plentifully supplied with water. *Mutianus*, as quoted by *Pliny* [d], tells us, that near the temple of *Bacchus* was a spring, called *the gift of Jupiter*, the waters whereof had the taste of wine in the Month of *January*, during the feasts of *Bacchus*, which lasted seven days. The same author adds, that the water, if carried to a place whence the temple could not be seen, lost their miraculous taste [e]. *Pausanias* makes no mention of this spring, but says, that during the feasts of *Bacchus* wine flowed, or was at least by the *Andrians* believed to flow, from the temple of that god; the priests, no doubt, found their account f in keeping up this belief by conveying through secret conduits a great quantity of wine into the temple. The *Andrians* were the first of all the islanders who joined the *Persians*; wherefore *Themistocles*, after the signal victory gained at *Salamis*, resolved to attack the city of *Andros*, and oblige the inhabitants to pay large contributions for the maintainance of his fleet. Having landed his men in the island, he sent heralds to the magistrate, acquainting them, that the *Athenians* were come against

[s] VAILANT. Numism. Græc. SPON Voyage, &c. [t] PLIN. ubi supra. [u] STRAB. ubi supra. [w] TACIT. Annal. l. iii. c. 60. & 63. [x] CLEM. ALEX. Admon. ad Gentes. [y] HERODOT. l. viii. [z] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [b] CONON. narrat. 41. [c] HERODOT. l. viii. & GALEN. de Simp. Med. Facul. l. ix. [d] PLIN. l. ii. c. 103. [e] Idem, l. xxxi. c. 6.

a againſt them with two powerful divinities, *perſuaſion* and *force*, and therefore they muſt part with their money by fair means or by foul. The *Andrians* returned anſwer, that they likewiſe had two mighty deities, who were very fond of their iſland, *poverty* and *impoſſibility*, and therefore could give no money. *Themiſtocles*, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, laid ſiege to the town [f]. Our hiſtorian does not acquaint us with the event of this undertaking; but we may ſuppoſe that the *Athenian* general made himſelf maſter of the place, ſince *Pericles*, as we read in *Plutarch* [g], a few years after ſent thither a colony of two hundred and fifty *Athenians*. It did not long continue ſubject to *Athens*, being re-taken by the *Perſians*, and beſieged in vain by *Alcibiades*, who after having taken and fortified the caſtle of *Gaurium*, left *Thraſy-*
b *bulus* in it with a ſtrong gariſon, and retired firſt to *Rhodes*, and thence to the iſland of *Cos* [h]. This, as the other *Greek* iſlands, ſubmitted to *Alexander*, after whoſe death it ſided with *Antigonus* who was driven out by *Ptolemy*, whoſe ſucceſſors held it to the *Roman* times, when *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* beſieged the metropolis at the head of a *Roman* army, and having taken it, was by the *Romans* put in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. Upon the death of that prince, the people of *Rome* claimed the iſland of *Andros*, as well as his other dominions, in virtue of his laſt will [i].

Gyarus, *Gyara*, or *Gyaræ*, lies near *Delos*, and is according to *Pliny* [k] twelve miles in compaſs. It is the moſt abandoned and diſagreeable place of the whole *Archipelago*. In *Strabo*'s time it had but one ſmall village, and that inhabited by a
c few beggarly fiſhermen, who after the battle of *Actium* ſent a deputation to *Auguſtus* to obtain a diminution of their annual tribute, which was ſet at an hundred and fifty denarii [l]. We are told by the antient writers, that this iſland was once infeſted by ſwarms of field-mice of an extraordinary ſize, which, after having driven out the inhabitants, were forced to live upon the iron that was dug out of the mines, finding nothing elſe to ſubſiſt on in ſo barren a place [m]. It was not therefore without reaſon that the *Romans* uſed to baniſh offenders to this iſland; for they had not in their wide-ſpreading dominions a more wretched and uncomfortable place to ſend them to. Gyarus.

THESE are the iſlands counted by *Strabo*, *Artemidorus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Stephanus*,
d and *Scylax* among the *Cyclades*. We ſhall now proceed to *Delos* itſelf, and ſuch iſlands as lie north of it on the coaſts of *Greece*, *Theſſaly*, and *Thrace*.

Delos.

Delos, an iſland heretofore of great fame, but at preſent an inhoſpitable and abandoned rock, ſerving only for a retreat to pirates, is placed by *Pliny* at fifteen miles diſtance from *Myconus*, eighteen from *Naxus*, and fifty from *Icaria* [n]. But that writer was certainly miſtaken in his meaſures with regard to *Myconus* and *Naxus*, the former being diſtant from *Delos* but three miles, and the latter forty. *Delos* was known to the antients by the names of *Cynethos* or *Cynthos*, *Aſteria*, *Pelaſgia*, *Chlamydas*, *Lagia*, *Pyrpilis*, *Scythias*, *Midia*, and *Ortygia* [o]. It was named *Ortygia* and *Lagia* from the two *Greek* words *ortyx* and *lagos*, the former ſignifying *a quail*, and the latter *a hare*,
e there being antiently great ſtore of both in this iſland. The ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* [p] ſays, it was called *Ortygia* from a ſiſter of *Latona* bearing that name, and *Pynethos* from the ſon of *Apollo*. *Pyrpilis Pliny* derives from the *Greek* word *Pyr*, ſignifying *fire*, which he pretends to have been firſt found out here [q]. As to the name of *Delos* the etymologiſts all agree in deriving it from a *Greek* verb ſignifying *to appear*, but vary as to the reaſon of its being appropriated to the iſland before us. *Pliny*, after *Ariſtotle*, pretends, that the name of *Delos* was given it becauſe it roſe unexpectedly out of the ſea, and appeared floating on the water [r]. *Solinus* thinks it was the firſt of the iſlands that began to appear after it had been with the others of the *Archipelago* for the ſpace of nine months under water in the famous deluge that hap-
f pened in the time of *Ogyges*. But this opinion is altogether groundleſs and repugnant to reaſon; for allowing all theſe iſlands to have been drowned in that deluge, yet the iſland we are ſpeaking of could not appear the firſt after the waters began to retire, it being much lower than the iſlands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Myconus*, *Syros*, and *Naxus*. *Stephanus* tells us, that the name of *Delos* was given it on account of the oracle of *Apollo*, which made things, that were perplexed and obſcure, clear and apparent. The poets will have it to be named *Delos*, becauſe *Latona*, being delivered of

[f] HERODOT. l. viii. [g] PLUT. in Pericl. [h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. [i] LIV. l. xxxi. 43. [k] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [l] STRAB. l. x. [m] PLIN. l. iii. c. 22. ANTIGON. Cariſt. narrat. Mirab. c. 21. ARIST. lib. de mirab. Auſcul. ÆLIAN. HIST. Anim. l. v. c. 14. [n] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Scholiaſt. in v. 1129. [q] PLIN. ibid. [r] Idem ibid.

of *Apollo* and *Diana*, ſhewed herſelf firſt here, not having dared to appear before for fear of *Juno*. It is ſtill called by the *Greeks Dili* or *Deli* in the plural, becauſe under that name they comprehend another iſland known to the antients by the name of *Rhenæa*, which at ſome diſtance ſeems to be joined to *Delos*. Theſe two the preſent inhabitants diſtinguiſh by the epithets of *little* and *great*; the *Delos* of the antients they ſtile the *Little Delis*, it being but ſeven miles in compaſs, whereas the other is eighteen. *Pliny* ranks *Delos* among the floating iſlands, and the poets tell us, that it was faſtened, ſome ſay by *Neptune*, others by *Apollo*, with ſtrong chains to the neighbouring iſlands of *Gyarus* and *Myconus* (Y).

As *Latona* was ſuppoſed to have been delivered in this iſland of *Apollo* and *Diana*, three moſt magnificent temples were erected here to theſe deities. That of *Apollo* b was, according to *Strabo*[s], begun by *Eryſichton* the ſon of *Cecrops*, but afterwards enlarged and embelliſhed at the common charges of all the ſtates of *Greece*. *Plutarch* tells us, that it was one of the moſt ſtately buildings in the univerſe, and ſpeaks of an altar in it, which, in his opinion, deſerves a place among the ſeven wonders of the world. It was built with the horns of various animals, ſo artificially joined and adapted to one another, as to hang together without being faſtened by any kind of cement[t]. The trunk of the famous ſtatue of *Apollo*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, is ſtill an object of great admiration to all travellers. It is without head, feet, arms, or legs; but, from the parts that are yet remaining, it plainly appears, that the antients did not exaggerate when they commended it as a wonder c of art. It was of a gigantic ſize, tho' cut out of one ſingle block of marble, the ſhoulders being ſix Feet broad, and the thighs nine feet round. At a ſmall diſtance from this ſtatue lies, amongſt confuſed heaps of broken columns, architraves, baſes, chapiters, *&c.* a ſquare piece of marble, fifteen feet and a half long, ten feet nine inches broad, and two feet nine inches thick, which, without all doubt, ſerved as a pedeſtal to this coloſſus. It bears, in very fair characters, this inſcription in *Greek*, *The* Naxians *to* Apollo. *Plutarch* tells us, in the life of *Nicias*, that he cauſed to be ſet up near the temple of *Delos*, a huge palm-tree of braſs, which he conſecrated to *Apollo*; and adds that a violent ſtorm of wind threw down this tree on a coloſſean ſtatue raiſed by the inhabitants of *Naxus*[u]. Round the temple were magnificent d porticoes built at the charge of various princes, as appears from inſcriptions which are ſtill very plain. The names of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Dionyſius Eutyches*, *Mithridates*, *Euergetes*, *Mithridates Eupator* king of *Pontus*, and *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, are found on ſeveral pedeſtals. Moſt of our modern travellers take this *Dionyſius* to be one of the tyrants of *Syracuſe*; but the ſurname of *Eutyches* or *happy* does not at all ſuit *Dionyſius* the younger, who was far from being happy, as is plain from the account we have given of his reign in the hiſtory of *Sicily*. As to *Dionyſius* the elder, we find him every-where plundering and deſtroying the temples of the gods, even in his old age; we are therefore inclined to believe, that this *Dionyſius* was tyrant of *Heraclea*; for both *Memnon*[w] and *Diodorus Siculus*[x] ſpeaks of one *Dio-* e *nyſius* tyrant of *Heraclea*, whoſe reign laſted thirty years, and was very happy. The ruins of the temple, which take up great part of the iſland, are carefully deſcribed by *Spon*, *Wheeler*, *Tournefort*, and others, to whom we refer our readers. To this temple the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands ſent yearly a company of virgins, to celebrate, with dancing, the feſtival of *Apollo* and his ſiſter *Diana*, and to make offerings in the name of the reſpective cities.

As *Delos* was the reputed birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, it was highly revered by all nations, even by the *Perſians* themſelves, who, after having laid waſte the other iſlands, and every-where deſtroyed the temples of the gods, ſpared *Delos*; nay *Datis*, who commanded the *Perſian* fleet, would not even permit his ſhips to f anchor in that harbour; but from *Naxus*, where he had committed great devaſta-

tions,

[s] STRABO, l. x. [t] PLUT. de Solert. Animal. [u] PLUT. in Nicia. [w] MEMNON apud Phot. Biblioth. c. 5. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. xiv & xx. ATHENÆUS. Deipn. l. xii. c. 26.

(Y) This is elegantly expreſſed by *Petronius Arbiter* in the following lines:

Delos, jam ſtabili revincta terra,
Olim purpureo mari natabat,
Et moto levis hinc & inde vento,
Ibat fluctibus inquieta ſummis.
Mox illam geminis deus catenis,
Hac alta Gyaro ligavit, illac
Conſtanti Myconæ dedit tenendam. (46)

(46) *Petron. Arb. in frag. Satir.*

a tions and burnt the city with all its temples, he proceeded to *Rhenæa*. There he received intelligence, that the *Delians* had on his approach abandoned their island, and retired with their effects to *Tenos*; whereupon he sent a herald to them with this message: Sacred men, upon what account have you abandoned your habitations, and by your flight discovered the ill opinion you have of me? I am not your enemy by determination; and besides, I have been commanded by the king to forbear practising any sort of hostilities in a country where two gods were born, or using violence of any kind against the inhabitants or the place. Return therefore to your houses, and resume the possession of your lands. Upon the return of the messenger, he sent the weight of three hundred talents of frankincense to be burnt on the altar of
b *Apollo*, and set sail with his whole fleet, without suffering any of his soldiers to land in the island. The *Delians* say, that, soon after his departure, the island was shaken by a violent earthquake, the first that had ever been felt there; and that *Apollo* thereby foretold the many calamities that were ready to fall upon the *Greeks* of that age; for the misfortunes they suffered under *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Artaxerxes* were far greater than all the evils they had undergone for twenty generations before, as our historian rightly observes [y]. In this island no hostilities were practised, even by nations that were at war with each other, when they happened to meet here. Of this we have an instance in *Livy*, who tells, that the *Roman* deputies, *Caius Pompilius*, *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hostilius*, being obliged to put in at *Delos* on their
c voyage to *Syria* and *Egypt*, found the gallies of *Perses* king of *Macedon* and those of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* anchored in one and the same harbour, tho' these two princes were then making war upon one another. The same author adds, that the *Romans*, *Macedonians*, and *Pergameans*, conversed and visited the temple together, as if they had been friends, the sanctity of the place suspending, to use *Livy*'s expression, all manner of hostilities [z].

The offerings, that were made to *Apollo* in this island, were, according to an antient custom, first wrapped up in wheat straw. This ceremony passed from the *Hyperboreans* to the *Scythians*, and from the *Scythians* spread gradually through the bordering nations, as far westward as the *Adriatic* sea, and southward to *Dodona*,
d the *Dodonæans* having been the first among the *Greeks* who embraced this custom. Afterwards it prevailed in the cities on the gulf of *Melis*, in the island of *Eubæa*, and reached to *Carystus*. The *Carystians* introduced it among the *Tenians*, and these among the *Delians*. Thus was that ceremony first brought into *Delos* [a]. Our historian adds out of the antient *Delian* writers, that, long before the time we are now speaking of, the *Hyperboreans* had sent two young women, named *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, to propagate this ceremony, appointing five persons of distinction to attend them, whose memory was in our historian's time in great veneration among the *Delians*. As none of those, whom the *Hyperboreans* had sent out upon this errand, returned home, they dispatched others to the bordering countries, injoining them to
e introduce this ceremony among their neighbours, and prevail upon them to impart it to other nations. Thus, if we believe the *Delians*, these sacred rites were introduced, through many other nations and countries, into their island. The *Hyperborean* young women, *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, are said to have died in *Delos*, where their memory was honoured by the *Delian* maids and young men in the following manner. The maids cut off a lock of their hair before marriage, which they used to put upon a distaff, and offer it to these *Hyperborean* virgins on their tomb, which was within the temple of *Diana*. The young men likewise offered their hair on the same monument, twisted round a small tuft of grass. In the same age, but before the arrival of *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, two other *Hyperborean* women, *Argis* and *Opis*, landed in
f *Delos*, and brought into the Island the first knowledge of the ceremony, which was afterwards established by the two former. *Argis* and *Opis* were on that account honoured with great solemnity by the *Delian* women, who used to assemble at stated times, and sing hymns in their praise, composed by one *Olen* a *Lycian*, the author of several other hymns sung in the island of *Delos*. The ashes of the sacrifices, which were burnt on this occasion, were thrown upon their sepulchres, which, in our historian's time, were still to be seen behind the temple of *Diana* [b].

The oracle of *Apollo* in *Delos* was one of the most famous oracles in the world, as well for antiquity, as for the truth and perspicuity of its answers, the number and richness

[y] Herodot. l. vi. [z] Liv. l. xxxvi. [a] Herodot. l. iv. [b] Idem ibid.

richneſs of the ſacred preſents dedicated to the god, and the multitudes of people that from all parts reſorted thither for advice; in which reſpect it ſurpaſſed not only all the oracles of other gods, but thoſe of *Apollo* himſelf, that of *Delphos* alone excepted. Some writers tell us [c], that the iſland had the name of *Delos* from the anſwers that were returned here by the oracle in moſt clear and plain terms, without any ambiguity or obſcurity; whereas in other places they were delivered in words capable of different, nay, oppoſite, ſenſes: But theſe anſwers were not to be expected all the year; *Apollo* only kept his ſummer reſidence in this place, and in winter retired to *Patara* a city of *Lycia* [d]. The preſents, which the votaries offered here to *Apollo* were laid on the altar which we have mentioned above. Some writers tell us, that this altar was erected by *Apollo* himſelf, when he was but four years old, and that it was formed of the horns of goats only, killed by *Diana* on mount *Cynthus* [e]. It was not lawful to ſacrifice any living creature upon this altar, it being the will of *Apollo*, that it ſhould be preſerved pure from blood and all manner of pollution. The whole iſland enjoyed the privileges of an aſylum, which extended to all living creatures, and on that account it abounded with hares, no dogs being ſuffered to enter it [f]. *Piſiſtratus* tyrant of *Athens* was commanded by an oracle, as *Herodotus* informs us [g], to purify the iſland, which he did accordingly, cauſing the dead bodies to be taken up, and removed from all places within the proſpect of the temple. In the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, the *Athenians*, by the advice of an oracle, purified it a new, by digging up all the dead bodies, and carrying them over to the iſland of *Rhenæa*, where they were interred. Having thus cleared it from ſepulchres and graves, in order to preſerve it from pollution, they put forth an edict, whereby it was enacted, that for the future no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to die, nor any woman to be brought to bed, in the iſland; but when they were near the time of the one or the other, they ſhould be carried over into *Rhenæa* [h]. In memory of this purification, the *Athenians* inſtituted a ſolemn feaſt, which was celebrated every fifth year, people flocking on that occaſion to *Delos* from the neighbouring iſlands and all parts of *Greece*. A few years after, the *Athenians*, to compleat the purification of the iſland, drove out all the antient inhabitants, whom they pretended to be polluted, on account of a crime by them committed in former times, but not mentioned by our hiſtorian. The *Delian* exiles retired to the continent, and ſettled in the city of *Adramyttium*, beſtowed upon them by *Pharnaces* the *Perſian* governor of *Aſia Minor*. The *Athenians* ſuffered great loſſes, both by ſea and land, after their expulſion; whereupon they ſoon recalled them, and put them a new in poſſeſſion of the iſland. Some choſe to remain in *Adramyttium*, where they were barbarouſly murdered by the command of one *Aſtacus*, deputy to *Tiſaphernes* governor of *Lydia* [i].

We muſt not omit in this place the annual proceſſion made by the *Athenians* to the iſland of *Delos*. The author of this ceremony was *Theſeus*, who, being ſent with other *Athenian* youths into *Crete* to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, made a vow to *Apollo*, that, if he granted them a ſafe return, they ſhould make a ſolemn voyage to his temple in *Delos* every year. This was called *Dorias*; the perſons employed in it *Theori* and *Deliaſti*, from the name of the iſland; the chief of them *Architheoros*, and the ſhip, in which they went, *Theoris* or *Delias*, which was the very ſame that carried *Theſeus* and his companions to *Crete*, being preſerved, ſays *Plutarch*, by the *Athenians*, till the time of *Demetrius* of *Phaleros*; they reſtored always what was decayed, and put new planks in the room of the old ones, inſomuch, that it furniſhed the philoſophers with matter of diſpute, whether, after ſo many alterations and reparations, it might be ſtill called the ſame ſhip. The beginning of the voyage was computed, as *Plato* informs us [k], from the time that the prieſt of *Apollo* firſt adorned the ſtern of the ſhip with garlands; and it was held unlawful to put any perſon to death till it returned: this was the reaſon why *Socrates* was reprieved for thirty days after his condemnation [l]. Upon their arrival at *Delos*, they offered a ſolemn ſacrifice, and celebrated a feſtival in honour of *Apollo*, and then repairing to their ſhips, ſailed back to *Athens*, where they were received with great demonſtrations of joy. Another feaſt was inſtituted by *Theſeus* on his return from *Crete*, and celebrated

[c] Alexander ab Alexandro. [d] Servius in Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 143. [e] Epiſtola Cydippes ad Acont. Callimachi Hymn. in Apoll. ver. 88. Politiani Miſcell. c. 52. [f] Thucyd. l. iv. [g] Herodot. l. i. [h] Thucyd. l. iii. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Plato in Phæd. [l] Idem ibid. & Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv.

celebrated every fifth year by the *Delians*, in honour of *Venus*, whose ſtatue *Theſeus* received from *Ariadne*, and left in that iſland. The chief ceremonies on this occaſion were the following: They crowned the ſtatue of the goddeſs with garlands, appointed horſe-races, and performed a remarkable dance called the *Crane*, wherein they repreſented, by their motions, the various windings of the *Cretan* labyrinth, out of which *Theſeus*, who was the inventor of the dance, made his eſcape [m].

THE city of *Delos* took up, as is manifeſt from the magnificent ruins that are ſtill to be ſeen, that ſpacious plain which reaches from one coaſt to the other, and extends eaſtward as far as the iſthmus. It was well peopled, and the richeſt city of the *Archipelago*, eſpecially after the deſtruction of *Corinth*, merchants flocking thither from all parts, both in regard of the immunity they enjoyed there, and of the convenient ſituation of the place between *Europe* and *Aſia*. *Strabo* calls it one of the moſt frequented empories of the world [n]; and *Pliny* tells us, that all the commodities of *Europe* and *Aſia* were ſold, purchaſed, or exchanged there [o]. It contained many noble and ſtately buildings, namely, the temples of *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Latona*, the porticos of *Philip* of *Macedon* and of *Dionyſius Eutyches*, a *gymnaſium*, an oval baſon, made at an immenſe expence, for the repreſentation of ſea-fights, and a moſt magnificent theatre.

Strabo [p] and *Callimachus* [q] tell us, that the iſland was watered by the river *Inopus*; but *Pliny* [r] calls it only a ſpring, and adds, that its waters ſwelled and abated at the ſame time with thoſe of the *Nile*, as if there had been ſome communication between the *Nile* and the *Inopus*, which, in *Strabo*'s opinion [s], is carrying prodigies too far. At preſent there is no river in the iſland; but one of the nobleſt ſprings in all the *Archipelago*, being twelve paces diameter, and incloſed partly by rocks, and partly by a wall. Mount *Cynthus*, whence *Apollo* had the ſurname of *Cynthius*, is by *Strabo* placed near the city, and ſaid to be ſo high as to cover the whole iſland with its ſhadow; but our modern travellers ſpeak of it as a hill of a very moderate height. On mount *Cynthus Latona* is ſaid to have been delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*; whence it was looked upon by the antients as ſacred. It is but one block of granite of the ordinary ſort, cut out on that ſide which faced the city, in regular ſteps, incloſed on both ſides with a wall. On the top of the mountain are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of a ſtately building, with a *Moſaic* pavement, many broken pillars, and other valuable monuments of antiquity. From an inſcription, which has been lately diſcovered there, and mentions a vow made to *Serapis Iſis* and *Anubis*, ſome have conjectured, that on this hill ſtood a temple conſecrated to theſe *Egyptian* deities, tho' no-where ſpoke of by the antients.

THE iſland of *Delos* was, it ſeems, in antient times, governed by kings; for *Virgil* mentions one *Anius* reigning here in the time of the *Trojan* war. He was, according to the poet, both king, and high prieſt of *Apollo*, and entertained *Æneas* with great kindneſs. This *Anius* was deſcended from *Cadmus*, and had by his wife *Dorippe* three daughters, *Oino*, *Spermo*, and *Elais*, who are feigned by the poets to have received from *Bacchus* the power of changing whatever they touched into wine, wheat or ſeed, and oil, as their names import, *Oinos* in *Greek* ſignifying *wine*, *Sperma ſeed*, and *Elaion oil*. The great quantity of wine, wheat, and oil, which accrued to their father *Anius* from the offerings made to *Apollo*, gave riſe to this fable [t]. The *Perſians*, as we have hinted above, allowed the *Delians* to enjoy their antient liberties, after they had reduced all the other *Greek* iſlands. In after-ages the *Athenians* made themſelves maſters of *Delos*, and held it till they were driven out by *Mithridates the Great*, who plundered the rich temple of *Apollo*, and obliged the *Delians* to ſide with him. *Mithridates* was, in his turn, diſpoſſeſſed of it by the *Romans*, who granted the inhabitants many privileges, and exempted them from all ſort of tribute and taxes. It is at preſent quite abandoned, the lands being ſo covered with ruins and rubbiſh, as not to admit of any ſort of culture. The inhabitants of *Mycone* hold it now, and pay but ten crowns land-tax to the *Grand-Signior* for an iſland, which was once one of the richeſt countries in the world.

Rhenæa.

THE iſland of *Rhenæa*, *Rhenia*, or *Rhene*, is ſeparated from *Delos* by a ſtraight about five hundred paces over. It is now called the *Great Sdili* or *Deli*, and is about eighteen

[m] THUCYD. l. iii. CALLIMACH. Hymn. Delon. PLUT. in Theſeo. [n] STRABO, l. x. [o] PLIN. l. iv. c. 6. [p] STRABO, ibid. [q] CALLIM. ver. 263. [r] PLIN. l. ii. c. 101. [s] STRABO, l. x. [t] Vide SERVIUM in l. iii. Æn. ver. 80.

eighteen miles in compass. *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, having made himself master of this island, consecrated it to *Apollo*, fastening it to *Delos* with a long chain [u]. It has excellent pasture grounds; but nevertheless is at present quite abandoned, none daring to settle there for fear of the pirates who infest the *Archipelago*. On the coast facing *Delos* are still to be seen the ruins of a great city; and near to the city was the burying-place of the *Delians*, as is plain from some inscriptions on tomb-stones found there. It is somewhat strange, that *Strabo* should call *Rhenæa* a little uninhabited island, since it is three times as big as *Delos*, and was, in former times, so far as we can guess from the ruins of antient buildings, as well peopled as *Delos* itself.

Scyrus. *Scyrus*, now *Sciro*, lies over-against *Eubæa*, from which it is about eight and twenty miles distant. It is sixty miles in compass, but a very barren and inhospitable country, being full of hills and rocks; whence it had the name of *Scyros*; that is, *rugged* or *barren*. However, in *Strabo*'s time, it yielded excellent wine, and was famed, as the same author tells us, for its goats [w]; but so unprovided with corn and all other necessaries of life, that any poor and barren country was proverbially called *the principality of* Scyrus [x]. The same writer commends the marble quarries of this island; and *Pliny* speaks of a kind of stone found here, which swam when entire, and sunk when broken. *Scyrus* was, according to *Plutarch* [y], first peopled by the *Pelasgians* and *Carians* (Z); but there is no mention made of it in history till the reign of *Lycomedes*, who was king of this island, when *Theseus* retired to it to take possession of his paternal estate. That prince, either jealous of the superior genius of *Theseus*, or not caring to provoke *Menestheus*, who had driven him out of *Athens*, by entertaining the exile, led him to the top of a rock, under pretence of shewing him his father's lands, and from thence threw him treacherously into the sea [z]. In this island, and in the court of the same *Lycomedes*, *Achilles* lay concealed till he was discovered by *Ulysses*, and sent, with other *Greek* princes, to war against *Troy*, which, according to the oracle, could not be conquered without his assistance. While he lived among the king's daughters, disguised under the apparel of a woman, he had by *Deidamia*, who was one of them, *Neoptolemus*, called *Pyrrhus* on account of his yellow hair. *Neoptolemus* was brought up in this island, and raised here the brave troops which he carried to the war of *Troy*, to revenge his father's death. Many ages after the *Trojan* war, *Scyrus* was reduced by the *Athenians*, under the command of *Cimon*, who, being ordered by an oracle to make diligent search after the bones of *Theseus*, used his utmost endeavours to find out the place where they had been buried. After he had searched in vain for a long time, he at last observed an eagle on a rising ground, digging up the earth with his beak and talons. This prompted him to search carefully the same place, where he discovered the coffin of a tall man, with a sword and pike lying by him. He made no further search, but taking for granted, that in the coffin was the body of *Theseus*, he put it on board a galley richly adorned and carried it to *Athens*, about 400 years after that hero's death. The remains of so great a man were received at *Athens* with great demonstrations of joy, and placed in the heart of the city, where they served as an asylum for offenders [a] (A). The island of *Scyrus* was taken from the

[u] THUCYD. l. iii. [w] STRABO, l. xiv. [x] ERASM. Chiliad. [y] PLUT. in Theseo.
[z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. & in Cimone.

(Z) *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* tells us, that after the island had been long held by the *Pelasgians* and *Carians*, the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, the capital of *Eubœa*, sent thither a colony, which settled on the coast, leaving the inland places to the antient proprietors. The *Dolopes* likewise, as *Plutarch* informs us (47), inhabited part of the island, and used to seize and strip such as came to traffic with the *Chalcidians* and other inhabitants. Some of these being sentenced to restore to the merchants of *Thessaly*, the goods which they had taken from them, to prevent the execution of the sentence, betrayed the town to *Cimon* the *Athenian*, as we read in *Thucydides* (48). The city bore the same name as the island, and was famous for a magnificent temple built on the sea-side, in honour of *Pallas*, the tutelary goddess of the country. Of this temple, and of another dedicated to *Neptune*, there are still some remains to be seen near the present port called St. *George*'s haven. *Goltzius* exhibits the type of a medal of this city, with *Neptune* holding his trident on one side, and the prow of a ship on the other.

(A) Solemn sacrifices were offered on this occasion; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, a yearly contest for tragic writers was instituted, which became very famous, and greatly contributed to the improvement of dramatic compositions, by the emulation it excited among the tragic poets. On this occasion *Sophocles* brought his first performance on the stage, and won the prize, tho' he had *Æschylus* for his competitor; which the conquered poet, who, till that time, had been considered as the best tragedian of his age, not being able to brook, left *Athens*, and withdrew to *Sicily*, where he spent the remainder of his life.

(47) *Plut. in Cimon.* (48) *Thucyd. l. i.*

a the *Athenians* by the *Persians*, but afterwards restored to them by the articles of the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. After the death of *Alexander*, to whom this island submitted, *Demetrius*, surnamed *Poliorcetes* or *the Town-taker*, made himself master of it, and restored the inhabitants to their ancient liberty [a], which they enjoyed, till they were with the other *Greek* states brought under the *Roman* yoke.

FROM *Scyrus Strabo* proceeds to the islands of *Sciathus*, *Peparæthus*, *Icos*, and *Halonesus*, which according to him lie in the *Ægean* sea, near the coast of *Magnesia* [b]. *Sciathus*, now *Sciato* and *Sciatta*, lies about four leagues north of *Eubœa*, is thirty miles in compass, and separated from the continent of *Magnesia* by a narrow straight [c]. *Pomponius Mela* places it more to the south, over-against the *Pegasæan* bay, called Sciathus.

b now the gulf of *Volo*. It had formerly two cities, one of which, called also *Sciathus*, was demolished by *Philip* the father of *Perses*, lest the *Romans* should seize it [d]. In the *Roman* times it served as a place of retreat for pirates; wherefore *Bruttius Sura*, having made himself master of it, crucified all the slaves he found in the island, and cut off the right hands of all the inhabitants he could seize [e]. *Seneca* calls it a barren and abandoned island, and such it is to this day, being uninhabited on account of the pirates who still continue to infest it.

Peparæthus is placed by *Stephanus* in the neighbourhood of *Eubœa*, wherein he disagrees with all the ancients, who speak of it as lying between the islands of *Sciathus* and *Scyrus*, thirty leagues from mount *Athos*, and eight from the coast of *Magnesia*. Some of the modern geographers, namely *Benjamin*, give the island of *Peparæthus* the name of *Opula*; others, as *Niger*, that of *Lemene*; and some, particularly *Castaldus*, call it *Seraquino*; but in the sea-charts it is commonly known by the name of *Piperi*. It is about twenty miles in circumference, and formerly abounded with excellent olives, as *Ovid* informs us [f]. *Pliny* boasts of the excellency of its wines, and tells us, that *Apollodorus*, a famous physician, in a book which he wrote about the choice of wines and dedicated to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, preferred that of *Peparæthus* to any other. The same author adds, that it was not in great request, as not being palatable, till it was seven years old [g]. From the excellence of its wines, it was called in the most early ages *Euænus*, that is, *producing good wine*, or *the wine-island* [h]. In this island was formerly a city of the same name, which was destroyed, together with *Sciathus*, by *Philip* of *Macedon*, in his war with the *Romans* [i].

Sciathus.

c

Peparæthus.

d

Icos is by *Stephanus* counted among the *Cyclades*, and placed near *Eubœa*; but by *Livy* [k] between the islands of *Sciathus* and *Scyrus*. It is a very small island, but never heless had anciently two cities, whence it was also called *Dipolis*.

Icos.

Haloncsus is placed by *Pliny* [l] between *Samothrace* and the *Thracian Chersonesus* at an equal distance, that is, of fifteen miles, from both. But *Strabo* [m] and *Mela* [n] speak of it as lying between *Icos* and *Scyros*, over-against *Magnesia*. It had formerly a town of the same name, and, being claimed both by the *Athenians* and by *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave rise to a war, as *Stephanus* informs us, between those two powers. It is at present called *Pelagnisi* and *Pelagisi*.

Haloncsus.

e

BETWEEN these islands on the coast of *Magnesia* and *Lesbos* on the coast of *Asia*, lies a small island, called by the ancients *Chryse*, and now known by the name of *S. Strato*. There were formerly two islands bearing this name, whereof one, if *Pausanias* [o] may be credited, sunk into the sea, and never afterwards appeared.

Chryse.

THE island of *Lemnos* lies between mount *Athos* (B) and the *Thracian Chersonesus*, being,

Lemnos.

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. [b] STRABO, l. ix. p. 300. [c] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 159. [d] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 19. [e] APPIAN. in Mithridat. [f] OVID. Metam. vii. ver. 470. [g] PLIN. l. xiv. c. 7. [h] Idem, l. iv. c. 12. [i] APPIAN. ubi supra. [k] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 45. [l] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [m] STRABO, ubi supra. [n] POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7. [o] PAUSAN. in Arcad. c. 33.

(B) mount *Athos* reaches a great way into the sea, in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. It extends towards the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, between the gulfs of *Strymon* and *Singum*, of which the former is now called the gulf of *Monte Santo*, and the latter gulf of *Contessa*. *Stephanus* tells us, that it borrowed its name from a giant who lived in that neighbourhood. We may judge of its height by what the ancient writers say of it, *viz.* that in the summer solstice its shade reached as far as the market-place of *Myrina* in the island of *Lemnos*; that is, according to *Pliny*, eighty-six miles. It is reckoned to be an hundred and fifty miles in circumference, and has been known since the *Greek* monks made it the place of their retreat, by the name of *Monte Santo*, or *the Holy mountain*. In the market-place of *Myrina* stood a statue of white marble, representing an ox, which being shaded by mount *Athos*, gave rise to the proverb, *Mount* Athos *darkens the white ox of* Lemnos, applicable to those, who, with calumnies and false reports, endeavour to tarnish the reputation of deserving men (49).

(49) *Vide Erasm. Chiliad.*

being, according to *Pliny*'s account [p], distant twenty-two miles from *Imbros*, eighty-seven from mount *Athos*, twenty-two from *Samothrace*, and five from *Thasos*. The same author makes it an hundred and twelve miles in compass; and *Stephanus* tells us, that it was called *Lemnos* from *Juno*, whom the ancient inhabitants worshipped under that name, sacrificing yearly to her a young woman. It was also called *Hypsipylea*, from the daughter of *Thoas* king of the island; but is now known by the name of *Stalimene* or *Stalimini*. It had in former times two cities, *Hephestias* and *Myrina*. The former was the capital of the island, and took its name from *Hephaistos* or *Vulcan*, the tutelary god of the place, and is now known by the name of *Cochino*, as the latter is by that of *Lemno* and *Stalimene*. The country is full of hills and vales, which, in some places are well cultivated, and produce all sorts of fruit. b
The eastern part of the island is dry and barren, but the country lying on the western and southern coasts, as it abounds more with springs, is very fruitful. It has two high mountains, one of which, called by *Hesychius* and *Nicander Meschilæ*, vomits flames like mount *Ætna* in *Sicily*; and hence the island was called in ancient times *Æthalia*, which *Bochart* derives from a *Grek* verb signifying *to burn*. The island was consecrated to *Vulcan*, whom the inhabitants worshipped as their tutelary god. They were believed to have been the first blacksmiths, which gave the poets occasion to feign, that *Vulcan*, when he was thrown down from heaven, fell in the island of *Lemnos*, where he built his forge. These fabulous opinions were recorded on their medals, some of which are still to be seen stamped with the head of a *Vulcan*, and c
his usual symbols, *viz.* his anvil, pincers, and hammer, which, according to the fictions of the poets, he used in making new thunderbolts for *Jupiter*. This island has ever been famous for a certain kind of earth, or rather chalk, called *Terra Lemnia* from the place, and *Terra Sigillata*, from the seal or character that is imprinted
Terra Sigillata. on it. It has been always deemed an excellent remedy against poisons, stings of serpents, wounds, and bloody fluxes. In the time of *Dioscorides* they used to mix this earth with goats blood, and sell it made up in small pellets, each pellet being sealed with the figure of a goat. This manner of preparing it was no more used in *Galen*'s time; for that great man undertook a voyage to *Lemnos*, with no other view but to inquire, on the spot, into the nature, virtue, and qualities of that wonderful d
earth. He tells us, that it was then dug up with a great many religious ceremonies; that the priests went in procession to a rising ground, at a small distance from the city of *Hephestias*, the only place where they supposed this earth to be found; and there, after sowing a certain measure of wheat and barley, and performing other mysterious ceremonies, they loaded a cart with the earth, which they attended in procession to the city. The ceremonies described by *Galen* have been long since abolished, and others, which are still practised, brought in probably by the *Venetians* in their room; for on the sixth of *August*, and on no other day, all the chief men of the island, whether *Turks* or Christians, assemble at a chapel called *Sotira*, e
standing half way between the city, or rather the village, of *Cochino*, and the hill where the earth is found, to the top of which they walk in procession. There the *Caloyers* or *Greek* priests read their liturgy; which being done, certain persons, appointed for that purpose, begin to dig, and having discovered a vein of the earth they look for, give notice thereof to the *Caloyers*, who fill with it certain small hair sacks, delivering them to the *Turkish* governor and other officers there present. When they have taken up as much as they think proper, they fill up the place again, and return in procession to the city. Some of the bags are sent to the *Grand-Signior*, and the rest marked with his seal, or with those two words, *Tin Imachton*, that is, *sealed earth*, sold by the *Sangiack*, or his deputies, to the inhabitants and foreign merchants. The *Sangiack* is accountable to the *Grand-Signior*'s treasury for the f
money arising from the sale of the whole which is yearly disposed of, it being a capital crime for any of the inhabitants to keep in their houses, export, or any ways dispose of it, without the governor's knowledge and licence. There is no doubt, but earth of the same nature might be found in other places of the island; but none of the orientals would make use of it, unless it were dug up with the usual ceremonies and in the presence of the *Caloyers*; nay, it would be in no request among them, as our modern travellers inform us, unless it were dug up on the usual day, the sixth of *August*.

The

[p] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

a THE labyrinth of *Lemnos* is much ſpoke of by the ancients, and, in the opinion of *Pliny* [q], preferable to thoſe of *Egypt* and *Crete*. It was a magnificent building, ſupported by forty columns of extraordinary height and thickneſs. The architects, employed in raiſing this admirable edifice, were *Zmilus*, *Rholus*, and *Theodorus*, a native of the iſland. Some remains of this ſtately fabric were ſtill to be ſeen in *Pliny*'s time; but *Belonius* tells us, that he could not diſcover, in any part of the iſland, the leaſt veſtiges of it. *The labyrinth.*

THE moſt ancient inhabitants of *Lemnos* were the *Sapeans* and *Sintians*, a people of *Thrace*, to whom *Homer* gives the epithet of *hoarſe*. Theſe inhabited the iſland before the expedition of the *Argonauts*, whoſe deſcendents, known by the name of b *Minyans*, ſettled here, but ſoon abandoned the country, and retired to the city of *Lacedæmon*, from whence they went to *Triphilia*, and ſtopt in the neighbourhood of *Arena*, in a country which in *Strabo*'s time was called *Lypeſia* [r]. Many years after their departure from *Lemnos*, the *Pelaſgians*, being driven out of *Attica*, poſſeſſed themſelves of this and the adjacent iſlands, and governed them according to their own laws, till they were brought under ſubjection to *Athens* by *Miltiades*. As to the motive which prompted the *Athenians* to drive them out of *Attica*, there is a great diſagreement among authors, ſome pretending, that they were juſtly expelled, and others maintaining, that the *Athenians* therein were guilty of the greateſt injuſtice and treachery. *Herodotus* leaves the cauſe undecided, and only relates what was re- c ported by writers of both ſides. *Hecatæus* (C), as quoted by him [s], tells us, that the *Athenians* ſeeing the lands about *Hymeſſus*, which they had given to the *Pelaſgians* in payment for the wall they had built round the *Acropolis* or citadel of *Athens*, improved, from a barren and unprofitable ſoil, into a fruitful and well-cultivated country, drove them out without any provocation whatſoever, and reſumed the country which they had beſtowed upon them. On the other hand, the *Athenians* affirm, that the *Pelaſgians*, while they were poſſeſſed of the country under mount *Hymeſſus*, frequently offered violence to their ſons and daughters, who were ſent for water to a place called the *nine fountains*. They add, that the *Pelaſgians*, not contented with theſe attempts, conſpired to poſſeſs themſelves of *Athens* itſelf; which d conſpiracy being detected, the *Athenians*, to ſhew themſelves as generous as the others had been baſe, inſtead of puniſhing with death, as their treachery deſerved, commanded them only to depart the country. The *Pelaſgians*, being thus driven from *Attica*, paſſed over into *Lemnos*, and ſettled there; but deſiring to be revenged on the *Athenians*, they fitted out a fleet, and having laid an ambuſcade for the *Athenian* women, as they celebrated the feaſt of *Diana* in *Brauron*, they ſurprized a great many of them, carried them to *Lemnos*, and there kept them for concubines. Theſe women having many children by the *Pelaſgians*, taught their ſons the language of *Attica* and manners of the *Athenians*. Being thus brought up, they not only refuſed to converſe with the ſons of the *Pelaſgian* women, but if any of their number e was injured or abuſed by the *Pelaſgians*, they all conſpired to revenge the injury. By this means they gained ſuch an aſcendant over the ſons of the *Pelaſgian* women, that they were obeyed by them, as maſters are by their ſlaves. The *Pelaſgians*, obſerving this their haughty behaviour, concluded, that if they began ſo early to uſurp a ſuperiority over the children of their lawful wives, they would not fail to treat them as their ſlaves when they attained to man's eſtate. This apprehenſion made ſo deep an impreſſion in their minds, that they reſolved to murder the children they had by the women of

[q] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [r] STRABO, ubi ſupra. [s] HERODOT. l. vi.

(C) *Hecatæus* was a native of *Miletus*, flouriſhed, according to *Suidas*, in the ſixty-fifth olympiad, and wrote the lives of *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*. *Laertius* ſays, that he was a diſciple of *Heraclitus*. He is frequently mentioned by *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Hecatæus*, being at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, had the vanity to give out, that he was deſcended from one of the *Egyptian* deities, whereby he became the ſcorn of the prieſts of the country (50). The ſame author informs us, that he did all that lay in his power to diſſuade *Ariſtagoras* from engaging in a war with the *Perſians*, and ſending colonies into *Sardinia*. Beſides the lives of the two above-mentioned princes, he wrote, it ſeems, other books; for *Stephanus* cites the firſt and fourth books of his *Genealogies*, *Harpocration* the ſecond, and *Athenæus* the third. *Stephanus*, *Athenæus*, and *Rufus Feſtus* quote a deſcription of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Lybia* compiled by *Hecatæus*; but *Callimachus*, in his catalogue of authors, aſcribes this work to another *Hecatæus*, whom he ſurnames *the Iſlander*. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pauſanias* tell us, that the hiſtory of *Hecatæus*, as likewiſe thoſe of *Cadmus* and *Hellanicus*, was full of fables.

(50) *Herodot. l.* ii.

of *Attica*; which they did accordingly, extending their cruelty likewise to the mothers. After this barbarous murder, their lands, as we are told, became barren, their wives unfruitful, and their flocks did not yield their usual increase; whereupon they sent persons to consult the *Delphian* oracle, about the means they might use to be delivered from their calamities. The *Pythian* advised them to give satisfaction to the *Athenians* in the manner they should require. Having received this answer, they dispatched embassadors to *Athens*, declaring, that they were ready to undergo any punishment the *Athenians* should think fit to impose upon them for the injuries they had received at their hands. The *Athenians* hearing their offer, prepared a magnificent feast in the *Prytaneum*, and shewing them the tables furnished with all kinds of provisions, commanded them to surrender their country in as good a condition. The *Pelasgians* answered, that they would comply with their command, when a ship should come in one day with a north wind from the territories of *Athens* to their island. This they conceived impossible, *Athens* lying to the south of *Lemnos*; but, in virtue of this solemn promise, *Miltiades* many years after summoned them to deliver up their island to the *Athenians*.

As to their government, it was at first monarchical; but *Thoas* is the only king of *Lemnos* we find mentioned in history. In his reign, and, if we believe *Herodotus* [t], with his assistance, the *Lemnian* women killed all the males of the island, with a design to turn *Amazons*; from which action, and the murder of the *Athenian* women, which happened long after, any black treachery or cruel murder was called *a Lemnian action* [u]. Other writers tell us, that *Thoas*, whom *Homer* honours with the epithet of *divine*, was no ways concerned in the above-mentioned murder, but saved by the piety of his daughter *Hypsipyle* in the common slaughter of all the other males, as we have related in the foregoing volume [w]. Some writers tell us [x], that she was banished the island for sparing her father; others, that she was raised to the throne, and reigned in *Lemnos* when the *Argonauts* touched at that island. *Jason*, say they, by whom she had two children, and the other *Argonauts*, were so kindly entertained by her and her female subjects, that they stopt there two years, and almost forgot their intended expedition into *Colchis* for the golden fleece [y]. The *Lemnians*, after having enjoyed their liberty for many ages, were at last reduced by *Miltiades*, under the power of the *Athenians*, in the manner we have related elsewhere [z]. In process of time they shook off the *Athenian* yoke, but were again subjected to their ancient masters by the *Romans* after the *Macedonian* war, and continued in that state till *Sylla* made them tributary to *Rome*.

Imbros. *Imbros*, now *Embro* and *Lembro*, lies over-against the *Thracian Chersonesus*, from which it is divided by a narrow straight, being distant, according to *Thucydides* [a], from *Lemnos* two and twenty miles, and two and thirty, as *Pliny* informs us [b], from *Samothrace*. The same *Pliny* makes it twenty-seven miles in circumference; but the modern travellers only twenty. It had anciently a very safe harbour on the east shore, and a city bearing the name of the island. The whole island was sacred to the *Cabiri* and to *Mercury*; whence it is stiled by *Homer the divine Imbros*. In honour of these deities an annual solemnity was kept by the *Imbrians*, *Lemnians*, and *Samothracians*; and such as were initiated into their mysteries were thought effectually secured against storms at sea and all other dangers [c]. The chief ceremony was this: the person who was to be initiated, being crowned with olive-branches, and girt about his loins with a purple ribband, was placed upon a throne, round which the priests and persons already initiated danced and sported [d]. *Imbros*, like the other islands of the *Ægean* sea, was governed some time by its own laws, but afterwards subjected to the *Persians*, *Athenians*, *Macedonians*, and to the kings of *Pergamus*. At the peace concluded between *Philip* and the *Romans*, it was by the latter delivered up to the *Athenians*, who held it till *Rome*, becoming powerful in the east, reduced this and the other islands to a *Roman* province.

Thasos. *Thasos* or *Thassus* lies on the coast of *Thrace*, at a small distance from the mouth of the *Nessus*. It was formerly known by the names of *Odonis*, *Æria*, *Æthria*, *Ogygia*, *Æte*, *Ceresis*, and *Chryse*. This last name it borrowed from its rich mines of gold much spoken of by the ancients. It was called *Thasos* from *Thasus* the brother of *Cadmus*,

[t] HERODOT. ibid. [u] Idem ibid. & ERASM. Chiliad. [w] VOL. II. p. 358. [x] APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. [y] Vide STAT. l. iv. & v. Thebaid. [z] VOL. II. p. 466. not. (U). [a] THUCYD. l. viii. [b] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [c] DIOD. SICUL. l. v. [d] PLATO, EUTHYDEMO, HESYCHIUS.

a *Cadmus*, who ſettled here, and built a city of the ſame name, as *Herodotus* [c] and *Conon* [f] inform us. It is about forty miles in compaſs, and ſo fruitful, that *the fertility of* Thaſos was uſed by the antients by way of proverb, to expreſs a country yielding great plenty of all the neceſſaries of life [g]. The wine of *Thaſos* is highly commended by *Apuleius* [h], and the *Thaſian* marble by *Seneca* [i]. This iſland was firſt peopled by the *Phœnicians*, whom *Cadmus*, while he was going in ſearch of his ſiſter *Europa*, left her under the conduct of his brother *Thaſus*, as we hinted above. Some ages after, the inhabitants of *Paros* ſent a colony hither, being directed by an oracle *to build a city in the iſland of* Æëria, and to ſend thither a ſufficient number of citizens to people it [k]. The city of *Thaſus* was beſieged in vain by *Hiſtiæus* tyrant of *Mile-*
b *tus*; but afterwards taken and diſmantled by *Darius Hyſtaſpis* king of *Perſia*. The *Thaſians* did not continue long ſubject to the *Perſians*, but laid hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to join the *Greeks* againſt the common enemy, entering into an alliance with the *Athenians*, from whom they revolted after the battle fought on the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*. The *Thaſians* had made themſelves maſters of the gold mines in *Thrace* between the rivers *Neſſus* and *Strymon*; theſe the *Athenians* laid claim to, and the *Thaſians* refuſing to part with them, *Cimon* was ſent againſt them with a mighty fleet. That brave commander engaging them at ſea gained a complete victory, and laid ſiege to their metropolis. The *Thaſians*, not finding themſelves in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, had recourſe to the
c *Lacedæmonians*, who promiſed to make a diverſion by invading *Attica*; but were prevented by their domeſtic troubles from performing the promiſe they had made. However, the *Thaſians* with their own ſtrength made a moſt obſtinate defence, but, being without any hopes of relief, ſubmitted to the *Athenians* in the third year of the ſiege upon very diſadvantagious terms, *viz.* to raze their walls; to deliver up their gallies; to pay the uſual tribute; and to quit the mines, and whatever elſe they poſſeſſed on the continent [l]. In the twenty-firſt year of the *Peloponneſian* war, they revolted anew from the *Athenians*, who were for eſtabliſhing an oligarchy in their city, and with the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* recovered their antient liberty, after having driven out all thoſe who were attached to the intereſt of *Athens* [m]. They
d maintained themſelves a free people till the time of *Alexander*, to whom they ſubmitted of their own accord, and continued ſubject to the kings of *Macedon*, till they were delivered from the *Macedonian* yoke, and declared free by one of the articles of the peace concluded between *Philip* the father of *Perſes* and *Flaminius* the *Roman* conſul [n] (D).

Samothrace was antiently known by the names of *Melites*, *Leucaſia*, *Samothrace*, or *Lucania*, *Saocis*, *Electria*, and *Dardania*. It was called *Dardania*, according to *Pliny* [o] and *Pauſanias* [p], from *Dardanus*, who retired thither. The ſame authors add, that it changed the name of *Dardania* into that of *Samothrace*, from the time that a colony
e of *Thracians*, mixed with ſome fugitives from the iſland of *Samos*, ſettled there. But *Diodorus Siculus* [q] pretends, that the *Amazon Myrina*, in the courſe of her conqueſts on the coaſt of the *Ægean* ſea, conſecrated this iſland to *Cybele* under the name of *Samothrace*, a term, ſays he, then uſed to ſignify *a conſecrated place*. Before, and in the time of, the *Trojan* war, it was called *Samos*, and diſtinguiſhed from *Samos* on the coaſt of *Ionia*, and from *Cephalenia* named likewiſe *Samos*, by the epithet of *Thracian*, *Imbrian*, or *Lemnian*. It is by *Homer* conſtantly ſtyled the *Thracian Samos*, which appellation the *Latins*, as *Virgil* [r] informs us, changed into that of *Samothracia*. *Strabo* [s] is of opinion, that it took the name of *Samos* from a *Greek* word ſignifying *high*, this iſland being one of the higheſt in the *Ægean* ſea. Hence *Priſcian*

[c] Herodot. l. ii. [f] Conon Narrat. 37. [g] Vide Erasm. Chiliad. [h] Apuleius, Apolog. p. 289. [i] Seneca, epiſt. 86. [k] Strab. l. x. p. 335. [l] Thucyd. l. i. [m] Idem, l. viii. [n] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30. Polyb. in Exc legat. c. 9. [o] Plin. l. iv. c. 47. [p] Pausan. in Atticis. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. [r] Virgil. Æneid. l. vii. v. 208. [s] Strab. l. x. p. 315.

(D) *Steſimbrotus*, who is frequently quoted by *Plutarch*, was a native of *Thaſos*, and contemporary with *Cimon*, as *Plutarch* obſerves in the life of that great commander. The ſame writer owns, that in his lives of *Themiſtocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*, he took ſeveral particulars from the hiſtory of *Steſimbrotus*. *Tatian* mentions this hiſtorian in the book he wrote againſt the *Gentiles*. The etymologiſt on the word Ἰδαῖοι tells us, that this author's book was intitled, *of the beginnings or origins*, and that in the ſaid book he maintained the *Idæi Dactyli* to be the ſons of *Jupiter* and the nymph *Ida*. *Fulgentius* (51) quotes *Steſimbrotus* the *Thaſian* in his account of the death of *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*. He is alſo cited by *Apollonius* and others (52).

(51) *Fulgen. de antiq. Sermon.*

(52) *Apollon. l. i. Athen. Euſtathius, &c.*

Priſcian ſtiles it *the high Samos*, and *Homer* [t] tells us, that from this iſland mount *Ida*, the city of *Troy*, and the *Greek* and *Trojan* camps, might be ſeen. It is, according to *Pliny* [u], about two and thirty miles in compaſs, two and twenty diſtant from *Lemnos*, two and thirty from *Imbros*, and eight and thirty from the coaſt of *Thrace*. The modern travellers place it only at three leagues diſtance from the coaſt of *Thrace*, and allow it but twenty miles in circumference. As to the firſt inhabitants of *Samothrace*, *Diodorus* tells us [w], that there is nothing handed down to poſterity relating to them, which we may depend on. Others ſay [x], that it was firſt peopled by *Thracians*, and that after their arrival in the iſland, the *Pelaſgians*, *Samians*, and *Phœnicians*, ſent thither numerous colonies. They had antiently a peculiar language not underſtood by any other people of *Greece*, whereof ſome words were ſtill uſed in the worſhip of their gods, when *Diodorus Siculus* wrote his hiſtory [y]. The iſland of *Samothrace* was famous on account of the worſhip paid there to the gods called *Cabiri* (E), who were had in ſo great veneration, that it was thought an act of irreverence even to pronounce their names. All the great heroes

[t] HOMER. Iliad. N. v. 12. [u] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [w] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [x] STRABO, PLIN. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

(E) There is ſuch a diſagreement among authors in their accounts of theſe deities, that, notwithſtanding all the mythologiſts have ſaid of them, we are ſtill in the dark as to many particulars, and can only form a confuſed idea of their nature, origin, and attributes. *Bochart* (53) derives their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, that is, *great* and *powerful*. This opinion he confirms with the authority of *Euthymius* and *Cedrenus*. The former tells us, that the *Saracens*, who had been idolaters, to the time of the emperor *Heraclius*, worſhipped *Venus* under the name of *Chabar*, that is, the *great* or *powerful*; the latter obſerves, that the ſame people gave the name of *Cubar* to the conſtellation of *Venus*; whence *Bochart* infers, that the gods *Cabiri* were the *great* and *powerful* gods; and indeed they are frequently ſo ſtiled by the writers of the earlieſt ages. But *Steſimbrotus*, as quoted by *Strabo* (54), ſays they were called *Cabiri* or *Cabires* from *Cabirus*, a hill in *Phrygia*, where they were worſhipped in a very ſolemn manner. It is no leſs perplexing to diſcover who the *Cabiri* were, than to trace out the origin of their name. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Maſneſeas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proſerpine*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*, whom he diſguiſes under the myſterious names of *Axioros*, *Axiokerſa*, *Axiokerſos*, and *Kaſmilos*; to theſe *Dionyſiodorus* adds a fourth, whom he ſtiles *Caſmilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the ſame with *Mercury*; but he was looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and, if we believe *Varro* (55), only as an attendant or ſervant of the *Samothracian* deities. The ſame author tells us, that by the great gods of *Samothrace* were meant only the heaven and earth. Several writers have confined the appellation of *Cabiri* to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* and *Caſſius Hemina*, as quoted by *Macrobius*, took the *Cabiri* to be the ſame as the *Dii Penates*, or *houſhold gods*. *Dardanus*, ſay they, brought them from *Samothrace* into *Phrygia*, whence they were carried into *Italy* by *Æneas*. In a *Greek* inſcription quoted by *Alexander ab Alexandro* they are called *Dioſkouroi*, which appellation being alſo given by the antients to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, ſome have thought them the ſons of *Jupiter* by *Calliope* or *Proſerpine*. The moſt common opinion is, that they were the ſons or grandſons of *Vulcan*; this the *Egyptian* prieſts held, as *Herodotus* informs us (56), and ſome medals are ſtill extant, which ſeem to confirm this opinion. *Goltzius* exhibits two, one of the city of *Theſſalonica*, the other of the emperor *Claudius*, ſurnamed *the Goth*; on the reverſe of both is a *Cabir*, as appears from the *Greek* inſcription, with a hammer in his hand, which ſymbol ſignifies, as all the mythologiſts agree, his being of the race of *Vulcan*. Thus ſome writers make the *Cabiri* to have been the firſt who introduced and taught the art of working iron. A modern writer endeavours to prove, that the *Cabiri* were the ſame as the *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, and *Telchines*. The latter were called by the *Greeks*, *Deſtroyers*, being ſuppoſed to make uſe of the ſecrets of magic to hurt mankind. The *Telchines* were deemed the authors of all the miſeries which laid waſte the earth; and the ignorant populace imagined they could by their incantations raiſe ſtorms, and bring plagues, famines, and diſeaſes, whenever they pleaſed (57). All we can infer from the various accounts of the antient mythologiſts, which are but an odd jumble of contradictions, is, that the *Pagans* themſelves were ignorant of the origin of theſe imaginary deities. However, they were worſhipped in ſeveral parts of *Greece* and *Aſia*, chiefly in the cities of *Lemnos*, *Theſſalonica*, *Thebes*, *Rhodes*, &c. *Pauſanias* tells us, that the country of *Pergamus* was conſecrated to the *Cabiri*, and that they had a temple at *Memphis* in *Egypt*, which no one, except the prieſt who performed the ſacred rites, was allowed to enter (58). *Lactantius* ſpeaks of a god named *Cabirius*, to whom the *Macedonians* paid a particular worſhip. But the iſland of *Samothrace* was, as it were, the center of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies obſerved in honour of the *Cabiri*. There, and no-where elſe, people were initiated into their myſteries. Thoſe who were to be admitted were placed on a kind of throne, and crowned with laurel, having bands of purple tied round their bellies. Then the prieſts and others there preſent danced round them, and this ridiculous mummery ended in oaths and execrations on the perſon, who ſhould ever reveal what paſſed in their aſſemblies. *Heſychius* tells us, that even children were initiated, their parents fancying them, when under the protection of the *Cabiri*, ſafe from thunder, lightning, tempeſts, and all ſorts of dangers. Several writers, namely *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Bochart*, have collected the various opinions of the fabulous ages concerning the names, origin, number, myſteries, offices, and worſhip of the *Cabiri*, and their ſiſters, called the *Cataridæ*; to theſe we refer our readers for a more full account of what relates to the *Samothracian* deities.

(53) *Bochart. in Canaan. l.* i. *c.* 15. (54) *Strab. l.* x. (55) *Varr. de ling. Latin. l.* iv. (56) *Herodot. l.* ii. (57) *Vide Muſeum i: Diſſert. de Cabiris.* (58) *Pauſan. in Bœot.*

a heroes of antiquity were initiated into the myſteries of theſe deities. Such as were admitted to partake of the ſacred ceremonies uſed to meet in a wood, which became a place of refuge for offenders, and was more reſpected than even the temple of *Delphos* or the iſland of *Delos*. To this iſland *Perſes* king of *Macedon* fled for refuge, and took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, hoping, that the *Romans* would not profane a ſanctuary revered by all the nations of the world; and indeed the *Romans* did not make any attempts upon his life or perſon ſo long as he ſtaid there; for the pagans carried their prejudices ſo far in favour of theſe pretended deities, that they were ſtruck with an awful dread upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in uſe among the ancients, b that by the gods of *Samothrace* was deemed the moſt ſacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have obſerved this oath were looked upon as the curſe of mankind, and perſons devoted to deſtruction. *Diodorus* [z] tells us, that theſe gods were always preſent, and never failed to aſſiſt thoſe who were initiated, and called upon them in any ſudden and unexpected danger; that *Jaſion*, *Dioſcurus*, *Hercules*, *Orpheus*, &c. being initiated into their rites, proſpered by their favour in all their wars, and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies without being amply rewarded for their piety.

Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks of an inundation, which laid great part of *Samothrace* under water, drowned all the cities on the coaſt of *Aſia*, and overwhelmed ſeveral c iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea, ſome of which never afterwards appeared. In *Samothrace* the waters roſe to ſuch a height, that they not only covered the champion country, but reached near the tops of the higheſt mountains, and changed the face of the whole country. This deluge is ſuppoſed to have happened before the *Argonautic* expedition, and is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the overflowing of the *Pontic* ſea; which being ſwelled by the waters of the many great rivers that fall into it, diſcharged itſelf through the *Boſphorus Thracius* into the *Propontis*, and through the *Helleſpont* into the *Ægean* ſea. When the waters abated, the inhabitants of *Samothrace* conſecrated to the gods the places where they had been preſerved, erecting altars, and offering up yearly ſacrifices in memory of their deliverance. This they continued to d do in *Diodorus*'s time, who adds, that even then chapiters of pillars and other pieces of architecture were frequently found under water; which ſhews, ſays he, that this deluge is not a poetical fiction, but real truth [a]. In the opinion of the ancients the *Pontus Euxinus* was only a lake or ſtanding pool, which being overcharged with waters broke firſt into the *Propontis*, and then into the *Ægean*, waſhing away by degrees the earth, which kept it within its firſt bounds, and forming the two channels of the *Boſphorus Thracius* and the *Helleſpont*, which *Helleſpont* in the ſenſe of the ancients is another *Boſphorus*, that is, an arm of the ſea narrow enough for an *ox* to ſwim over. In the hypotheſis of the ancients the *Palus Mæotis*, the *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Propontis*, and *Mediterranean* were originally ſo many lakes, which, after e having broke down, as it were, the dikes that parted them, with the impetuoſity of theirs waters, opened themſelves a paſſage between the mountains of *Atlas* and *Calpe* into the ocean. It is perhaps more likely, that the ocean, having with the impetuoſity of its waters diſmembered the mountain of *Calpe* from the lands of *Africa*, poured itſelf into that vaſt ſpace now called the *Mediterranean*, and penetrating to the north produced the *Propontis*, the *Pontus*, and the *Palus Mæotis*.

After the abovementioned deluge, one *Saon* a native of *Samothrace*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Nympha*, as ſome ſay, or as others will have it, of *Mercury* and *Rhena*, gathered the inhabitants, before living ſcattered and diſperſed, into a body, made laws for their better government, and divided them into five tribes, which he called f after the names of his ſons. Some time after the government was thus ſettled, *Dardanus*, *Jaſion*, and *Harmonia* were born in the iſland. They were the children of *Jupiter* and *Electra* one of the daughters of *Atlas*. *Dardanus* paſſed over into *Aſia*, where he founded a new kingdom, which was afterwards called the *Trojan* kingdom from the city of *Troy* built there. *Jupiter*, deſirous likewiſe to advance his other ſons to a high degree of honour and reputation, diſcovered to them the rites of the ſacred myſteries anciently obſerved, but then newly revived, in the iſland, which it was not lawful for any to ſee, but thoſe who were initiated. About this time *Cadmus*, arriving in the iſland to ſeek after his ſiſter *Europa*, was initiated into

[z] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [a] Idem. ibid.

into the sacred mysteries, and married *Harmonia* the sister of *Jasion*. *Jasion* married *Cybele*, by whom he had *Corybas*, who, after his father's death, passing over into *Phrygia* with his mother and *Dardanus*, taught the *Phrygians* the mysteries of *Cybele*. *Corybas* called those who celebrated the sacred mysteries of his mother, after his own name, *Corybantes* [b].

THE island of *Samothrace* was in ancient time governed by its own kings; for *Coritus*, *Dardanus*, and his brother *Jasion* are said to have reigned there, as we have related elsewhere [c]. The monarchical form of government gave place to the republican, which continued till the island was reduced by the *Persians*. *Alexander* restored this, as most of the other *Greek* islands, to the enjoyment of their ancient liberties; but his successors in the kingdom of *Macedon* brought the *Samothracians* again into subjection. The *Romans* after the defeat of *Perses* declared them a free people; whence *Pliny* [d] styles *Samothrace a free island*. They lived according to their own laws from the reduction of the kingdom of *Macedon* to the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced all the states of *Greece* to a *Roman* province [e].

Islands on the coasts of Greece.

FROM the *Ægean* we shall proceed with *Strabo* to the *Ionian* sea (F), giving a succinct description of the islands on the coast of *Greece*, of which the most northerly is that of *Sason* lying between *Aulon*, now *La Valona*, a city of *Macedon*, and *Brundusium* in *Italy* at the entrance of the *Ionian* sea. *Lucan* counts it among the islands of *Italy* [f], and *Ptolemy* [g] among those of *Macedon*. It is mentioned by *Polybius* [h], *Scylax* [i], *Mela* [k], *Pliny* [l], &c. and described by *Silius Italicus* as a barren, sandy, and inhospitable place [m].

Corcyra.

Corcyra, now *Corfu*, was in more ancient times called *Drepane*, *Scheria*, and *Phæacia*. The name of *Corcyra*, which was also given to another island lying in the *Adriatic* over-against *Illyricum*, it took from a nymph so called, whom *Neptune* is said to have ravished in this island. It is about forty-five miles in length, twenty-two in breadth, and two hundred and ten in compass. *Corcyra* was once famous for the delightful gardens of king *Alcinous*, who with great courtesy entertained *Ulysses* after his shipwreck [n]. The southern parts of the island are barren, mountainous, and but indifferently provided with water; the northern coast is very fruitful, and yields all kinds of delicious fruit, excellent wines, olives, all sorts of grain, *&c.* whence it is stiled by *Homer* the *fruitful Scheria* [o]. It had anciently two cities of no small note, viz. *Corcyra* and *Cassiope*; the former was the metropolis of the island, and once very powerful, as appears from *Thucydides* and others, who have given us an account of their wars; the latter is commended by *Pliny* [p] and *Ptolemy* [q] as a wealthy and well-built city; but *Cicero* calls it only a haven [r]. This island is said to have been first inhabited by the *Phæaces*, whence it was named *Phæacia*; but afterwards the *Corinthians* sent thither a numerous colony, which made *Thucydides* [s] reckon *Corcyra* among the countries peopled by the *Corinthians*. The *Corcyreans* were skilful mariners, and, as the same *Thucydides* informs us, for some time masters of the sea. Their government was first monarchical; but afterwards they formed themselves into a republic, and made a very considerable figure in the flourishing times of *Greece*. *Herodotus* tells us [t], that they were very powerful by land, and had more ships than any other people of *Greece*, except the *Athenians*. That author greatly blames them on account of their deceitful conduct with respect to the assistance they promised the *Greeks* against *Xerxes*; for, being invited by the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* embassadors to join in the common cause, they readily promised to send powerful succours, assuring them, that they would not neglect the safety of *Greece* in so imminent a danger, well knowing that, if the enemy prevailed, they should soon be reduced to the condition of slaves. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*

[b] Idem, l. v. c. 47. & seq. [c] Hist. Univer. Vol. II. p. 312. [d] PLIN. l. iv. c. 82. [e] SUETON. in Vespas. [f] LUCAN. l. xi. v. 627. [g] PTOL. l. iii. c. 12. [h] POLYB. l. v. c. 110. [i] SCYLAX, in Illyr. [k] POMP. MELA, l. iv. [l] PLIN. l. iii. cap. ult. [m] SILIUS ITAL. l. v. v. 480. [n] HOMER. Odyss. 7. v. 34. [o] Idem ibid. [p] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [q] PTOL. l. iii. c. 4. [r] CIC. l. xvi. epist. 9. ad Tiron. [s] THUCYD. l. vii. p. 528. [t] HERODOT. l. vii.

(F) The *Ionian* gulf, or the *Ionian* sea, lies between *Sicily* and *Greece*, extending from the island of *Crete* to the *Acroceraunian* hills in *Epirus*, or, as others will have it, to the city of *Apollonia* in *Macedon*. It was so called either from *Ionius* the son of *Dyrrhachius*, *Hercules* having given it that name to preserve the memory of his friend whom he had killed by mistake, and thrown into the sea; or from *Ionia*, a country, according to *Solinus*, in the extremity of *Calabria*; or from *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus*, as *Lycophron* has it.

ANCIENT GREECE with the ISLANDS adjoyning to it

PART OF THE ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
Brundisium
Tarentum
Hydrus
Hydruntum
Gulf of Tarento
Crotona
IONIAN SEA
Leucadia
Cephalenia
Ithaca
Zacynthus
Lissus
Dyrrachium
Taulantii
Apollonia
Jason
Aulon
Oreſtis
Amantia
Oricum
Epirus
Chaonia
Atrocerauni Montes
Corcyra I.
Corcyra
Cassiope
Molossi
Ambracia
Acarnanes
Aetolia
Achelous R.
Pindus
Athamanes
Iperchius R.
Othrys M.
Thermopylæ
Parnaſſus M.
Naupactus
Delphi
Crisa
Creusa
Antirrhium
Echinades
Gulf of Crisæus
Rhium
Achaia
Corinthus
Nemea
Mycenæ
Epidaurus
Argos
Elis Urbs
Olympia
Tegea
Megalopolis
Pylus
Alpheus R.
Mantinea
Clitorium
Cyparissus
Meſsenia
Pheræ
Coron
Sinus Messenius
Gulf of Laconicus
Tænarum opp. et Promont.
Strophades
Pylus
Lacedæmonia
Sparta
Gytheum
Peneus R.
Olympus
Pieria
Deſsaretæ
Aliacmon R.
Berrhoea
Cyrrheſtæ
Thermæ
Pydna
Lyncestis
MACEDONIA
Pella
Thessalonica
Mygdonia
Pelagonia
Mons Hæmus
Paeonia
Lychnidus L.
Scardus M.
Strymon R.
Philippi
Amphipolis
Neapolis
Nestus R.
Thasus
Samothrace
Gulf of Strymonicus
Stagira
Sinthus
Singus
Torone
Gulf of Singiticus
Athos M.
Lemnos
Gulf of Thermaicus
Pelion
Ossa
Olympus
Larissa
Magnesia
Thessalia
Pagasæus
Gulf of Pagasæus
Iolcos
Hyonesus
Scandila
Hemisium
Ichnæ
Othrys M.
Thermopylæ
Phocis
Locris
Boeotia
Aulis
Thebæ
Eubœa
Chalcis
Carystus
Cephareus Pr.
Andrus
Delos
Myrtos
Helene
Marathon
Eleusis
Athenæ
Isthmus
Megara
Gulf of Saronicus
Corinthus
Aegina
Epidaurus
Calauria
Troezen
Argolis
Peloponnesus
Nauplia
Mantinea
Lacedæmonia
Sea of Crete
Cythera Insula
Malea Prom.
Epidaurus Limera
Cydonia
Cythæum
Cisamus
Aptera
Hyrtacina
Lissus
Phœnicis Portus
Metallum
Psychium
Gortyna
Ida Mons
Creta
Lappa
Minoa
Mons Dictæus
Lasæa
Lasus
Heraclæum
Samonium prom.
Lucus
Hanus
Erythræa
Criumetopon Promon
Claudæ
Hierapytna
Sebena
Carpathus
Casus
Dionysiades
Rhodes
Rhodus
Lindus
Atabyris M.
Camirus
Cnidus
Halicarnassus
Myndus
Bargile
Miletus
Ephesus
Mycale
Samos
Icaria I.
Icarian Sea
Cyclades
Naxus
Amorgus
Siphnus
Seriphus
Cimolus
Oliarus
Thera
Thia
Anaphe
Therasia
Hiera
Automate
Melos
Perpesinthus
Siphnus
Sicinus
Calymne
Nisyros
Telos
Chalcia
Lebinthus
Astypalæa
Cos
Chios
Claromene
Teos
Smyrna
Hermus Flu.
Caystri Flu.
Malia Prom.
Ægæan Sea
Lectum Promont.
Sigæum
Troia
Imbrus
Hellespont
Chersonesus
Abydus
Part of the Asian Sea
Ereſsus
Methymna
Mitylene
Yanæ prom.
Sigrium Promont.
Chryse
Tenedos
Alexandria
Troas
Ida Mons
Gargarus
Adramyttium
Pitane
Cyme
Phocæa
Aeolis
Lesbos
Lemnos
Imbrus
Samothrace
Thasus
Neapolis
Philippi
Strymon R.
Nestus R.
Mygdonia
Pelagonia
Paeonia
Mons Hæmus
Lychnidus L.
Scardus M.
Lissus
Dyrrachium
Taulantii
Gulf of Venice
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
Sea of Crete
Ægæan Sea
Part of the Asian Sea
Cyclades
Icarian Sea
Rhodes
Creta
Peloponnesus
Laconia
Messenia
Achaia
Elis
Arcadia
Argolis
Boeotia
Phocis
Locris
Aetolia
Acarnania
Epirus
Thessalia
Macedonia
Pæonia
Illyria
Italy
Sicily
Africa
Asia
Europe
West
East
North
South
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J. Wheatley Sculp.

a *monians* departed well ſatisfied with this anſwer; but the *Corcyræans* having fitted out a ſquadron of ſixty ſhips ſailed to the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, and having anchored about *Pylus* and *Tænarus*, waited in that ſtation to ſee the event of the war, being reſolved to join the party that ſhould prevail. When news was brought them that the *Perſians* were defeated at *Salamis*, they left their ſtation, and joined the reſt of the *Greeks*, pretending, that they had been prevented by the *Eteſian* winds from doubling the cape of *Malea* and being preſent at the battle [w]. Their war with the *Corinthians* and *Epidamnians*, which brought on the *Peloponneſian* war, and the dreadful ſedition which happened in their iſland (whence all ſeditions, when terrible in their effects, were ſtiled *Corcyræan*) we have related elſewhere [x]. The *Corcyræans* ſub-
b mitted to *Alexander*, and continued ſubject to his ſucceſſors kings of *Macedon*, till they were delivered by the *Romans* in the reign of *Perſes*, from which time they enjoyed their liberty till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, when they underwent the common fate of the other iſlands and *Greek* ſtates both in *Europe* and *Aſia*.

Between *Corcyra* and the continent lie two ſmall iſlands, called by *Strabo* [y] and *Thucydides* [z] *Sybota*; and at a ſmall diſtance from the eaſtern coaſt of *Corcyra*, the iſland of *Ptychia*, which *Ptolemy* confounds with a city of that name in the iſland of *Corcyra*, but *Thucydides* deſcribes it as a diſtinct iſland [a]. Five miles eaſt of *Corcyra* are the iſlands *Paxi* or *Paxæ*, mentioned by *Pliny* [b] and other antient writers, but containing nothing remarkable. They are but two in number, and at preſent
c known by the names of *Pachſu* and *Antipachſu*. *Pliny* enumerates ſeveral other iſlands on the coaſt of *Epirus*, viz. *Ericuſa*, *Marathe*, *Elaphuſa*, *Malthace*, *Trachie*, *Pythionia*, and *Tarachia*, of which *Ericuſa* was alſo known to *Ptolemy*, who places it between *Corcyra* and *Cephalenia*.

Leucas, now known by the name of *Santa Maura*, was antiently a peninſula, Leucas.
joined to the main land of *Acarnania* by an iſthmus, which was cut by the *Carthaginians*, or, as others will have it, by the *Corinthians*. We have deſcribed this iſland elſewhere [c], and therefore ſhall only add here, that in the middle of it was a ſtately temple conſecrated to *Venus the mother of Æneas*, who is ſuppoſed to have landed here on his voyage to *Italy*. *Homer* ſpeaks of three cities of no ſmall note in this coun-
d try, viz. *Nericus*, *Crocylea*, and *Agylipe*. *Iſaac Voſſius* is of opinion, that in the time of *Thucydides* it was ſtill a peninſula, ſince that hiſtorian in deſcribing the countries of *Leucas* and *Arcanania*, makes no mention of the iſthmus being cut [d]. In *Homer*'s time it was, without all doubt, joined to the land, ſince he calls it the coaſt of *Epirus* [e]. It is about ſeventy miles in compaſs, and was in antient times called *Neritis*, as *Pliny* informs us [f].

The iſlands, known to the antients by the names of *Taphiæ* and *Teleboides*, lay to the eaſt of *Leucas*, near the coaſt of *Achaia*. They were ſo called from *Taphus* and *Telebous* the ſons of *Pterelas*, and grandſons of *Neptune* by *Hippothoe* the daughter of *Neſtor* [g]. *Bochart* [h] derives the name of *Taphiæ* from the *Hebrew*
e word *hataph*, which ſignifies *to rob*, the inhabitants of theſe iſlands being antiently famous pirates. The *Echinades* were five ſmall iſlands on the coaſt of *Acarnania* over-againſt the mouth of the river *Achelous*, from which the fartheſt diſtant is but fifteen furlongs, and the neareſt only five. They were thought to have been formed by the mud, which this river carried into the ſea; whence aroſe the fable of their having been once ſea nymphs, but afterwards by the god *Achelous* changed into iſlands [i]. Some writers tell us, that they were called *Echinades* from the *Greek* word *echinos*, becauſe that part of the *Ionian* abounded with *ſea-hogs*. They are now known by the name of *Curzolari*. *Dulichium*, which formerly belonged to *Ulyſſes*, is counted by *Strabo* [k] among the *Echinades*.

f *Ithaca*, between *Dulichium* and *Cephalenia*, was once famous for being the birth-place of *Ulyſſes* the ſon of *Laertes*. It is about five and twenty miles in compaſs, and at preſent known by the name of *Val di Compare*. It had a town in former times bearing the name of the iſland, and ſituated, according to *Homer* [l], at the foot of mount *Neius*, which by moſt geographers is thought to be the ſame with mount *Neritus* mentioned by *Virgil* [m]. *Pomponius Mela* [n] miſtakes mount *Neritus* for another iſland in the *Ionian* ſea.

Cephalenia

[w] Herodot. ibid. [x] Hiſt. Univer. Vol. II. p. 495, 496, 506, 509. [y] Strab. l. vii. p. 224. [z] Thucyd. l. i. p. 32. [a] Idem, l. iv. p. 283. [b] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [c] Hiſt. Univer. Vol. II. p. 715. [d] Vide Voſs. in Scylacem. [e] Vide Strabonem, l. x. p. 311. [f] Plin. l. iv. c. 1. [g] Strab. l. x. & Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [h] Bochart. in Canaan. [i] Ovid. Metamorph. l. viii. [k] Strab. l. x. p. 315. [l] Homer. Odyſſ. i. v. 81. [m] Virgil. Æneid. iii. v. 270. [n] Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 7.

Cephalenia or *Cephallenia*, known in *Homer*'s time by the names of *Samus* and *Black Epirus*, or *Epirus Melæna*, is about eighty miles in length, forty in breadth, and a hundred and thirty in compass. It had anciently four cities, but *Ptolemy* takes notice of one only, which bore the name of the island. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time there were only two cities remaining; but *Pliny* [p] speaks of three, and adds, that the ruins of *Same*, which had been destroyed by the *Romans*, were still to be seen. *Same* was the metropolis of the island, and is supposed to have stood in the place, which the *Italians* call *Porto Guiscardo*. The names of the four cities were, according to *Thucydides*, *Same*, *Prone*, *Cranii*, and *Palæ* [q]. This island was subdued by the *Thebans* under the conduct of *Amphitryon*, who is said to have killed *Pterelas*, who then reigned here. While *Amphitryon* was carrying on the war in *Cephalenia* then called *Samos*, one *Cephalus*, a man of great distinction at *Athens*, having accidentally killed his wife *Procris* in shooting at a deer, fled to *Amphitryon*, who pitying his case not only received him kindly, but made him governor of the island, which thenceforth was called *Cephalenia*. After it had continued long subject to the *Thebans*, it fell under the power of the *Macedonians*, and was taken from them by the *Ætolians*, who held it till it was reduced by *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who, having made himself master of the metropolis after a four months siege, and sold all the citizens for slaves, added the whole island to the demesns of his republic [r]. The island of *Zacynthus*, which lies twelve miles south of *Cephalenia*, we have described at length elsewhere [s], and therefore shall proceed to the *Strophades*, which are two small islands lying over-against *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus*, and now known by the name of *Strivali*. They are about thirty-five miles south of *Zacynthus*, and according to *Strabo* [t] four hundred furlongs from the continent, the largest of the two being but five miles in compass. They were first called *Plotæ*, that is, *swimming islands*, as *Pliny* informs us [u], and afterwards *Strophades*, from a *Greek* verb signifying to *return*, because *Zethus* and *Calais*, the winged issue of *Boreas* and *Orithyia*, are feigned to have pursued the *Harpyes* to these islands, and thence to have returned, being admonished by *Iris* or *Jupiter* to give over the pursuit. *Virgil* describes them as frequented in the time of *Æneas* only by these ravenous monsters [w]. At present they are inhabited by *Greek* friars, who, to the number of thirty, live there and enjoy the islands to themselves. In one of them there is a fine spring of fresh water, which is said to have its fountain in *Peloponnesus*, and to pass under the sea. The other islands mentioned by *Pliny* [x], as lying between *Zacynthus* and the *Asinæan* gulf, are *Letoia* or *Letoa*, now *Cristina*, near *Cephalenia*, the three *Sphagiæ* or *Sphacteriæ* opposite to *Pylus* of *Messenia*, and as many known by the name of *Oriusæ* lying over-against the city of *Messene*. The islands of *Sphacteriæ* are famous in history for a victory gained there by the *Athenians* over the *Lacedæmonians*, after which *Cleon* possessed himself of the islands, taking the *Lacedæmonians* who garisoned them prisoners [y]. These islands are now called *Le Sapienze*, and the sea round them *the sea of Sapienza*. In the *Laconic* gulf are, according to *Pliny*, the following islands, *Teganusa*, *Cothon*, and *Cythera*. *Teganusa*, or *Theganusa*, is placed by *Strabo* [z] and *Pausanias* [a], not in the *Laconic*, but the *Messenian* gulf, before the promontory *Acritas*, between *Metho* and *Caron* two cities of *Messenia*. *Pomponius Mela* [b] places *Cothon* in the *Ægean* sea, and *Salmasius* on the coast of *Africa*, but *Stephanus* agrees with *Pliny*. Over-against *Gythium* in *Peloponnesus* lies the small island of *Cranae* mentioned by *Pausanias* [c], and said by *Homer* to have been the first place, where *Paris* stopt as he was carrying off *Helena* [d].

Cythera, now *Cerigo*, lies over-against *Malea* a promontory of *Laconia*, from which it is distant, according to *Strabo* [e], forty furlongs. It was named *Cythera*, if *Stephanus* is to be credited, from one *Cytherus* a *Phœnician*, who is said to have settled here. Before his arrival it was known by the name of *Porphyris* or *Porphyrissa*, either because it abounded with *porphyry*, as *Solinus* is of opinion, or by reason the best *scarlet* was died here, as *Stephanus* affirms on the authority of *Aristotle*. It is about sixty miles in compass, blessed with a fruitful soil, and has several havens, one especially very safe and capacious, called anciently *Scandea*, about ten furlongs from the city of *Cythera*, a city once famous for the temple of *Venus*, surnamed *Uranio*

[p] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [q] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 120. [r] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 28, & 29. [s] Vide Hist. Univer. Vol. II. p. 71, 489, 504, 677, 745, &c. [t] Strab. l. viii. p. 248. [u] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [w] Virgil. Æneid. 3. v. 209. [x] Plin. ubi supra. [y] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 256. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 24. [z] Strab. l. viii. p. 248. [a] Pausan. Messen. c. 34. [b] Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 7. [c] Pausan. Lacon. c. 22. [d] Homer. Iliad. Γ. v. 445. [e] Strab. l. viii. p. 250.

a *nia* or *Heavenly*. In this temple, which was believed to be the moſt ancient which *Venus* had amongſt the *Greeks*, was a ſtatue of that goddeſs in complete armour, holding, like *Pallas*, a javelin in her hand. She is ſaid, upon her firſt ſpringing out of the froth of the ſea, (for ſuch was her origin) to have been by gentle zephyrs carried to this iſland, and from hence to *Cyprus*; on which account both iſlands were in a peculiar manner ſacred to her. From *Cythera Venus* had the ſurname of *Cytherea*, often uſed by *Virgil* and other poets. We have already related how this iſland, formerly ſubject to *Lacedæmon*, was reduced by the *Athenians* under the conduct of *Nicias* [f], and therefor ſhall paſs to the other iſlands. In the *Argolic* bay *Pliny* places the following [g], *Pityuſa*, *Irine*, *Ephyre*, *Tiparenus*, *Aperopia*, *Colonis*, *Ariſteria*, and b *Calauria*. This laſt lay, according to *Strabo* [h], in the bay of *Hermione* over-againſt *Trœzen* a maritime city of *Argia*, from which it was diſtant four furlongs, being thirty in compaſs. It was famous for a temple conſecrated to *Neptune* and an aſylum [i]. Here *Demoſthenes* poiſoned himſelf, and was buried within the incloſure of the temple [k]. The other iſlands contain nothing remarkable.

Ægina. In the *Saronic* gulf (G) are the iſlands of *Ægina* and *Salamis*, both equally famous in ancient hiſtory. The former was anciently known by the names of *Oenone* or *Oenopia* [l], and *Myrmidonia*; but *Æacus*, who reigned here, called it *Ægina*, from his mother the daughter of *Aſopus* king of *Bœotia* (H). It was called *Myrmidonia* becauſe inhabited by the *Myrmidones*, ſo famous among the poets. It lies between c the territory of *Athens* and that of *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argia*, being diſtant eighteen miles from the coaſt of *Athens* and fourteen from *Peloponneſus*. It is about twenty-ſix mile in compaſs, and had anciently a city of the ſame name [m], which being deſtroyed by an earthquake, the inhabitants were exempted by *Tiberius* for the ſpace of three years from paying any kind of tribute [n]. *Pauſanias* [o] ſpeaks of two magnificent temples in this iſland, the one conſecrated to *Venus*, the other to *Jupiter*; the ruins of a ſtately edifice, which are ſtill to be ſeen at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent village of *Engia*, are probably the remains of one of theſe temples. The country is ſaid to have been at firſt very ſtony and barren, but being inhabited by a laborious and thriving people, who digging up the earth cleared it of the ſtones, d it became very fruitful. From this their induſtry they were ſurnamed *Myrmidones*, that is *emmets*, as *Strabo* informs us [p], and not becauſe the emmets, as the poets feign, were at the prayers of *Æacus* changed into men to repeople the iſland, after all the ancient inhabitants, king *Æacus* alone excepted, had been ſwept away by a plague. This iſland was firſt peopled by the *Epidaurians*, who were originally *Dorians*, and afterwards by colonies from *Crete* and *Argos* [q]. Theſe were in proceſs of time driven out by the *Athenians*, who, making themſelves maſters of the iſland, divided the lands among themſelves, but did not hold them long, being driven out by the *Lacedæmonians*, who reſtored the iſland to the ancient proprietors [r]. The *Myrmidones* were not diſtinct people from thoſe we have already mentioned, this e being only a ſurname given to the inhabitants on account of their induſtry. The *Æginetes* applied themſelves very early to trade and navigation, and ſent colonies into the

[f] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. II. p. 510. [g] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [h] STRAB. l. viii. p. 254. [i] Idem ibid. & PAUSAN. Corinth. c. 33. [k] PLUT. in vita PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. & POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7. [l] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [m] STRAB. l. viii. p. 258. [n] TACIT. Annal. l. ii. [o] PAUSAN. in Corinth. c. 12. [p] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [q] STRAB. ibid. HERODOT. l. v. [r] STRAB. ibid.

(G) The *Sinus Saronicus*, or *Saronic* gulf, now called the gulf of *Engia*, lies between *Attica* to the north, and *Peloponneſus* to the ſouth, extending from *Cenchreæ* on the iſthmus of *Corinth* to the promontory of *Sunium* (59). It was named the *Saronic* gulf according to *Pliny* (60) from a grove of oaks called by the ancient *Greeks Saronides*. Some derive this appellation from a city, others from a harbour, and ſome from a river, which fell into this bay (61). It was alſo called the bay of *Salamis* from the iſland of that name, and bay of *Eleuſis* from that city. The entrance into the *Saronic* gulf is formed by two promontories, that of *Sunium* on the ſide of *Attica*, now ſtiled *Capo delle colonne*, from certain *columns* that are ſtill ſtanding there, and ſuppoſed to be the remains of a temple of *Minerva*; and that of *Scylla*, now *Capo di Scilli*, on the ſide of *Peloponneſus*. The bay, where broadeſt, is three and twenty miles over, its length twenty-five, and its compaſs fourſcore (62). *Strabo* and other geographers call the iſlands in this gulf the *Æacides*, becauſe they were held by the deſcendents of *Æacus* the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Ægina*.

(H) This is related by *Ovid* in the following lines (63).

OEnopiam Minos petit Æacidalia regna,
OEnopiam veteres appellavere, ſed ipſe
Æacus Æginam genitricis nomine dixit.

(59) *Strab. l.* viii. *p.* 254. (60) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 5. (61) *Vide Heſych. in hac voce.* (62) *Spon. Voyage, &c.* (63) *Ovid. Metamorph. l.* vii. *v.* 472.

the neighbouring islands, namely *Imbros* and *Crete*, the city of *Cydon* in the latter having been built, according to *Strabo* [s], and peopled by them. In the time of *Amasis* king of *Egypt* they erected a magnificent temple in *Neucratis*, a city of that country, to *Jupiter*, following therein, as *Herodotus* informs us [t], the example of the *Samians*, who in the same kingdom had built one in honour of *Juno*. *Ephorus*, as quoted by *Strabo* [u], tells us, that the first money was coined in *Ægina* by one *Phidon*. *Pliny* commends the brass of this island, preferring it even to that of *Delos*, and adds, that the famous statue of brass, representing an ox, which stood in the *forum boarium* at *Rome*, was carried from hence to adorn that capital [w].

THE *Æginetes* were first governed by kings, and afterwards formed themselves into a republic, which in process of time became so powerful as to vie with *Athens* herself. The first king that reigned there was *Æacus*, the son of *Dioneus* and grandson, as the poets feign, of *Æolus*. He was born in *Phocis*, whither his father *Dioneus*, or as others call him *Deion*, had carried a colony out of *Æolia*; from *Phocis* he led a colony into *Phthia*, where he married *Ægina* the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, and by a second migration went into the island of *Oenone*, where he settled. By his wife *Ægina* he had three sons, *Æacus*, *Mœnetius*, and *Irus*. *Æacus* the eldest succeeded his father *Æolus* in the kingdom of *Oenone*, which he called from his mother's name *Ægina*, and peopled with new colonies invited thither from the continent and neighbouring islands. His piety and justice in the administration of public affairs gave rise to the fable of his being appointed by *Pluto* judge of the *Europæans* after their death. He had by his first wife, named *Endeis*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, and by *Psamathe* his second *Phocus*. *Telamon* and *Peleus* conspiring against *Phocus* put him to death, on which account they were both banished the island by their father. *Æacus* is said to have assisted the *Athenians* against *Minos* king of *Crete*, and to have been the first who paid divine honours to *Hercules*. His descendents were called *acidæ*, and are much spoken of by all the ancients, having reigned in different countries, and most of them attained to a great pitch of power and glory. *Cicero* observes [x], that they were for the most part better warriors than statesmen, and *Justin*, that few of them attained to the thirtieth year of their age. *Æacus* was, according to *Macrobius* [y], about two generations older than the *Trojan* war, and the first who built a temple in *Greece*. As to the successors of *Æacus* in the island of *Ægina* we are quite in the dark. The monarchical form of government being abrogated, the *Æginetes* became subject, on what occasion we know not, to the *Epidaurians*, depending upon them, as *Herodotus* [z] informs us, in all things, and particularly in matters relating to the administration of justice. But afterwards applying themselves to navigation and the building of ships, they acquired great power by sea, revolted from the *Epidaurians*, ravaged their territory, and carried off, among other things, the two famous statues of *Damias* and *Auxesias* (I). This gave rise to an irrecon-

[s] STRAB. ibid. [t] HERODOT. l. v. [u] STRAB. l. viii. p. 258. [w] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [x] CIC. l. ii. de Divinat. [y] MACROB. adversus Gent. l. vi. p. 131. [z] HERODOT. l. v.

(I) The *Epidaurians*, seeing their country become unfruitful, sent to consult the oracle of *Delphos* about the cause of that calamity. The *Pythian* answered, that if they erected statues in honour of *Lamia*, or, as *Herodotus* calls her, *Damias*, and *Auxesias*, their affairs would prosper. *Lamia* and *Auxesias* were two virgins, who coming from *Crete* to *Trœzen*, a city of *Argia*, in time of a tumult, had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the people, by whom they were stoned to death. The *Epidaurians*, having received the aboveſaid answer, consulted the oracle anew to know whether the statues should be made of stone or brass; the *Pythian* replied, of neither, but of the wood of olive-tree. Upon this answer the *Epidaurians* desired leave of the *Athenians* to cut down an olive-tree in their territory, either because they believed those of that soil to be the most sacred, or, as others say, by reason olive-trees at that time grew in no other country. The *Athenians* shewed themselves ready to grant their request, provided, they promised to come annually to *Athens*, and there to offer sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Erechtheus*. This condition the *Epidaurians* accepted, and having obtained their request, they formed out of that wood two statues, which were no sooner erected than their country became fruitful again. In process of time the *Æginetes* having overcome the *Epidaurians* carried off these statues, and having erected them at a place called *Oia* in the middle of their island, to render them propitious they appointed sacrifices accompanied with dances to be performed by women in their honour, assigning to each statue ten men to preside in the solemnity. On this occasion the women who danced were allowed to abuse one another with opprobrious language, but not the men who presided. This they did in conformity to the former practice of the *Epidaurians*, who besides these used other ceremonies on this occasion not fit to be mentioned. After these statues were carried away by the *Æginetes*, the *Epidaurians* would no longer perform their contract with the *Athenians*, which they had religiously observed till that time, alledging, that the *Æginetes*, who were in possession of the statues, and not they, who were to their great sorrow deprived of them, lay under that obligation. Hereupon the *Athenians* dispatched a messenger to

Ægina

irreconcilable enmity between the *Æginetes* and *Athenians*, the effects whereof we have elſewhere related at length [a]. The iſland was at laſt reduced by the *Athenians*, and continued ſubject to them, till it was at the end of the *Macedonian* war declared free by the *Romans*, enjoying its liberty till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, when it underwent the ſame fate as the other ſtates of *Greece*.

Salamis. *Salamis*, now *Coluri*, lies in the ſame *Saronic* gulf about three leagues weſt of *Ægina*, over-againſt the city of *Eleuſis*, from which it is ſeparated by a ſtraight about a league over called antiently *Porthmos*, and at preſent *Perama* [b]. It was formerly known by the names of *Cychria*, from *Cychreus* the firſt king of the iſland, and of *Pityuſſa*, becauſe abounding with pine-trees called by the *Greeks Pytus* [c]. The name of *Salamis* it borrowed from *Salamine* the daughter of *Aſopus* king of *Bœotia*, whom *Neptune* is ſaid to have raviſhed and carried into this iſland. By her he had *Cychreus*, or *Cycherus*, the firſt who reigned in the iſland. As *Cychreus* died without children, he was ſucceeded by *Telamon*, the father of *Ajax* by *Heſione*, the ſiſter of *Priam* and the daughter of *Laomedon* king of *Troy* [d]; whence *Salamis* is ſtiled by *Virgil* the kingdom of *Heſione* [e]. It is according to *Strabo* between ſeventy and eighty ſurlongs in length, fifty miles in compaſs, and had antiently a city bearing the ſame name, and facing the iſland of *Ægina*. This city was deſtroyed, and another, called alſo *Salamis*, built on the coaſt over-againſt *Attica*, which was well peopled, and governed by its own laws in the time of *Auguſtus* [f]. This iſland will be ever famous in hiſtory for the ſignal victory gained here by the *Greeks* over the *Perſians*. It was firſt peopled by the *Ionians*, and afterwards by colonies from different cities of *Greece*. The form of government which firſt prevailed here was monarchical; but monarchy was of no long continuance, *Cychreus*, *Telamon*, *Euryſaces*, and *Philæus* being the only kings who reigned over the *Salaminians*. *Cychreus* is ſaid by *Diodorus* to have killed a dragon which infeſted the iſland; whence he had the name of *Ophis*; but *Stephanus* tells us, that he was ſo named on account of his crafty and inhuman temper. As *Cychreus* had no male iſſue, he appointed *Telamon*, the father of *Ajax*, his ſucceſſor. *Telamon* was ſucceeded by *Euryſaces*, the ſon of *Ajax* by *Tecmeſſa* the daughter of *Teuthras* the *Myſian*, *Teucer* the other ſon of *Telamon* being on his return from the ſiege of *Troy* baniſhed by his father, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Cyprus*, for not revenging on *Ulyſſes* the death of his brother *Ajax*. After the death of *Telamon*, *Teucer* attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but *Euryſaces*, entering into an alliance with the *Athenians*, defeated his deſigns, and left the ſovereignty of the iſland to his ſon, or, as others will have it, to his brother, *Philæus*, who of his own accord yielded the iſland to the *Athenians*, and retiring

[a] Hiſt. Univer. Vol. II. p. 458, 459, 487, 538. [b] STRAB. l. viii. PAUSAN. Attic. c. 35. [c] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. STRAB. ubi ſupra. [d] SCHOLIAST. in Lycoph. [e] VIRGIL. Æneid. v. 157. [f] STRAB. ubi ſupra.

Ægina to demand the ſtatues, which the *Æginetes* refuſing to deliver, they ſent a ſhip with ſome of their citizens to *Ægina*, injoining them in caſe of a refuſal to uſe violence. Theſe attempting to pull down the ſtatues were ſo terrified by a dreadful earthquake, accompanied with thunder and lightening, that they became outrageouſly mad, and fell upon one another with ſuch fury, that one only remained alive, who made his eſcape to *Phaleron* in *Attica*. Thus the *Athenians* relate the ſtory. But the *Æginetes* tell us, that the *Athenians* arrived in their iſland with a numerous fleet, and not, as is pretended, with a ſingle ſhip, which they could have eaſily reſiſted. They add, that having landed their men without oppoſition, they marched directly to the ſtatues, which, as they endeavoured to pull them down with ropes, fell on their knees, and ever after continued in that poſture. Notwithſtanding this miracle, the *Athenians* perſiſted in their reſolution of carrying off the ſtatues; but in the mean time the *Argians*, at the requeſt of the *Æginetes*, having privately entered the iſland, cut off their retreat to the ſhips, and put them all to the ſword, one man only excepted, who, as the *Athenians* affirm, ſoon periſhed in the following manner: Having on his return to *Athens* given an account of this diſaſter, the wives of thoſe who had been killed in the iſland of *Ægina*, highly incenſed that one man alone ſhould be left alive of the whole number, crowded about him, and aſking for their huſbands killed him with the points of their pins. This action gave the *Athenians* more uneaſineſs than their defeat; and as they could not any other ways puniſh the women, they obliged them to change their dreſs, which was after the *Dorian* faſhion, and to wear the *Ionian* habit, that is, a linen veſt not faſtened with any pins. From this event a cuſtom was introduced among the *Argians* and *Æginetes* of making pins by three fourths larger than before. Of theſe pins conſiſted the chief offerings that were dedicated in the temples by the women of *Ægina*, who in deſpite to the *Athenians* uſed, even in our Hiſtorian's time, pins of an extraordinary ſize (64). This was the original of the enmity between the *Æginetes* and *Athenians*, which at laſt ended in the ruin of the former, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Athens* (65).

(64) *Herodot. l.* v. *Pauſan. in Corinth.* (65) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. II. p.* 487.

retiring to *Athens* led there a private life. From him the tribe of the *Philiadæ*, of which was *Piſiſtratus*, borrowed its name [g]; but his deſcendents, among whom were *Miltiades* and *Alcibiades*, were called *Euryſacidæ* from *Euryſaces*. The iſland of *Salamis* was taken from the *Athenians* by the *Megareans*, and held by them till the time of *Solon*, who, being originally a *Salaminian*, prevailed upon the *Athenians* to attempt the recovery of that iſland. Their attempt was attended with ſucceſs, and the *Salaminians* again brought under ſubjection to *Athens*; in which ſtate they continued till the reign of *Caſſander*, whom they joined againſt the *Athenians*, and were on that account driven from their ancient habitations, a new colony being ſent from *Attica* to take poſſeſſion of their lands and eſtates. After the reduction of *Athens* by *Sylla*, *Salamis* was declared free, and enjoyed its freedom till it was with the other ſtates of *Greece* reduced by *Veſpaſian* to a *Roman* province.

Eubœa. THE iſland of *Eubœa* went antiently by the name of *Chalcis*, *Ellopia*, *Conia*, *Abantis*, or *Abantia*, *Macris*, *Oche*, *Bomo*, &c. [h] The name of *Chalcis*, which was common to the iſland, with its capital, *Stephanus* derives from *Chalce* the daughter of *Aſopus* king of *Bœotia*, and *Pliny* from a *Greek* word ſignifying *braſs*, which he ſuppoſes to have been firſt made uſe of here [i]. It was called *Ellopia* from *Ellops* the ſon of *Ion*, who ſettled in this iſland; *Conia* from the *Cones*; *Abantia* from the *Abantes*, or, as *Strabo* inſinuates, from one *Abas* an antient hero; *Macris* or *Macra* from its *narrowneſs*, that being the import of the *Greek* word, or from a nymph of that name, as the poets will have it by whom they feign *Bacchus* to have been nurſed in a cave of this iſland; *Oche* from a high mountain; *Bomo* from the cattle, with which it was well ſtored, the antient *Arabian* word *Bomo* or *Bohmo*, ſignifying, according to *Heſychius*, *cattle*, or *herds of cattle*. This appellation is perhaps the moſt antient of all, the iſland having been firſt peopled, as *Strabo* informs us, by the inhabitants of *Arabia* and *Phœnice*. The name of *Eubœa*, according to ſome writers, was borrowed from an antient heroine, according to others from a famous cave on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, called by the *Greek Boos Cule*, or *the Ox-ſtall*; but the common opinion is, that it was ſo named from its excellent paſtures. The name of *Eubœa* was changed in latter ages into that of *Egripos*, which is perhaps a corruption of the word *Euripus*; from *Egripos* was probably formed the modern name of *Negropont*; for the *Franks* or weſtern *Chriſtians*, who firſt reſorted to this iſland, being unacquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and hearing the inhabitants ſay, *eis ton Egripon*, that is, *to Egripos*, took the name of the country to be *Negripon*, or *Negripont*. In like manner from miſunderſtanding the words *eis ton Delon*, *to Delos*, they formed *Sdelos*, *Sdillos*, and *Lisdelos*, all modern names of the ſaid iſland. Some have fooliſhly imagined, that *Eubœa* was called *Negroponte* from its being joined to the continent by a bridge of black ſtone, the word *Negroponte* ſignifying in *Italian a black bridge*. This iſland lies oppoſite to the continent of *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and *Locris*, extending from cape *Sunium*, now *Capo delle colonne*, in *Attica* as far as *Theſſaly* [k]. It was formerly joined to *Bœotia*, as *Pliny* informs us [l], by an iſthmus, as it is at preſent by a bridge; ſo narrow in ſome places is the *Euripus* (K), which

[g] PAUSAN. in Attic. PLATO in Alcibiad. CALABER. l. iii. HERODOT. l. i. PLUT. ubi ſupra.
[h] STRAB. l. x. PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [i] PLIN. ibid. [k] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [l] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

(K) That canal, or ſtrait, which divides *Eubœa* from *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and *Locris*, was called by the antients *Euripus*. It is ſo narrow over-againſt the capital, that a galley can ſcarce paſs through it. The agitations of the *Euripus* are, as every one knows, much ſpoke of by the antients. Some, among whom *Antiphilus* of *Byzantium*, ſay, that the whole canal has a flux and reflux only ſix times in four and twenty hours; but *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Seneca* the tragedian, and *Suidas* agree, that it ebbs and flows ſeven times a day. *Livy* does not allow this flux and reflux to be ſo regular. Father *Babin*, a jeſuit of great learning, who made many obſervations on the ſpot, during his long abode in the iſland of *Negropont*, tells us, that the *Euripus* is regular in its ebbing and flowing the firſt eight days of the moon; the ſame regularity he obſerved from the fourteenth to the twentieth day inclusively, and in the three laſt days; but in the other days of the lunar month it is not ſo regular, for it ſometimes ebbs and flows eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen times in the ſpace of a natural day. This irregularity, the cauſes of which both antients and moderns have ſought for in vain, became proverbial among the *Greeks*; whence the expreſſions Ἄνθρωπος Εὔριπος, Εὔριπος διάνοια, Εὐριπίζειν, &c. to ſignify *the caprices of an uncertain and fluctuating mind*. In this ſenſe *Cicero* compares the *Comitia* or aſſemblies of the *Roman* people to the commotions and agitations of the *Euripus* (65). *Juſtin* the martyr and *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* ſay, that *Ariſtotle* died of grief, becauſe he could not diſcover the cauſes of the flux and reflux of the *Euripus*; and the teſtimony of theſe fathers, uncertain

at

(65) *Cic. in orat. pro Murena.*

which divides it from the continent. It extends from north-east to south-west a hundred and fifty miles; but its breadth bears no proportion to its length, being, according to *Pliny* and most of the modern geographers, forty miles over where broadest, and only twenty where narrowest. It is three hundred and sixty-five miles in compass, and has several remarkable promontories stretching a great way into the sea. *Pliny* and *Mela* mention three, *Geraſtus* and *Caphareus* to the south, and *Cenæum* to the north; *Geraſtus* faces *Attica*, *Caphareus* the *Hellespont*, and *Cenæum* the country of *Locris* and *Thermopylæ* [m]. *Strabo* mentions a fourth, which he calls *Petalia* and places over-against *Sunium* [n]. *Artemiſium*, which faces the *Pegaſæan* gulf and is famous for the firſt victory gained by the *Greeks* over the fleet of king *Xerxes*, is counted by *Cornelius Nepos* [o] and *Plutarch* [p] among the promontories of *Eubœa*. The ſame writers tell us, that on the top of *Artemiſium* ſtood a temple or rather a chapel conſecrated to *Diana*, ſurnamed *Proſœa*, that is *eaſtern*. *Pliny* ſpeaks of *Artemiſium* as a town, and not a promontory. The doubling of cape *Caphareus* was in former times, when navigation was, we may ſay, in its infancy, reckoned very dangerous, on account of the many rocks and whirlpools on that coaſt much ſpoke of by the ancients [q]. Among theſe rocks the *Grecian* fleet, returning from *Troy* under the command of *Agamemnon*, was ſhipwrecked by the treachery of *Nauplius* king of *Eubœa*, who, underſtanding that his ſon *Palamedes* had been unjuſtly condemned by the artifice and intrigues of *Ulyſſes* and *Diomedes*, reſolved to revenge his death with the deſtruction of the whole fleet. To this end, as the *Greeks* were in all likelihood to ſail that way on their return from *Troy*, he cauſed fires to be made on the tops of the moſt dangerous rocks, not doubting but they would take them, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, for tokens of a ſafe harbour, and thither ſteer their courſes. This malicious device had the deſired effect, two hundred ſhips and upwards being daſhed to pieces, and many thouſands of men periſhing in the whirlpools. However, *Ulyſſes* and *Diomedes*, whoſe ruin *Nauplius* chiefly deſigned, had the good luck to eſcape the common calamity, which ſo grieved the king of *Eubœa*, that he threw himſelf headlong from one of thoſe very rocks, and periſhed in the ſea. *Caphareus* is at preſent, according to *Sophian* and *Niger*, called *Capo d'Oro*, *Capo Chimi*, and *Capo Figera*. Cape *Cenæum*, now *Capo Liter* from a neighbouring town of that name, is ſuppoſed by the poets to have been called *Cenæum* from *Cenæus* an antient hero, whom *Neptune*, ſay they, rendered invulnerable. On this promontory ſtood a temple conſecrated to *Jupiter*, ſurnamed from the place *Cenæus*. From *Cenæum* to *Geraſtus*, now *Capo Roſſo*, *Strabo* meaſures the length of the iſland, theſe two promontories being according to him twelve hundred furlongs diſtant from each other, which meaſure agrees exactly with the length of the iſland, as ſet down by *Pliny*. In *Eubœa* are ſeveral high mountains covered great part of the year with ſnow; namely, *Oche* the higheſt of the whole iſland, *Telethrus*, *Dryphis*, *Nedon*, *Cotyleus*, and *Chalcis*, whence the city of that name, which ſtood under it, was called *Hypochalcis*. On mount *Dryphis* was a famous temple dedicated to *Diana*, worſhipped there under the name of *Dryphas*. The following rivers are mentioned by *Strabo*, viz. *Callas*, *Budorus*, *Cireæus*, and *Neleus*, or, as others call it, *Melas*. The two latter, if that author is to be credited, had very different or rather oppoſite qualities, the wool of the ſheep that drank their waters turning white by thoſe of the *Cireæus*, and black by thoſe of the *Neleus* [r]. The ſame virtue *Pliny* aſcribes to the *Melas* and *Cephiſſus*, two rivers of *Bœotia*. That writer ſpeaks of another river in *Eubœa* called *Lelas*, which watered the territory of *Lelantum*; and *Strabo* of a fountain in the ſame territory, which he calls *Arethuſa*; but *Stephanus* will have *Arethuſa* to be the name of a city, and not of a fountain. The champain country of *Eubœa* is exceeding fruitful, yielding great plenty of corn, oil, wine, and all ſorts of delicious fruit; but it was chiefly famous for its rich paſtures, which the *Athenians*, as *Thucydides* informs us [s], made uſe of even before the *Peloponneſian* war to fatten their cattle.

THIS

[m] PLIN. ibid. [n] STRAB. l. x. ſub. init. [o] CORN. NEPOS, in Themiſt. c. 3. [p] PLUT. in Themiſt. p. 115. [q] Vide SENEC. Agamem. v. 558. VIRGIL. Æneid. l. ix. v. 260. OVID. Triſt. l. i. Eleg. 1. v. 83. SIL. Ital. l. xiv. v. 144. TERTULLIAN. de Animal. c. 52. [r] STRAB. l. x. [s] THUCYD. l. i.

as it is, gave riſe to the fabulous tradition, that this philoſopher leaped into the *Euripus*, out of vexation at his not being able to account for its irregular motions, ſaying at the ſame time, *Since I cannot comprehend the ſea, let the ſea comprehend me.*

THIS island had in formers times many cities of great note, mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Mela*. On the eastern coast, between the two promontories of *Geræstus* and *Caphareus*, stood the cities of *Geræstus*, *Petalia*, and *Carystus*. *Petalia* is mentioned only by *Strabo* [t]; and *Geræstus* by *Homer* [u] and *Livy* [w], who speak of it not as a city, but a famous haven. In the time of *Stephanus* it was a village. *Carystus*, or, as *Ptolemy* writes it, *Caryste*, now *Castel rosso*, stood, according to *Strabo* and *Livy*, at the foot of mount *Oche*, and was so called from *Carystus* the son of *Chiron*. It was also known by the names of *Chironia* from *Chiron*, and *Ægea* from *Ægon*, who reigned here, and is supposed by *Stephanus* to have given his name to the *Ægean* sea. The inhabitants of *Carystus* worshipped the giant *Briareus*, who according to *Homer* was the same with *Ægeon*, adored by the *Chalcidians*, the name of *Ægeon* being given him, as that poet informs us, by men, and that of *Briareus* by the immortal gods. Near *Carystus* were the two small villages of *Styra* and *Marmarium*, and at a small distance from the latter the famous quarries of marble in great request among the *Romans*, to whom it was known by the name of *Carystian* marble [x]. Here also was dug up the wonderful stone called *Amianthos* or *Asbestos*, whereof cloth was made, for it was spun and drawn into thread like hemp or flax, which, however stained, recovered, if *Strabo* is to be credited [y], its first gloss and beauty, if kept some time in the flames. *Styra* was first peopled by the inhabitants of *Marathon*, a city of *Attica*, and was destroyed in the *Lamian* war by *Phædrus* the *Athenian* commander, who bestowed its territory on the *Eretrians*. About five miles from *Carystus*, on the coast facing *Attica* and *Bœotia*, stood the village of *Amarynthus*, famous for a temple of *Diana*, surnamed from thence *Amarynthia*. *Stephanus* speaks of *Amarynthus* as a separate island, wherein he was certainly mistaken. On the same coast, over-against *Oropus* in *Attica*, stood the antient city of *Eretria*, the next, according to *Strabo*, in greatness, beauty, and wealth to *Chalcis*. It borrowed the name of *Eretria* from *Eretreus* the son of *Phaeton*, one of the *Titans*, and was built, according to *Strabo*, by the *Athenians* before the *Trojan* war. *Herodotus* tells us [z], that it was peopled by *Æclus* and *Clothus*, two *Athenians*, after the destruction of *Troy*. Other writers will have it to be a colony of another city in *Attica* bearing the same name. Be that as it will, *Eretria* was in the earliest ages a place of great renown, and at the height of its glory, as *Strabo* informs us [a], in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. The same writer mentions a pillar erected by the *Eretrians* in the temple of *Diana Amarynthia* with an inscription, the purport of which was, that they had triumphed with three thousand soldiers, six hundred horses, and sixty chariots. They were long masters of the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, and *Cos*, and carried on a war with the *Chalcidians*, which *Thucydides* stiles *the antient war*. *Strabo* mentions a school of philosophers founded here by *Menedemus*, and called the *Eretrian* school. The antient city of *Eretria* was destroyed by the *Persians*, and another, known by the name of *New Eretria*, built near the ruins of the former, which were still to be seen in *Strabo*'s time. The new city was overstocked, as we read in *Livy* [b], in proportion to its bigness and other riches, with pictures, statues, and ornaments of the like nature. The *Eretrians* in their speech used not only to add the letter R to the end, but insert it in the middle of their words; for which uncouth pronunciation they were ridiculed by the other *Greeks* [c]. The city of *Eretria* in *Thessaly* and those which stood in the neighbourhood of *Pallene* and *Athos* in *Macedonia* are said by *Strabo* to have been built and peopled by the *Eretrians* of *Eubœa*. In the territory of *Eretria* stood *Oechalia*, formerly a city, but in *Pliny*'s time a village. *Strabo* likewise calls it a village, and adds, that the antient city was destroyed by *Hercules* [d], which is confirmed by *Ovid* [e]. On the same coast, over-against *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, stood *Chalcis* the metropolis of the whole island, known to the antients by the names of *Eubœa*, *Stymphelos*, *Halicarna*, and *Hypochalcis*. The name of *Chalcis*, which prevailed over all the rest, is supposed to have been borrowed from the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, called *Combe*, and surnamed *Chalcis* from her having first invented brazen armour. *Chalcis* was built by *Æclus* and *Clothus*, according to some before, according to others after, the *Trojan* war, and is celebrated by all the antients as a most magnificent, populous, and wealthy city. The *Chalcidians*

[t] STRAB. ubi supra. [u] HOMER. Odyss. γ. v. 177. [w] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 45. [x] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 6. TIBULL. l. iii. Eleg. 3. [y] STRAB. ubi supra. [z] HERODOT. l. v. [a] STRAB. ubi supra. [b] LIV. l. xxxii. c. 16. [c] STRAB. ubi supra. [d] STRAB. ibid. p. 308. [e] OVID. de Ponto, l. iv. Epist. 8. v. 61.

a *cidians* applied themſelves early to navigation, and ſent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Corcyra*, *Italy*, *Lemnos*, &c. in all which places were cities, as *Ariſtotle* quoted by *Strabo* informs us, built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* [e]. The *Chalcidians* are more commended by the ancients on account of their courage and bravery than for their morals, having been in all times infamous even among the *Greeks* for their unnatural luſt. Their avarice was a ſtanding topic of ridicule, as *Heſychius* informs us, among the ancient comedians [f]. *Chalcis* ſtood on the narroweſt part of the *Euripus*, being joined to *Bœotia* by a bridge; which ſituation agrees with that of the preſent city of *Negropont*. It was one of the three cities, which *Philip* the ſon of *Demetrius* uſed to call *the fetters of Greece* [g]. Between
b *Chalcis* and the promontory *Cenæum* ſtood the cities of *Ædepſum* and *Oreos*. The former was famous for its hot baths mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who commend them under the name of the hot baths of *Hercules*. Near theſe iſſued ſuddenly out of the earth, if *Athenæus* is to be credited, in the reign of *Antigonus*, a ſpring of cold water, which, as it performed moſt ſtupendous cures, drew crowds of people to it from the moſt remote nations. But the governors of *Antigonus*, to whom *Eubœa* was then ſubject, obliging thoſe who uſed the waters to pay a certain tax, the ſpring immediately diſappeared. The city of *Oreos*, built, according to *Homer*, during the *Trojan* war, was formerly one of the moſt powerful cities of *Eubœa*, the fourth part of the iſland belonging to the *Oreans* in the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*.
c In the ſeveral revolutions of *Greece* it became ſubject to different maſters, and, after it had undergone many changes, was by *Pericles* brought under ſubjection to the *Athenians*, who ſent thither a new colony, after having driven out the ancient inhabitants, and obliged them to retire into a canton of *Theſſaly* called *Heſtiotides*. The newly tranſplanted *Athenians* changed the name of *Oreos*, which was given it becauſe built on a hill, into that of *Iſtiæa* or *Heſtiæa*, which was the name of their tribe. The territory of *Oreos* was famous for its vineyards, whence it is by *Homer* diſtinguiſhed with the epithet of *Polyſtaphylos*, that is, *abounding with vines*. *Goltzius* produces a medal of *Iſtiæa* with an ox on one ſide, alluding to the excellent paſtures
d of *Eubœa*, and bunches of grapes on the other, to ſhew the nature of the ſoil. In *Pliny*'s time this city was no-ways conſiderable; and now it is only a ſmall village called *Oreo*. Theſe are the cities of note on the coaſt facing *Attica* and *Bœotia*. On the north-ſide of the iſland, over-againſt *Theſſaly* and extending from *Cenæum* to *Artemiſium*, ſtood *Dia* or *Athenæ Diades*, founded by one *Dias* an *Athenian*, who called it after his own name and that of his native city, *Athenæ Diades*. This *Dios* was, according to *Stephanus*, the ſon of *Abas*, and brother of *Aleo* and *Arethuſa*. The inhabitants of *Dia* peopled the city of *Canæ* in *Æolis*. *Ptolemy* calls *Dia* or *Dium* only a promontory. On the coaſt, which is waſhed by the *Ægean* ſea, ſtood the city of *Cerinthus*, built, according to *Strabo*, by *Ellops* the ſon of *Ion*, and brother of
e *Æclus* and *Cothus*. *Pliny* counts this among the ancient cities of note in *Eubœa* [h]. *Homer* mentions both *Dium* and *Cerinthus*, calling the latter a maritime city, and the other a high town [i]. The inland cities mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are *Eliopia*, *Nyſa*, *Eubœa*, *Orabiæ*, *Rhamnus*, *Porthmus*, *Algæ*, and *Tamine*. *Ellopia*, according to *Strabo*, ſtood at the foot of mount *Telebrium*, and was ſo called, as was alſo the whole iſland, from *Ellops* its founder, who, as the ſame author tells us, was the ſon of *Xuthus* and grandſon of *Helleus*. The inhabitants of this city after the battle at *Leuctra* were obliged by the tyrant *Philiſtides* to abandon their native country and ſettle at *Iſtiæa* [k]. *Algæ* ſtood over-againſt *Anthedon*, the laſt maritime city of *Bœotia* on the ſide of *Locris*. *Strabo* calls it the *Euboic Algæ*, and
f alſo *Æges*, to difference it from two other cities of that name, the one in *Achaia* near the river *Araxis*, the other in *Æolis*. The ſame author is of opinion, that from this place, once famous for a temple of *Neptune*, the *Ægean* ſea borrowed its name. In the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* war the city of *Orobiæ* was in great part overthrown by an earthquake, and laid under water by the ſea, which on that occaſion broke in [l].

THE moſt ancient inhabitants of *Eubœa* were the *Titans*, according to *Solinus* [m], who by the kingdom of the *Titans* underſtands the iſland of *Eubœa*. But this opinion is only founded on the religious worſhip which the inhabitants paid to *Briareus* and

[e] STRAB. ibid. [f] Vide ERAS. Chiliad. [g] POLYB. l. xvii. c. 40. [h] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [i] HOMER. catalog. v. 45. [k] STRAB. l. x. ſub initium. [l] THUCYD. l. iii. [m] SOLIN. c. 10.

and *Ægeon*, two of that race, or rather one known by two different names. Other a
writers, taking no notice of the *Titans*, ſuppoſe the *Abantes* to have firſt peopled the iſland. Theſe took the name of *Abantes* from *Abas* a city of *Thrace*, whence they paſſed over into *Eubœa*, which from them was named *Abantis* and *Abantia*. This is the opinion of *Ariſtotle*, as quoted by *Strabo*; but others pretend, that they were called *Abantes* from *Abas* their leader, who was the firſt that reigned in the iſland. The learned *Reineccius* takes the *Abantes* to be the *Arabians*, who, according to *Strabo*, followed *Cadmus* into *Eubœa* and ſettled there. *Herodotus* counts the *Abantes* of *Eubœa* among the people of *Ionian* extraction [n]. *Homer* gives them the epithet of *brave*, and repreſents them with a long lock of hair on the back-part of their head; from which deſcription his interpreter *Euſtathius* concludes the *Curetes* and b
Abantes to be one and the ſame people; which was the opinion of *Archemagus*, an ancient *Eubœan* writer quoted by *Strabo* (L). 'Tis remarkable, that *Homer*, who often ſtiles the iſland *Eubœa*, yet never calls the inhabitants *Eubœans*, but conſtantly *Abantes*. The *Pelaſgians* likewiſe abandoning *Peloponneſus* ſettled in this iſland [o], which on that account is called *Pelaſgia* by the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius*. To theſe *Diodorus Siculus* adds the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Eleans*, and *Dryopes*. The latter being driven from *Phocis* by *Hercules*, after the death of their king *Phylas*, ſettled partly in *Eubœa*, where they built *Caryſtus*, and partly in *Cyprus* and *Peloponneſus* [p].

Eubœa muſt have been formerly a very conſiderable ſtate, ſince it is by the ancients ſtiled *the queen of the Ægean*, and by *Herodotus* equalled to the iſland of *Crete* itſelf. c
The *Chalcidians*, *Eretrians*, and *Caryſtians* were deemed expert mariners, and courted by the contending powers of thoſe days. They ſent forty ſhips, a grand armada in thoſe times, to the war of *Troy* under the conduct of their king *Elephenor*, and are ſaid, at leaſt by the poets, to have given on that occaſion proofs of an uncommon valour.

THE firſt form of government which prevailed in *Eubœa* was monarchical. *Solinus* dates the beginning of the *Eubœan* kingdom from the time of the *Titans*, which it is no eaſy matter to define. Others, taking no notice of the *Titans*, ſuppoſe *Abas* to have been the firſt who reigned in *Eubœa*. He was, according to *Homer* and *Euſtathius* [q], the ſon of *Neptune* and the nymph *Arethuſa*. By the ſons of *Neptune* d
the ancients meant expert mariners, or princes powerful by ſea. *Iſaacius Tzetzes* tells us, that he was killed inadvertently by his grandſon *Elephenor*, who being provoked at ſeeing a ſlave, who led him in his old age, perform that duty without the due care, diſcharged a blow at him with a club; but miſſing the ſlave unfortunately killed the prince [r]. *Abas*, according to *Homer* and the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius*, had by his wife *Aglaia* two ſons, *Chalcodon* and *Canethus*. *Chalcodon*, who ſucceeded his father, made war upon the *Thebans*, reduced their city, and obliged them to ſubmit to an annual tribute. He was afterwards overcome and killed by *Amphitryon* the father of the *Theban Hercules*. Upon his death the *Thebans* recovered their ancient liberty. *Plutarch*, who mentions this war, calls the place, where the battle was fought and e
Chalcodon killed, *Leuctra* [s]. From this king *Homer* ſtiles the *Eubœans Chalcodontidæ* [t]. *Canethus*, who according to *Apollonius* [u] gave his name to a mountain of *Eubœa*, had a ſon named *Canthus*, who attended *Jaſon* in his expedition into *Colchis*, and loſt his life in that enterprize. *Chalcodon* had by his wife *Imonarete* two ſons, *Elephenor* and *Pyræchmes*. The latter renewed the war againſt the *Thebans* and *Bœotians*; but being overcome and taken priſoner by *Hercules*, he was tied to two horſes, his arms to one, and his legs to the other, and cruelly torn aſunder [w]. *Elephenor* was baniſhed for killing his grandfather, as we have related above. But as his countrymen were preparing to ſet out for the *Trojan* war, he drew near the *Euripus*, and ſtanding on a rock on the *Bœotian* ſide of the ſtreight, he invited them f
to

[n] HERODOT. l. i. [o] DION. HALICAR. l. i. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. l. x. [q] HOMER. Iliad. β'.
[r] ISAAC TZETZES in Caſſandr. Lycophron. [s] PLUT. in amat. narrat. [t] Vide EUSTATH. in Iliad. β'.
[u] APOLLON. Argonaut. l. i. & iv. [w] PLUT. in parall.

(L) *Archemagus* was a native of *Eubœa*, wrote ſeveral books on the animals, and other remarkable things of that iſland, and is often quoted and commended by *Athenæus*. This ancient writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Chalcis* and *Eretria*, diſagreeing about a certain field called *Campus Lelantus*, came to an engagement, wherein the *Eretrians* cloſeing with the *Chalcidians*, and taking hold of them by their long hair, eaſily overcame them. Whereupon the *Chalcidians*, to prevent misfortunes of the like nature for the future, cut off their hair, leaving out of ſuperſtition but one lock on the back part of their heads. From this manner of ſhaving they were called, according to *Archemagus*, *Curetes*; ſo that the *Curetes*, who are ſaid to have once inhabited *Chalcis*, were originally *Abantes*.

a to assemble, convinced the assembly of his innocence, and prevailed upon them not only to restore him to his native country, but to entrust him with the command of the fleet, consisting of forty ships, which was ready to set sail for *Troy*. In this war *Elephenor*, if we believe *Homer* [x], gave proofs of an extraordinary valour; but was at last killed by *Agenor*. After the destruction of *Troy* the *Abantes* or *Eubœans* on their return home joined the *Locrians* of *Thronium*, and landing near the *Ceraunian* mountains possessed themselves of the adjacent country, and built there a city; the city they called *Thronium*, but the country *Abantis*, and held them both till they were many years after driven out by the inhabitants of *Apollonia* [y]. Some writers tell us, that, upon the death of *Elephenor*, *Nauplius* the father of *Palamedes* was placed upon the
b throne of *Eubœa*; but others are of opinion, that the *Eubœans* immediately after the *Trojan* war formed themselves into a republic, or rather into several small republics, most of their cities being governed by their own laws and quite independent of each other. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis* the cities of *Chalcis*, *Eretria*, *Carystus*, and *Oreos* were so many distinct republics, governed by the nobles, whom they called *Hippobates*, that is, *horsemen*, none being admitted into the administration, but such as could maintain a certain number of horses; whence it is manifest, that oligarchy prevailed at that time in those cities. But this form of government was frequently disturbed, either by the unruly multitude introducing in its room a democracy, or by domestic tyrants, who, taking all the power into their own hands, ruled in their
c respective cities without controul. Among these we find the following tyrants mentioned by the ancients as reigning in the city of *Chalcis*, *Antileon*, *Phoxus*, *Menesarchus*, *Callias*, and *Taurosthenes*. The two first are spoke of by *Aristotle*, who tells us, that *Phoxus* was put to death by the incensed multitude [z]. *Menesarchus* committed great devastations in the territories of the *Athenians* without any sort of provocation; but in the mean time the *Thebans* having made a descent in the island, with a design to drive out the tyrants, and restore the cities to their former state of liberty and independence, *Menesarchus* had recourse to the *Athenians*, who, notwithstanding the injuries he had done them, hastened to his assistance, and in the space of thirty days obliged the *Thebans* to abandon the island, and leave the tyrants in the
d possession of their usurped power. *Menesarchus* had two sons, *Callias* and *Taurosthenes*, and was succeeded by the former, who, unmindful of the favours his father had received from the *Athenians*, joined *Philip* of *Macedon*, their declared enemy; but, being overcome by *Phocion* the *Athenian* general, and disgraced by *Philip*, he was obliged to sue for peace, which the *Athenians* generously granted him, and even assisted him to the utmost of their power against *Philip* and the *Thebans*, who had invaded his territories. When he saw himself attacked at once by two such powerful enemies, he went in person to *Athens*, and there in an assembly of the people pronounced an oration composed by *Demosthenes*, which had so good an effect on their minds, that they not only forgot his ungrateful behaviour, but resolved to send troops
e without delay to his assistance. By this means he withstood the efforts of his enemies, and maintained his power to his death [a]. *Taurosthenes*, according to some writers, succeeded him, according to others died before him. If he outlived him, he did nothing after he was vested with the supreme power, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity.

In the city of *Eretria* reigned the following tyrants; *Diagoras*, who, as *Aristotle* informs us [b], having driven out the *Hippobates*, took the whole power into his own hands: *Themison*, who took the city of *Oropus* from the *Athenians*, and stirred up the *Thebans* against them; but afterwards changing his mind entered into an alliance with *Athens*, and assisted his new allies in the recovery of *Oropus* [c]. *Plutarchus*, who,
f being overcome in a pitched battle by the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the succours sent him from *Athens*, was driven out by his own subjects, and obliged to abandon the island [d]. Upon his flight the *Eretrians* recovered their ancient liberty, which they did not long enjoy; for divisions and parties arising among the citizens, some of them favouring *Philip* of *Macedon*, and others the *Athenians*, *Philip* took advantage of these disturbances, and, by means of one *Hipponicus* having made himself master of the city, put the whole power into the hands of *Hipparchus*, *Automedon*, and

[x] Homer. Iliad 3'. [y] Pausan. in Bœot. [z] Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. 4. & 12. [a] Æschin. in Orat. contra Ctesiph. [b] Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. 6. [c] Demosth. pro Ctesiph. Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. Æschin. de falsa legat. & contra Ctesiph. [d] Plut. in Phocione. Pausan. in Attic. Ulpian. in Orat. contra Midiam. Æschin. ubi supra.

and *Clitarchus*, who were all at the head of the *Macedonian* faction. But they were a
soon driven out by *Phocion* the *Athenian*, who restored the *Eretrians* to the enjoyment of their former liberty [e]. The city of *Oreos* was cruelly harassed by one *Philistides*, who was supported in his tyranny by *Philip*. He held also the city of *Ellopia*, which he obliged the inhabitants to abandon, and retire to *Oreos* [f]. Besides the tyrants of particular cities, we find one *Tynnondus* mentioned by *Plutarch* [g] as lord of the whole island; but all we know of him is, that he was contemporary with *Solon* the legislator, and that he governed with great equity and moderation [h]. The wars of the *Eubœans*, with the *Athenians*, *Persians*, and *Spartans*, we have described in the foregoing volume [i]; and therefore shall only add here, that they submitted first to *Philip*, and then to his son *Alexander*, after whose death they shook off the b
Macedonian yoke, but were by *Antigonus* brought anew under subjection. When the *Romans* first passed over into *Greece*, the island of *Eubœa* was subject to the kings of *Macedon*, but soon after declared free by a decree of the senate, in order to weaken the power of *Philip* in those parts. *Antiochus*, surnamed *the great*, and *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* were in their turns masters of *Eubœa*; but the *Romans* prevailing in the east restored the *Eubœans* to their former state of liberty. *Mark Antony* subjected them to *Athens*; but *Augustus*, incensed against the *Athenians* for siding with his rival, declared free first the city of *Eretria*, and soon after the whole island, which was governed by its own laws, and continued in a flourishing condition till the reign of *Vespasian*, when it underwent the same fate as the other states c
of *Greece*.

In the *Euripus*, now gulf of *Negropont*, *Pliny* places the island of *Atalanta*, which is mentioned also by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, and the *Petaliæ*, so called because they lie over-against the city of *Petalia* in *Eubœa*. They are four in number, but rocks rather than islands. Some writers rank *Anticyra*, famous for its hellebore, among the islands of the *Ægean* sea, and place it in the *Pegasean* bay between *Eubœa* and *Thessaly* over-against mount *Oeta*; but *Strabo*, a most accurate writer, though well acquainted with the other *Greek* islands, seems to have been quite a stranger to this. He mentions indeed two cities of this name, the one on the coast of *Phocis* near *Cirra* on the side of *Bœotia* [k]; the other, which he commends for its hellebore, as *Pausanias* does the former [l], on the banks of the *Sperchius*, at an equal distance from mount *Oeta* and the *Maliac* gulf [m]; but he no-where speaks of an island bearing the name of *Anticyra*; and his silence inclines us, notwithstanding the authority of *Pliny*, *Gellius*, and some modern geographers, to believe, that there was no such island; the more because neither *Pliny* nor *Gellius* give us any account of its situation, but only tell us, that the island of *Anticyra* was famous for its hellebore, mistaking in all likelihood one of the abovementioned cities for an island. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and take our leave of the *Ægean* or *Archipelago*, having visited with *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, the best guides of antiquity, all the islands of note in that sea, without suffering any thing to escape our notice, which those eminent anti- e
quaries have thought worthy of observation. The present account, with that which we have delivered in the foregoing volume, of the several *Greek* states in *Europe* and *Asia*, completes, we may say without presumption, the most distinct and extensive history of *Greece* that has hitherto appeared in any language.

[e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Plut. in Apoph. Demosth. Orat. 3. in Philippum, & in Orat. pro Ctesiph. [f] Strab. l. x. Demosth. Orat. 3. in Philip. & Orat. pro Ctesiph. [g] Plut. in Solon. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Hist. Univers. Vol. II. p. 457, 460, 525, 601, &c. [k] Strab. l. ix. p. 299. [l] Pausan. in Phoc. c. 26. [m] Strab. ibid. p. 299.

CHAP.

The Kingdoms of MACEDON, THESSALY, and EPIRUS.

J. Wheatley Sculp.

CHAP. II.

The History of the Macedonians.

SECT. I.

The description of Macedonia.

a AS this country was antiently inhabited by various nations, ſo it was, in a long ſucceſſion of ages, diſtinguiſhed by different appellations, being ſometimes [a] called by the name of one of its diſtricts, and ſometimes by that of another, as the nation inhabiting thoſe regions prevailed. Thus, in the moſt antient times it took its name from *Æmathia* [b], which received its appellation from *Æmathius*, a prince of great antiquity; but afterwards the whole country, which the *Greeks* called *Macedonia*, received that denomination from [c] king *Macedo*, a deſcendant from *Deucalion*, as ſome think, or as others affirm, by an eaſy mutation of *Mygdonia*, the name of one of its provinces, into *Macedonia* (A).

b THE bounds of this country are not very eaſily aſſigned, becauſe, according to the fortune of its princes, they have been ſometimes eſteemed larger, and ſometimes leſs. We ſhall, however, endeavour to accommodate our deſcription to the ſucceeding hiſtory in ſuch a manner, as that the reader may eaſily perceive what acceſſions it received from time to time from the valour of its antient kings. And as to the alterations which it ſuſtained, after it fell under the dominion of the *Romans* and was reduced into a province, we ſhall conſider them in another place [d]. Of old then it was bounded on the eaſt by the *Ægean* ſea, on the ſouth by *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, on the weſt by the *Adriatic* or the *Ionian* ſea, and on the north by the river *Strymon* and the *Scardian* mountains, afterwards by the river *Neſſus* or *Neſtus* (B).

Pliny

[a] JUSTIN l. vii. c. 1. LIV. l. xl. c. 3. [b] JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. PLIN. Natur. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 10. [c] CLUVER. Geog. l. iv. c. 9. [d] CLUVER. Geogr. ubi ſupra. CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13. p. 1030.

(A) The antient names of countries are, generally ſpeaking, various, and hardly to be traced to their ſources. It is the opinion of many commentators on the holy ſcriptures, that by the כתים *Chittim*, or *the deſcendants of Cheth*, we are to underſtand the inhabitants of this country (1). The learned *Bochart* is of a different ſentiment, and will have the *Chittim* to be the people of *Italy* (2). The judicious Mr. *Shuckford* ſupports the former notion, and hath offered many probable reaſons in juſtification of his reviving it (3). Some critics have fancied, that the old name might eaſily be reconciled to the new thus, Μακεδνοι, Μακεδνοι, Μακεδνι; but whether in length of time this permutation of names might really happen, the reader's judgment muſt determine. As to *Cluverius*, his conjecture, that *Macedonia* was derived from *Mygdonia*, through the different pronunciation of the *Greeks*, we can affirm nothing concerning it (4). The old opinion, however, ſeems preferable, that it was ſo called from the antient hero *Macedo*, whom *Diodorus* aſſerts to have been the ſon of *Oſiris* (5); but *Solinus* will have him to be a deſcendent from *Deucalion* (6). They agree, however, in this, that from him this country received its name, which was before called *Æmathia*. Concerning the antient king *Æmathius*, from whom this appellation came, we find nothing in hiſtory, except that he lived in the oldeſt times, and was probably the firſt king of that little diſtrict which retained his name, tho' it was a province only of *Macedonia* (7). It is from *Livy* that we learn *Pæonia* was once the general name of this country, which afterwards became peculiar to a people thruſt up in the northern part thereof lying under mount *Scopus* (8). Thus much may ſuffice on this ſubject, which, however dry, the intelligent reader will find to have its uſes.

(B) The acceſſions of territory which *Macedonia* received, from the wiſdom and virtue of its kings, were made at different times, and on account of different wars. *Caranus* and his immediate ſucceſſors were pent up in the very midſt of *Macedonia*, and the conqueſts they made were either towards the north, at the expence of the *Pelagonians*, *Edonians*, and other nations, or on the ſouth, where they gained ſome very rich and fruitful countries from the *Theſſalians* (9). In proceſs of time, when the *Perſian* king came to have great affairs in this part of the world, the tributary princes of *Macedon* found their account in it, and, as the reward of their attachment to that crown, had ſeveral of the weſtern provinces beſtowed on them (10). This enabled them

(1) Gen. x. 4. Iſaiah xxiii. 1, 12, 13. 1 Maccab. i. 1. viii. 5. (2) *Pol. Synop. Critic. in locis ſupradict. Bochart. Phaleg.* (3) *Connection of ſacred Hiſtory with profane, Vol. I. p.* 155. (4) *Crophii Antiq. Maced. l. i. c.* 4. (5) *Biblioth. Hiſtor. l.* i c. 2. (6) *Polybiſt. c.* 14. (7) *Hiſt. l.* vii. *c.* 1. (8) *Hiſt. l.* xi. *c.* 3. (9) *Juſtin. Hiſt. l.* vii. *c.* 1. (10) *Herodot. Thucyd. Diodor. Strab. Pauſan. &c.*

Pliny[e] tells us, that no leſs than an hundred and fifty different nations were ſeated a
within this territory; and [f] *Pomponius Mela* confirms the multitude of different ſtates in this country, by ſaying it had as many nations as cities. Of thoſe the [g] *Taulantii* inhabited the weſtern part on the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea. Within this territory ſtood the city [h] *Epidamnum* or *Epidamnus*; which, for its unlucky name, the *Romans* afterwards thought fit to change into *Dyrrachium*; it is now called *Durazzo* (C)[i].

Apollonia

[e] Hiſt. Natur. l. iv. c. 10. [f] De Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 3. [g] Strab. Geograph. l. vii. p. 326. Edit. *Paris*, 1620. Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. i. c. 5. [h] Dio Cass. l. xli. p. 176. Cicer. pro Ligar. c. 9. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. iii. c. 23. [i] Strab. Geograph. l. vii. p. 322. Cicer. Philip. II. c. 11. Vell. Pater. l. ii. c. 59.

them to conteſt the poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſts with the moſt powerful republics of *Greece*, who, under pretence of ſettling colonies, ſought by all poſſible methods to eſtabliſh large principalities, and to draw immenſe riches to themſelves. The jealouſy the *Macedonian* kings had of this, their art in procuring ſupplies from one republic to diſtreſs another, and their dexterity in negotiating treaties, when they were no longer able to carry on war, reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of the eaſtern coaſt, and left them on that ſide no other boundary but the ſea. On the weſt they had ſtill many nations between them and the *Adriatic*, when *Philip* the father of *Alexander* came to the throne; but he, contemning all limits not ſet by nature, forced all thoſe nations to ſubmit to his ſway; and having conquered all the country to the ſea on this ſide, turned his arms to the ſouth-eaſt, where driving out the *Athenians*, *Thracians*, and other nations, he added all the rich and plentiful regions between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus* or *Neſtus* to *Macedonia*, adorning the old city of *Crenides* with rich and ſtately buildings, and calling it from his own name *Philippi* (11). This account will free the reader from thoſe difficulties, which otherwiſe in the peruſal of this work might frequently give him trouble. He will therein meet with accounts of wars carried on by the *Lynceſtians*, *Alopians*, and other nations againſt the *Macedonians*, tho' it ſhould ſeem that the countries inhabited by theſe nations were within the limits of *Macedonia*; he will find the *Athenians*, *Corcyrians*, and *Corinthians* holding large diſtricts in this country; and he will hear the river *Strymon* ſometimes, at other the river *Neſſus*, named as the boundary of *Macedonia* on the eaſt, and the authorities of the antients quoted for both (12); all of which this ſhort account will render perfectly clear and intelligible.

(C) The city of *Epidamnus* was ſeated on the entrance of the *Ionian* gulph (13). It was a colony of the *Corcyrians*, but ſettled under the command of *Phalius* the ſon of *Heratoclidas*, a *Corinthian* by birth, and as to family deſcended of *Hercules*. At the time of their ſettlement here, the *Taulantii* looked upon the territory they ſeized as juſtly belonging to them; on which account the riſing city and its inhabitants were frequently diſturbed by them and other barbarous nations; but by degrees the *Epidamnians* grew powerful, and ſtood in little awe of their neighbours, till their own ſeditions furniſhed both with opportunity and force the *Taulantii* their antient enemies. This happened about the ſecond year of the eighty-fifth olympiad, when the commons having expelled the nobility conſtrained them to fly to the barbarians. Theſe excited by the exiles, preſently invaded the territories of the *Greeks*, and ſhortly after beſieged the city, which they reduced to great ſtreights. The *Epidamnians* in great diſtreſs applied themſelves for aſſiſtance to the *Corcyrians*, but were refuſed. They then, at the inſtance of the oracle, made ſuit to the *Corinthians*, who furniſhed them ſpeedily and effectually with all things they deſired. This terribly incenſed the *Corcyrians*, who thought the *Corinthians*, in relieving their colony, had meddled where they had nothing to do, notwithſtanding that they themſelves were a colony from *Corinth*, and that part of the original colony ſettled at *Epidamnus* were *Corinthians* alſo. The next year therefore after the *Corinthians* had relieved this city, the *Corcyrians* fitted out a great fleet, attacked the *Corinthians* and their allies, and alſo beſieged *Epidamnus*; which proceeding of theirs induced what was called *the Corinthian war*, of which we have given the reader an account elſewhere (14). In ſucceeding times this, like the reſt of the *Macedonian* cities, laid hold of every opportunity of aſſerting its freedom; and tho' we cannot be very particular as to the accidents which befel it in ſo long a ſeries, yet we know, that the fact was ſo; for we find *Diodorus Siculus* ſetting down the reduction of this place by *Caſſander*, who left a gariſon therein; however, in a ſhort time afterwards the city diſmiſſed the gariſon, and ſided with *Glaucias* king of the *Illyrians* (15). After *Epidamnus* fell under the juriſdiction of the *Romans*, they are ſaid to have changed its name into *Dyrrachium*, on account of the unluckineſs of its former appellation (16), tho' *Appian* ſays, that the *Corcyrians* made this change; holding its antient name *Dyrrachium*, to be ominous, they called it *Epidamnus* (17); however, the former ſeems to be the more probable opinion of the two, ſince *Plautus* gives us the reaſon why the laſt mentioned name was thought unlucky, it being expreſſive of the nature of the inhabitants, who were, generally ſpeaking, knaves, ſycophants, and proſtitutes; his words are theſe,

Nunc ita eſt hæc hominum natio Epidamnia;
Voluptarii atque potatores maximi;
Tum ſycophantæ & palpatores plurimi
In urbe hac habitant; tum meretrices mulieres
Nuſquam perhibentur blandiores gentium.
Propterea huic ubi nomen Epidamno inditum eſt:
Quia nemo ferme huc ſine Damno divortitur (11).

Some have thought, that *Dyrrachium* was rather the name of the port than the city; and others again have ſuggeſted, that the antient city of *Epidamnus* ſtood on the continent, whereas *Dyrrachium* was ſeated in a peninſula (19). It is now without doubt called *Durazzo*, and is a port of conſiderable note, that is, conſidering the condition of other maritime places on the coaſt, which once made a conſiderable figure in hiſtory (20).

(11) *Demoſthen. in Orat. Philip. Plutarch. in Vit. Demoſthen. & Phocion.* (12) *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. l.* xxi. xxii, xxxiii. *Plin. Hiſt Nat. l.* iv. *c.* 10. *Solin. Polyhiſt. c.* 14, 15. *Tit. Liv. l.* xlv. c. 29. 30. *Strabon. Geogr. l.* vii. *Pomp. Mel. l.* xliv. (13) *Cluver. Geogr. l.* iv. *c.* 9. (14) *Thucyd. de bello Pelopon. l.* i. (15) *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. l.* xix. (16) *Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l.* iii. *c.* 23. (17) *Appian.* l. ii. (18) *Menæchm. Act.* ii. *Scen.* i. *ver.* 33. (19) *Scaliger. Animad. in Euſeb.* p. 78, (20) *Bunon. in Cluver. Geog. ubi ſupra.*

a *Apollonia* ſtood alſo within the confines of this people, ſeven *Roman* miles from the ſea-ſhore, a city remarkable for its excellent laws, and in latter times celebrated as a ſeat of learning, tho' now fallen into ſuch decay, that authors are not well agreed about its modern name (D). South of the *Taulantii*, but ſtill on the coaſt of the *Adriatic*, lay the country of the *Elymiotæ*, whoſe chief cities were *Elyma* and *Bullis* [k], both ſea-ports and both mentioned by *Pliny* [l]. Eaſtward of the *Elymiotians* lay a little inland diſtrict, called the kingdom of *Oreſtes* (E), ſaid to have received its name from the ſettling here of the ſon of *Agamemnon*, after he had ſlain his mother [m]. Its capital was *Gyrtone*, mentioned by *Pliny* [n]. The *Eordians* lay behind the country of the *Taulantii*, and between it and the kingdom of *Oreſtes* [o]. To the north of theſe b lay the territory of the *Daſſaretæ* [p], whoſe chief cities were *Lychnides* and *Evia*. *Polybius* [q] indeed calls the former *Lychnidia*. It was a place remarkable for its fine ſituation

[k] Thucyd. Bel. Pelop. l. xi. p. 169. [l] Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 10. p. 53. l. iii. c. 5. p. 40. [m] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 34. & l. xlii c. 38. Steph. in voce Ὀρέστα. [n] Hiſt. Natur. l. iii. c. 5. p. 40, [o] Herod. l. vii. c. 185. Strabo, Geogr. l. vii. p. 223. [p] Liv. l. xliii. c. 9. [q] l. v. p. p. 353.

(D) *Apollonia* ſtood ſeven miles from the ſea on the river *Laus*. It was a colony of the *Corinthians*, and alſo of the *Corcyrians*, perhaps in the ſame manner as *Epidamnus*. It had ſome time the name of *Gylace* from *Gylaces* a *Corinthian*, who probably was the leader of the firſt colony (21). There is a very remarkable ſtory relating to this city related by *Herodotus*; and, inaſmuch as we ſhall have no occaſion to ſpeak of it elſewhere, it is but juſt the reader ſhould meet with it here. "In the territories of *Apol-* "*lonia*, a flock of ſheep ſacred to the ſea, fed by "day on the banks of a river, which, deſcending "from the mountain *Laemon*, runs through that "country into the ſea at the port of *Oricus*; but "by night they are folded in a cave far diſtant from "the city, and guarded by men choſen annually to "that end, out of the moſt eminent among the ci-"tizens for birth and riches; becauſe the people of "*Apollonia* ſet a high value upon theſe ſheep, pur-"ſuant to the admonition of an oracle. *Euenus* "being choſen keeper of this flock, neglected his "charge, fell aſleep, and in the mean time wolves "entering the cave deſtroyed about ſixty of the "ſheep. When he awaked, and ſaw what was done, "he ſaid nothing to any man, thinking to pur-"chaſe the like number, and to put them among "the reſt; but the *Apollonians*, being ſoon informed "of the thing cauſed him to appear without delay "before the court of juſtice, and ſentenced him to "loſe his eyes for ſleeping when he ought to have "watched. Nevertheleſs, when they had thus pu-"niſhed *Euenus* with blindneſs, the ſheep brought "forth no lambs, nor the earth its uſual increaſe, "as the oracles of *Dodona* and *Delphi* had predicted. "And when they applied themſelves to the pro-"phets to know the cauſe of the preſent calami-"ties, they told them, that they had unjuſtly put "out the eyes of *Euenus* the keeper of the ſacred "ſheep; that they themſelves had ſent in the "wolves, and would not diſcontinue their ven-"geance till the *Apollonians* ſhould make him full "ſatisfaction, and ſuch amends for the injury as he "himſelf ſhould chuſe and judge ſufficient; after "which they would make ſo valuable a preſent to "*Euenus*, that the greater part of men ſhould think "him happy. Theſe predictions the *Apollonians* "kept ſecret, and appointed ſome of their citizens "to act in conformity to their intentions; which "they did in this manner: Having found *Euenus* "ſitting on a chair, they ſat down by him, and, "after other diſcourſe, expreſſed their ſorrow for "his affliction, taking occaſion from thence to aſk "him what reparation he would chuſe, if the *Apol-* "*lonians* were diſpoſed to give him ſatisfaction. "*Euenus*, who had not heard of the oracle, ſaid, If "they would give him the lands of inheritance be-"longing to two citizens he named, and which he "knew to be the beſt of that country, and would "moreover add to that gift the moſt magnificent "houſe of the city, he would be reconciled to "them, and contented with that ſatisfaction. Thoſe "who ſat by him immediately taking hold of his "anſwer, *Euenus*, ſaid they, the *Apollonians* offer "you the reparation you demand for the loſs of "your eyes, in obedience to an oracle they have "received: Which when *Euenus* heard, he was "not a little mortified to find himſelf deceived by "this artifice. However, the *Apollonians*, having "firſt ſatisfied the poſſeſſors, made him a preſent "of the lands he demanded, and in a ſhort time "he obtained the ſpirit of divination, and acquired "a conſiderable name (22)." In the days of *Caſſander* king of *Macedon*, it ran the ſame riſque that *Epidamnus* did, that is of being reduced under his dominion; but, by the help of the *Illyrians*, it threw off his yoke (23). Under the *Romans* it flouriſhed and was very famous, particularly on account of its pleaſant ſituation, which invited many perſons to ſettle therein and form a kind of academy. It is now (as we think) called *Pallina* (24).

(E) The little diſtrict in the kingdom of *Macedonia*, which retained for ages the denomination of *Oreſtes*'s kingdom, is ſaid to have derived that title thus. *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*, after he had been acquitted of his mother's murder and had ſtolen away *Hermione*, retired with ſuch *Greeks*, as, out of regard to his virtue, were content to follow his fortunes, through *Theſſaly* and *Epirus* into this region, which lay on the borders of the latter, and there ſettled himſelf. Here by *Hermione* he had a ſon, whom after his own name he called *Oreſtes*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and by his juſt and gentle ſway ſo endeared himſelf to his people, that, in memory of his and his father's goodneſs towards them, they called the country and themſelves after the name of theſe princes (25). This people, tho' they lived within the bounds of the *Macedonian* kingdom, and were obedient to its kings, at leaſt after the reign of *Philip*, yet they preſerved ſuch privileges, and vindicated their liberty with ſuch firmneſs, that when the *Romans*, after the overthrow of *Perſeus*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Macedon*, they left this people in freedom, and allowed them to ſet up the form of a dependent commonwealth, acknowledging the *Roman* protection, but not the juriſdiction of the provincial magiſtrates (26).

(21) *Eraſm. Vinding. Hellen.* p. 272. (22) *Herodo. l.* ix. (23) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xix. *Cluver. ubi ſupra.* (24) *Buno in Not. Cluver. Introd. Geog. l.* iv. *c.* 9. (25) *Stephanus in voce* Ὀρέσται. (26) *Tit. Liv. Hiſt. l.* xliii.

ſituation near a lake of the ſame name, and is at this day called *Ochrida*[r]. Eaſt of this country lay *Æmathia*[s] properly ſo called, a region from whence, as we have ſaid, the whole country ſince called *Macedonia* derived its moſt antient name. It ſtretched itſelf quite to the *Sinus Thermacius*, or, as it is now called, the gulph of *Salonichi*, and contained ſeveral famous cities, particularly *Ægæa* or *Edeſſa*, the antient capital of the *Macedonian* kingdom, of which we ſhall have hereafter occaſion to ſpeak at large, it having been the royal ſeat of *Caranus* the firſt king of *Macedon*, and the the burial-place of the kings of his line to the time of *Alexander the great*[t]. *Pella*, antiently called *Bunomos* or *Bunomia*, ſeated at the mouth of the river *Axius*, famous for being the birth-place of *Philip* and his ſon *Alexander*, and for having in its neighbourhood the tomb of *Euripides* the celebrated tragic poet[u]. *Europus*, a b place ſeated, as *Pliny* tells us, on the river *Axius*[x], and *Beræa*, where a ſedition was raiſed againſt the apoſtle *Paul* by the *Jews*[y]. South-eaſt from *Æmathia*, and cloſe on the ſhore of the gulph of *Saloniotis*, lies the little country of *Pieria*[z], famous for its being the region of the muſes, who were from thence ſtiled *Pierides*. Its chief cities were *Pydna*, antiently called *Citron*, ſtanding between the mouths of the rivers *Aliacmon* and *Lydius*, in which *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, *Roxana* his wife, and *Alexander* his ſon were put to death by *Caſſander*[a]. In its neighbourhood was fought the deciſive battle between *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* conſul and *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*, wherein the latter was utterly defeated[b]. *Phylace* and *Dion* or *Dium*, a ſtrong town, in which *Alexander the great* is ſaid to have ſeen a viſion, wherein he c was promiſed the conqueſt of the *Perſian* empire[c]. On the other ſide of *Æmathia*, that is, to the north, lay the country of *Mygdonia*, in which were the cities of *Antigonia*, *Letæ*, and *Terpilus*[d]. Eaſt of this we find the region of *Amphaxitis*, in which ſtood the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, antiently called *Therma*, or rather built near the place where that old city ſtood. Its founders were *Caſſander* and *Theſſalonica*, the daughter of *Philip* and ſiſter to *Alexander the great*. It is celebrated in hiſtory on many accounts, and is at this day the moſt conſiderable place in *Macedonia*, under the name of *Salonichi*[e]. *Stagira*, a city famous for producing *Hipparchus* the philoſopher and the celebrated *Ariſtotle*, preceptor to *Alexander the great*, whoſe knowledge was as extenſive as the conqueſts of his pupil[f] (F). South-eaſt of this country lies the region of *Chalcidica*, in which were the towns of *Angæa*, *Singus*, and *Acanthus*, now called *Eriſto*[g]. Next lay the country of *Paraxis*, full of gulfs and inlets formed by the *Ægean* ſea. In it were the cities of *Palena*[h], antiently called *Phlegra*, as *Herodotus* tells us, in the neighbourhood of which there dwelt of old certain cruel and inhoſpitable

[r] BUNON. in Cluver. l. iv. c. 9. [s] JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 1. LUCAN. l. i. [t] JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. PLIN. H. N. l. iv. c. 10, DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. c. 25. [u] HEROD. l. vii. c. 123. Liv. l. xliv. prop. fin. P. MEL. de Sit. Orb. l. ii. c. 3. [x] Hiſt. Natur. STRABO, Excerp. l. vii. PHILOST. l. ix. c. 8. [y] Act. Apoſt. c. xvii. [z] STRABO, ubi ſupra. [a] STRABO, ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. JUSTIN l. xiv. c. 6. [b] TIT. LIV. l. xliv. c. 8. [c] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 9. THUCYD. l. iv. p. 305. POLYB. l. iv. c. 42. ARR. l. i. [d] THUCYD. l. ii. p. 170. [e] HEROD. l. vii. THUCYD. l. i. p. 40. [f] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. HEROD. c. 115. THUCYD. l. iv. p. 311. [g] HEROD. l. vii. c. 22. [h] THCYD. l. i. p. 41.

(F) *Theſſalonica* had the good luck to remain always conſiderable in the midſt of that almoſt total ruin, which various conqueſts brought on *Macedonia*. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time it was the moſt flouriſhing city in the kingdom (27). St. *Paul* found it no leſs flouriſhing, when he preached the goſpel therein; and how great regard he had for the church there, appears from the epiſtles directed thereto (28). Even at this day it makes a very great figure under the name *Salonichi*, and is not only very remarkable for the great trade carried on there, by which its inhabitants are ſtill rich, at leaſt in proportion to their neighbours, but alſo for the noble ruins which teſtify its antient magnificence. There are the remains of ſeveral triumphal arches, as well as one which is ſtill almoſt entire, erected in honour of the emperor *Antoninus*. There are alſo churches now turned into moſques of ſurpriſing beauty, particularly that which was conſecrated to St. *Demetrius*, containing two churches, one over the other, both of excellent marble, and adorned with upwards of a thouſand columns of jaſper, porphyry, &c. In this, and in other churches, are the tombs of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, and without the city are numerous fragments of antiquity with variety of inſcriptions. There are alſo quantities of metals frequently found here; but the *Turks* are ſo incurious, that they ſet no value upon them, and ſo careleſs, that they will not preſerve them for thoſe that do: inſomuch, that travellers are conſtrained to make uſe of various arts to obtain from this illiterate nation pieces, of which they neither know the uſe, nor account them of any value (29). It is very probable, that the excellent ſituation of *Theſſalonica* hath been the chief cauſe of that reſpect which all conquerors have ſhewn it. It has certainly ſuch advantages therefrom as are ſcarce to be met with elſewhere, and which have been celebrated by the antients, as well as admired by the moderns.

(27) *Geograph. l.* vii. *p.* 330. (28) *Two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians.* (29) *Voyages du S. P. Lucas. Tom.* I. *p.* 203.

a inhospitable giants, who were extirpated by *Hercules* [i]. *Potidæa*, a colony of *Corinthians*, but afterwards possessed by the *Athenians*, from whom it was taken by *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. It was afterwards re-edified by *Cassander*, who called it from his own name *Cassandria*, which appellation it still retains [k]. *Torone*, from whence the neighbouring bay received the appellation of *Toronaicus* [l]. *Olynthus*, a city famous for the several sieges it sustained, and for being the birth-place of *Callisthenes* the philosopher [m]. The *Bisaltæ* held a small country bordering on the *Sinus Strymonicus*, and in the northern part of *Macedonia*. Their chief cities were *Euporia*, *Ossa*, and *Calitera* [n]. North-west from them lay the region of *Edonia*, on the confines of which ran the river *Strymon*. In it stood the cities of *Amphipolis*, *Scotusa*, and
b *Berga*; the first famous for being a colony of the *Athenians* [o]; and some think that the ancient city *Crenides* stood also within its bounds, which *Philip* the father of *Alexander* rebuilt and called *Philippi* [p]. North-west of this territory lies the country of *Pelagonia*, bordering on mount *Hæmus*, the chief city of which was *Stobi*, now called *Starachino* [q]. West of it lies *Orbelia*, in which were seated the cities of *Orma* and *Gariscus* [r]. Next, bending to the south-west, lies the country of *Joria*, in which stood the city of *Jorum*. West from it is situate the territory of the *Almopians*, in which stand the cities of *Europus*, *Albanopolis*, and *Apsalus* [s]. Directly south of these we find the region of the *Æstrians*, the chief city in which was anciently called *Æstrium* [t]. East of them, and in the very heart of *Macedonia*, lies the country of
c the *Lyncesti*, the chief city in which was called *Heraclea* [u]; north of which lay the inland country of *Sintica*, the principal towns in which were *Paræcopolis* and *Tristolus* [x].

The use of this description.

THE reader may possibly think he might have been spared so particular a detail of nations and cities now no more; but he will easily perceive from the following history, that an accurate description of the ancient *Macedonia* was absolutely necessary to render it intelligible; and he will be the better satisfied, when we assure him, that the foregoing description was not collected without great pains taken, not only in comparing ancient historians, but modern geographers also, and the relations of such travellers as have seen the ruins of those cities, which make such a figure in ancient
d history, and are yet very differently placed in our maps.

The extent of Macedonia.

Macedonia, according to *M. del' Isle*'s map of *Greece*, lies between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and between the 37th and 42d degrees of longitude. *Brixius* reckons from mount *Orbelus* to *Pindus*, that is, from north to south, 2000 *stadia*, and from *Epidamnus* to mount *Athos* 2500 *stadia* [y] from west to east. According to the map before-mentioned it is from north to south about 160 miles, and from west to east about 220. Its form is very irregular; but its situation is excellent, in respect that it is washed on the east by the *Ægean* sea, and on the west by the *Ionian*; which advantages, however, were never cultivated as they might have been, nor were the *Macedonians* ever powerful at sea, notwithstanding, that many noble bays and
e excellent harbours are to be found in their country.

Mountains.

AMONGST the most considerable mountains in this region, we may reckon that great ridge running across the north part thereof, stiled the *Scardian* mountains. In this part also of *Macedon* stood mount *Pangæus*, lofty and well covered with wood, yet infinitely more valuable from its contents, which were both gold and silver, as we shall shew elsewhere [z]. *Hæmus*, or rather *Aemus*, the western spurs of which, joining the *Scardian* hills, divide this country from *Thrace* [a]. *Athos* in the *Chalcidian* region, one of the most celebrated mountains in the world [b]. *Mela* reports, that it is so high as to reach above the clouds [c]. *Martianus Capellus* affirmed it to be six miles high [d]; and it was a received opinion, that it never rained thereon, be-
f cause the ashes, left on the altars erected near its summit, were always found as they were left, dry and unscattered; but if on many accounts it was famous among the ancients, it is no less so among the moderns. The *Greeks*, struck with its singular situation,

[i] HEROD. l. vii. c. 123. [k] TIT. LIV. l. xliv. c. 11. STRAB. Excerp. l. vii. [l] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 55. POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 3. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 54. [n] TIT. LIV. l. xxxv. c. 29. PLIN. H. N. l. iv. [o] THUCYD. l. iv. p. 320. HEROD. l. vii. c. 114. TIT. LIV. l. xliv. c. 45. [p] PLIN. H. N. l. iv. c. 11. [q] STRABON. Geogr. l. vii. p. 225. [r] CLUVER. l. iv. c. 9. [s] PLIN. H. N. l. iv. c. 10. THUCYD. l. ii. p. 170. [t] CLUVER. ubi supra. [u] THUCYD. l. iv. p. 333. [x] CLUVER. ubi supra. [y] Les Etats & Empires, Tit. Macedonie. [z] PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. D. CASS. l. xlvii p. 347. [a] PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. DIOD. SICUL. l. iv. c. 84. [b] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 22. PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. [c] De Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 2. [d] Ap. VAREN. Geogr. l. i.

ſituation and the venerable appearance of its towering aſcent, erected ſo many a churches, monaſteries, and hermitages thereon, that it became in a manner inhabited by devotees, and from thence received the name of the *holy mountain*, which it ſtill retains, tho' many of thoſe conſecrated works are now decayed (G). *Olympus*, another

(G) This mount *Athos* is thought to have received its name from a giant, who, the ſcholiaſt on *Theocritus* informs us, was the ſon of *Neptune* and *Rhodope*; but in this there is a concealed meaning, becauſe he is ſaid to have removed this mountain from the neighbourhood of a lake of the laſt-mentioned name: Hence he is called the ſon of *Rhodope*, becauſe from her he came; and the ſon of *Neptune*, becauſe he came to him. There are coins, which on their reverſe have the ſummit of mount *Athos*, with a man of a gigantic ſize lying on the rocks, with his right hand over his head. Whether this be the *Giant*, the *Genius* of the *Mountain*, or *Jupiter Athous*, is not clear (21). As to the cutting of the iſthmus which unites it to the land, *Herodotus* gives us the following account of it, and therein an admirable deſcription of the mountain: "*Athos* is a "mountain of great fame and magnitude, leaning "upon the ſea, and well inhabited. It terminates "to the landward in the form of a peninſula, and "makes an iſthmus of about twelve ſtades in length, "containing a plain with ſome mixture of little "hills from the coaſt of *Acanthus* to that of *Torone*. On this iſthmus, which lies at the foot of "mount *Athos*, ſtands *Sana* a *Grecian* city; but "*Xerxes* determined to cut off from the continent "all the other cities, which, being built upon the "mountain and beyond this place, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acbrotoon*, *Thyſus*, and *Clcone*. The ope"ration was carried on in this manner; the barba"rians having drawn a line before the city of *Sana*, "divided the ground among the ſeveral nations, "and when the trench was conſiderably ſunk, thoſe "who were in the bottom continued to dig, and "delivered the earth to men ſtanding upon ladders, "who handed the ſame again to ſuch as were placed "in a higher ſtation, till at laſt others who waited "to receive the burden at the edge of the canal, "carried it away to another place; but by digging "in a perpendicular manner, and making the bot"tom of equal breadth with the top, all the work"men, except the *Phœnicians*, drew double la"bour upon themſelves, becauſe the earth, as is na"tural, fell down continually in great quantities from "the upper parts. The *Phœnicians* alone ſhewed that "ability on this occaſion, of which they are ſo "much maſters at all times; for they opened the "part which was aſſigned to their care twice as "large as others had done; and ſloping the ground "gradually till they came to the bottom, they then "found the meaſure equal with the reſt. In a mea"dow adjoining to this place they had a court of "juſtice, and a market furniſhed with a great abun"dance of corn brought over from *Aſia*. My con"jectures lead me to think, that *Xerxes* undertook "this enterprize upon a motive of oſtentation, in "order to ſhew the greatneſs of his power, and to "perpetuate the memory of his name; for tho' he "might have cauſed his fleet to be conveyed over "the land without much difficulty, yet he would "rather command the iſthmus to be cut, and a ca"nal to be made to receive the ſea of ſuch a breadth "as might be ſufficient to carry two ſhips ſailing "in front (22)." From *Thucydides* we learn, that the inhabitants of the five cities above-mentioned were barbarians, ſpeaking two tongues, that is, the *Greek* and a language of their own. *Plutarch* and *Pliny* have both written, that this mountain is ſo high, as to project its ſhade, when the ſun is in the ſummer ſolſtice, on the market-place of the city *Myrrhina* in the iſland of *Lemnos*. On account of this it is ſaid, that the inhabitants of this city erected a brazen calf at the termination of the ſhadow, on which was inſcribed this *Monoſtic*:

Ἥμισυ Λήμνου μόσχον κρύπτει πλευρὰ Ἄθως.
Half Lemnos' *calf doth* Athos *ſhadow hide.*

Pliny aſſerts the diſtance between the foot of mount *Athos* and the iſland of *Lemnos* to be 87,000 paces. He does not tell us at what hour of the day this ſhadow was obſerved, yet this may be ſupplied by ſuppoſing it to have been a little before ſun-ſet, the ſun being then in the vertical circle, which paſſeth over *Athos* and *Myrrhina*; or rather it may be ſuppoſed two degrees higher, becauſe otherwiſe the ſhadow could not be ſo exactly obſerved in *Lemnos* (23). Theſe points ſettled, it will appear from the principles of trigonometry, that the altitude of *Athos* is thirty-two furlongs, which, however, is not very conſiſtent with truth. The reaſon in all probability is, becauſe *Pliny* hath aſſigned too great a diſtance between the mountain and the iſland. The beſt maps we have make that diſtance but 55 *Italian* miles; which being aſſumed reduces it nearer the true height, *viz.* of eleven furlongs, or a little more (24). As to the modern ſtate of this celebrated mountain, we cannot inform the reader better thereof, than by tranſlating the accurate deſcription of a *French* traveller: "As I ſtaid a good while at *Salo*"*nichi*; and as that city is not far diſtant from "*Monte Santo*, which is mount *Athos*, ſo much ce"lebrated by the ancient poets for its height, and ſo "famous among the modern *Greeks* for the monks "and hermits reſiding thereon, I could not be ſa"tisfied without going to ſee it. In the ſpace of "a few days I examined this wide and ſo-much "talked of field of wonders, leaving no part of it "unexplored, no not even the chapel on the ſum"mit, which is very little viſited. As I aſcended, "I found a good deal of ſnow; but as it was in the "fineſt ſeaſon of the year, (in the month of *June*) "the ſun began to operate upon it every-where, "and to turn it into water. Its ſummit is a per"fect rock and abſolutely naked; but the ſnow "did not lie there ſo long as in the vallies. Paſſing "to the ſouth-ſide, we found it ſhady. Arriving at "the chapel, which was ſeated on a high rock, we "were informed, that it was conſecrated in me"mory of the tranſfiguration, and that on the ſixth "of *Auguſt* they ſung a ſolemn maſs in the pre"ſence of a multitude of people, who out of de"votion remained there all night. As to other "things, we found them in pretty good order, con"ſidering that it is a place not to be viſited but in "ſummer weather. The building too was well "enough, eſpecially if we conſider its ſituation, "it being not a little ſurprizing to find a chapel "erected, where one cannot ſtay a quarter of an "hour without a great fire. That which our geo"graphers call *Monte Santo* comprehends not only "mount *Athos*, but the whole chain of mountains "which unites it to the continent of *Macedonia*. "This chain is ſeven or eight leagues long, and "three or four broad, and it is true, that the *Greeks* "call this ridge *Oros Agion*, or *the Holy Mountain*; "but

(21) *Gronov. Antiquit. Græc. Vol.* I. *Tit. Athos.* (22) *Herodot. l.* viii. (23) *l.* iv. *c.* 12. *p.* 5[illegible]
(24) *Varenius's Geography, Vol.* I. *p.* 12.

a ther lofty mountain, supposed not only to pervade the clouds, but to reach almost the confines of heaven; whence the poets took the liberty of making it the seat of the gods[*]; yet, with the leave of these towering wits, men of cooler imaginations conceived it no impossible task to measure it. This *Xenagoras* attempted, and performed with success, whereby he found, that its height did not much exceed an *English* mile. Many geographers reckon this mountain to *Thessaly*, but we think it belongs rather to *Macedonia* (H).

Woods, deserts, &c.

b We have heretofore observed, that the *Scardian* hills and mount *Athos* were well covered with woods; and indeed the whole kingdom of *Macedonia*, being everywhere intermixed with mountains, hills, and rising grounds, abounded with all sorts of trees, which are valuable in *Europe*, either on account of timber, fruit, or shade. As to deserts or large wastes, we find not that there were any such in ancient times; on the contrary, it appears, that no part of *Europe* was more throughly peopled; but since it has been in the hands of the *Turks*, great part of it is become uninhabited, a thing not unfrequent in other parts of the *Ottoman* empire.

Seas, rivers, lakes, &c.

The peculiar happiness of *Macedonia*, in having the sea on each side of it, we have already remarked. It is our duty here, however, to be a little more particular.

The

[*] Strabon. Geogr. l. ix. Virgil. Georg. i. ver. 281.

" but when they speak of mount *Athos* in particular, " they call it still *Athos*. Of the twenty monasteries " erected in this solitude, there is but one, which " stands on this mountain, and that is dedicated to " St. *Laura*, which is indeed richer and more con- " siderable than all the rest; and it is owned, that " from the monks inhabiting therein, the rest took " the rule under which they live. These convents, " generally speaking, resemble fortresses rather than " religious houses. They are surrounded with good " walls, flanked with towers, or at least surmounted " by a vast *donjon*, well furnished with artillery, and " all things else necessary for defence. This is a " very necessary precaution, considering their situ- " ation in the midst of thieves. As these monaste- " ries are generally five or six stories high, the " apartments in them are numerous and very large, " but not over well disposed. They are covered " with lead, which by the reflexion of the sun- " beams shines like silver; and all things consider- " ed, we may rather wonder at their being in so " good state, than at their being in no better. These " monasteries are independent of each other in " point of government; and tho' in the center of " these monasteries there is an episcopal see in a " pretty large town called *Kapiarb*, yet the monks " pay no sort of obedience to this bishop. The ca- " thedral, however, is stiled *Acrotaton*, i. e. *the most* " *high*, and is served by monks sent by the superi- " ors of the respective convents for that purpose. " There is also on mount *Athos* a considerable church, " dedicated to St. *Anne*, where the *anchorites* re- " sort for the performance of their devotions at " certain festivals, and other settled times. These " poor people are quite secluded from the rest of " human race. They may be about sixty in number, " and live most of them alone; the rest, two in a " cell; they live by the labour of their hands, as did " the ancient monks, and are under the direction " of a chief, who is called *Dicaios*, i. e. *the Just*; " yet he himself is dependent on the monastery of " St. *Laura*, because their cells are built on the " ground belonging to that religious house. All the " monasteries have little farms belonging to them, " which are managed by certain monks for the be- " nefit of the house. All these religious, as has been " said before, live under a common rule, which rule " consists chiefly in the strict observance of the fol- " lowing points: 1. The keeping certain stated fasts, " which they recommend vehemently in their ser- " mons, and which, to do them justice, they re- " commend no less by the severity with which they " keep them. 2. The passing whole nights in cer- " tain churches consecrated to the honour of God, " where they either make solemn prayers, or else " join together in chanting psalms, conforming " herein to the practice of the ancient church, in " which these devotions were stiled *Vigils*. 3. They " suffer no woman to approach the holy mountain, " which they carry yet farther, by excluding all " kind of animals of the *feminine gender*; and on " this principle they were wont also to cause their " younger monks to be instructed in separate houses, " as if youth itself had something in it feminine(25)."

(H) As *Athos* astonished by its height and bulk, the mountain *Olympus* struck the beholder with reverence by its amazing loftiness, and at the same time invited his ascent by the beauty and variety of prospects which it afforded. The river *Peneus*, one of the clearest, gentlest, and most beautiful streams in the universe, ran at its foot, dividing it from *Ossa*, and making a multitude of small but charming isles, covered with shady trees, and adorned with magnificent temples, grottoes, porticoes, and other stately buildings (26). Its height is certainly very great; but, as we observed above, not near so great as it was imagined by the ancients. As to the notion of its being above the second region of the air, it depended intirely upon a fact, viz. that letters traced on the ashes of *Jupiter*'s altar, remained unfaced for a long space of time. This altar stood on the very summit of *Olympus*, and the god was worshipped there with peculiar devotion. On the south-east side of the hill ran the famous river *Helicon*, and near it stood a noble temple of *Jupiter*, in the midst of a shady grove. The mountains *Ossa* and *Pelion* were in its neighbourhood, much spoken of in ancient authors, and very considerable for their height, tho' they come far short of *Olympus*. *Dicearchus Siculus*, at the command of some of the neighbouring princes, measured mount *Pelion* with great exactness, and found it to be in height 1250 paces, or about an *Italian* mile and half. It is now called *Petras*, and has some little forts on its sides (27). There is some doubt amongst geographers, whether this region ought to be reckoned to *Macedonia* or *Thessaly*; but, as we make the river *Peneus* their common boundary, *Olympus* and the territory about it falls under our cognizance here.

(25) *Voyages du Sieur P. Lucas, T.* i. *p.* 206. (26) *Tempe, secund. Descript. Ortelii.* (27) *Strabon. Geogr. l.* ix. *p.* 807. *Virg. l.* i. *ver.* 281. *Varen. Geogr. p.* 128. *Plin. Hist. Nat. l.* iv.

The *Adriatic* waſhes its weſtern coaſt, and, beſides the great haven of *Epidamnus*, now *Durazzo*, makes ſeveral ſafe ports, which are now moſt of them neglected. On the eaſt the *Ægean* ſea was ſtill more advantagious, opening to *Macedonia* not only the trade of *Greece*, but that of *Aſia* alſo; which commerce was eſpecially forwarded by the ſpacious bays every-where formed on the coaſt. Four of theſe were chiefly remarkable, *viz. Sinus Strymonicus*, having on its northſide part of *Thrace*, and on the ſouth the long extending promontory of *Athos*, including in its boſom the iſland of *Thaſus*. It was called the *Strymonic* bay, becauſe the river *Strymon* ran there into the ſea. It is now called *Golpho di Conteſſa*. *Sinus Singiticus*, having on one ſide mount *Athos*, and on the other a long ſlip of land, once full of rich and populous towns, of which there is now no appearance; the bay therefore takes its preſent name from the neighbouring mountain, and is ſtilled *Golpho di Monte Santo*. *Sinus Toronaicus*, having the ridge of land before-mentioned on the one ſide, and part of the region *Paraxia* on the other. It received its old name from the city *Torone*, but is now called *Golpho d' Aiomama*. *Sinus Thermaicus*, having on the one ſide *Macedonia*, on the other, for the moſt part, *Theſſaly*. It is at leaſt ſixty miles in length, and received its name from the ancient city *Therma*, called afterwards *Theſſalonica*, now *Salonichi*[f]. In ſpeaking of the rivers of *Macedon*, we will begin with thoſe which run into the *Adriatic*, and after ſpeak of ſuch as run into the *Ægean* ſea. *Panyaſus* riſes not far from the city *Pitheum*, and, after a winding courſe of upwards of a hundred miles, from the ſouthern borders of *Macedon* to *Epidamnus* or *Durazzo*, near which it diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatic*[g]. The *Apſus*, riſing not far from the city of *Eordea*, after a ſhort courſe of thirty miles, diſcharges itſelf about ten miles below the mouth of the *Panyaſus*. The *Lacus*, called alſo *Æas* and *Aous*, has its ſource near the city of *Antigonia*, and, after a north-weſt courſe of forty miles, enters the *Adriatic* a little below the city of *Apollonia*. *Celydnus* or *Pepylichus* running from the *Acroceraunian* mountains directly into the *Adriatic*, would not be worthy of mention, if it were not regarded as the boundary between *Macedon* and *Epirus*. The rivers running into the *Ægean* ſea, are, The *Aliacmon*; it riſes in the mountains lying above the city *Elymea*, and running for ſome time parallel to the *Panyaſus*, after a courſe of ſeventy miles almoſt due eaſt, enters the bay of *Theſſalonica*, between the cities of *Pydna* and *Dium*. The *Erigon* riſes in the country of the *Lynceſtæ*, and running directly north about thirty miles, turns then to the eaſt, and declining by degrees to the ſouth, falls, after a farther courſe of forty miles, into a lake formed by the waters of the river *Axius*, and with them runs into the ſea. The *Axius*, which is by far the greateſt river in *Macedon*, riſes from two fountains in the *Scardian* mountains, and, after a courſe of eighty miles, it ſpreads itſelf into a large and noble lake below the city of *Edeſſa*, and having received the *Erigon* there, falls into the bay of *Theſſalonica* almoſt over-againſt that city. The river *Strymon* riſes in *Thrace*, and rolling with a rapid ſtream almoſt directly ſouth, after a courſe of ſeventy miles, it enters by two broad and deep mouths that bay, which from it was ſtiled the *Strymonic*. This river was the ancient boundary of *Macedon* towards *Thrace*; but *Philip* the father of *Alexander* took in all the country between it and the river *Neſtus*, or, as ſome write it, *Meſtus*; which running almoſt parallel to the river *Strymon*, falls into the ſame bay near the city of *Abdera*, about forty miles diſtant from the mouths of the *Strymon*. Smaller rivers there are many, ſuch as the *Cidorus*, *Aſtræus*, *Pontus*, &c. As to lakes, beſides thoſe formed by the overflowing of the river *Strymon*, and the junction of the rivers *Axius* and *Erigon*, there is almoſt in the heart of *Macedon*, not far from the *Candavian* mountains, a large and famous lake called the lake of *Lychnidus*, or the lake of *Preſpa*. There is another famous lake in the province of *Mygdonia*, and another near the ancient city of *Sintia*, called afterwards *Heraclea Sintica*. As for ſprings and fountains, they are innumerable; ſuch as on account of their properties are remarkable, we ſhall mention elſewhere.

The climate, ſoil, produce, riches, &c.

The air of *Macedonia* is, generally ſpeaking, clear, ſharp, and wholeſome, inſomuch, that people live there commonly to a very great age. This is eaſily accounted for, when we conſider, that it lies in the middle of the north temperate zone, and in the ſixth and ſeventh climates, its longeſt day containing about fifteen hours. The ſoil is every-where tolerable, in moſt places fruitful, on the ſea-coaſt eſpecially abounding

[f] Cluver. Geogr. l. iv. Cellar. Geog. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13.

[g] See in the map of the courſe of this and other rivers.

abounding with corn, wine, and oil, and indeed with every thing that could be desir-
a ed either for the use or convenience of men; but the principal riches of *Macedonia* consisted in its mines, of which it had many, and of almost all kind of metals, but of gold particularly. In *Pieria* under its ancient kings there were found large quantities of this precious metal in the sand, in lumps of considerable bigness [h]. There were also gold mines in the country between *Thessalonica* and *Stagira*, which mines are said to have been wrought by the *Turk*; but by far the most considerable were in the mountain *Pangæus*, which king *Philip* added to his dominions. The *Thasians*, inhabitants of a little island lying in the *Strymonic* bay, had rendered themselves very considerable by the wealth they drew from them. This made the *Athenians* so co-
b vetous of this tract of country, which, after many expeditions and much-ado, they attained, and lost it to the *Thracians* afterwards. *Philip* drove them out, and having rebuilt the ancient city of *Crenides* in a magnificent manner, called it by his own name *Philippi*; and carefully establishing persons skilful in the art of refining there, he made much greater advantage of those mines than any of their former possessors had done; nay, it is said, that he obtained the empire of *Greece* chiefly by means of the treasures extracted hence; which must appear very probable, if what *Diodorus* tells us be true, that he received annually a thousand talents of gold [i]. The *Romans*, when they reduced *Macedonia* into a province, restrained the inhabitants from digging or refining gold or silver, leaving them at liberty, however, to manufacture any other metal [k].

c As there are not in *Macedonia* any animals peculiar thereto, we are under no ne- *Animals.* cessity of entering into a detail of those common to it and to the rest of *Greece*; we shall content ourselves therefore with mentioning only one thing which is very remarkable, and that is the abundance of horses which were in *Macedonia* under its ancient princes. This will be set in a clear light by a single fact: There were kept in the royal stud near *Pella* three hundred stone-horses and thirty thousand mares [l]. It is evident from hence, that it was the military prudence of the *Macedonian* kings which determined them to place their hopes not in horse but in foot, which might be serviceable in all countries, whereas cavalry could act only in plains. Their inordinate love of hunting engaged them, however, to keep up so large a
d breed of horses, which were excellent in their nature, fleet, high-mettled, strong-hoofed, and able to subsist on very little and very ordinary provender. We need not wonder therefore, that the *Macedonian* armies were so terrible, when their horse were extraordinary good, and their foot excellent.

As to the rarities of *Macedonia*, which, according to the order observed in this *Rarities.* work, ought to close the description, we will begin with the *Pierian* hills and shades, which, on account of their lovely verdure and pleasant solitude, were stiled the habitations of the muses, who thence also were called *Pierides*. Amongst them rose the fountain *Pimplia*, from whence they were called *Pimpleides* [m]. *Vitruvius* tells us, that near the sepulchre of *Euripides* there flowed from a fountain waters of
e so poisonous a nature, as if swallowed brought on immediate and inevitable death [n]. A modern traveller informs us, that in passing mount *Jougous*, which seems to be part of that ridge formerly called the *Scardian* mountains, he found a certain flower, which he takes to be a kind of *Lunaria major*, which produced, as he apprehended, a stem or button according to the increase of the moon, till those buttons equalled the days of the month's age. He brought some roots and seeds of this flower with him into *France*, that this curiosity might be more leisurely observed and considered [o]. We might add to these abundance of other curiosities, if we could give credit to all the fragments of natural history left us by the ancients, or to the ordinary collections on the same subject which have been made by the moderns; but
f as many of these relations are apparently absurd, many more very injudiciously recited, and the authorities in most cases but very weak, we shall content ourselves with reporting these, and so conclude a chapter, wherein the reader hath at least a more complete description of *Macedonia* than he can find else-where; for tho' its kings subdued so great a part of the known world, yet hath no historian, ancient or modern, written explicitly of this country; but have contented themselves with brief and general descriptions, such as might suit well enough with the form of their histories, but were absolutely incompatible with the nature of this, which is universal

[h] Aristot. de vii. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [k] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. [l] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. [m] Cluver. l. iv. c. 9. [n] l. viii. [o] Voyages du Sieur P. Lucas. Tom. I. p. 195.

versal, not in title and shew only, but in a particular consideration of all the kingdoms, empires, and states treated therein.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, customs, laws, manners, and military discipline of the Macedonians.

The Macedonians *originally* Argives.

IT has been heretofore observed, that *Macedonia* was originally inhabited by many nations. In our geographical descriptions, we have recorded their names, pointed out their seats, and delivered whatever remarkable passages we could find about them in ancient authors. Those from whom that race sprung, which from small beginnings became lords of *Greece* and afterwards of the world, were *Argives*. Under the leading of *Caranus*, who was descended from *Hercules* by his son *Temenus*, they came into this country, and with their swords carved out themselves fair possessions [a]. By degrees they enlarged their dominions, not more by their valour than by their prudence and condescension; for erecting no trophies after victories, and treating those they subdued with the tenderness of brethren, they vanquished not only their persons, but their minds; and thus taking away all distinctions, they in time reduced various tribes into one nation, which of course became too potent for its neighbours, and continually made incroachments upon them, unless restrained by their united force, or the fear of provoking the *Persian* monarch, or some of the most powerful *Greek* republics. As the *Macedonians*, whose history we are now writing, were composed of many nations mixed with each other, and as all those nations were remarkable for bravery, hardiness, and contempt of luxury, it is easy to conceive, that the *Macedonians* were not unlike them. If we were to follow the method hitherto used, we should be obliged to repeat many things already said of the *Greeks*; to avoid which, and at the same time to deliver all that the reader can expect under this section for clearing the subsequent history, we shall reduce what we have to offer under three general heads: The first shall regard the government of *Macedon* and the administration of its princes: The second the customs of the people religious and civil: The third their military discipline.

Their form of governmnet.

THE *Macedonians* had always kings; yet under their administration they preserved as great or greater liberty than was enjoyed under most of the *Grecian* commonwealths [b]. Their monarchs ruled, but they ruled according to law, or rather according to the maxims of natural equity, and did not commit any flagrant injustice merely to gratify their wills. This was the original constitution, and it may be said to the glory of this nation, that it was not subverted but with the kingdom. On this account *Lucian* introducing *Philip* and *Alexander* in his dialogues, makes the former call the *Macedonians*, *Freemen* [c]. In cases where the punishment was capital, the cause was heard by the army, or by the people; and, till they condemned the party, the king did not pretend to put him to death. We shall meet with many instances of this in the reign of *Alexander*, who maintained the customs of his native soil when far from it, and did not think, that all his victories could release him from the obligations he was under of acting according to the constitution of his country. When in his passion he killed *Clitus*, he on recollection would have punished himself with death, if the army had not interfered and taken his guilt upon them [d]. *Polybius* informs us, that when king *Philip*, the last but one of the *Macedonian* princes, had caused *Leontius*, whom he suspected of conspiring against him, to be seized, a body of targeteers, who were advanced before the army, sent deputies to desire that he might not be proceeded against till they should rejoin it, that the king might not seem to have no regard for them or their sentiments [e]. It is true, the same author tells us, that the king, provoked by this message, put *Leontius* sooner to death than he would have done; but he excused himself from the necessity of the thing, and punished the rest of the conspirators

[a] JUSTIN. Hist. lib. vii. c. 1. EUSEB. Chronic. p. 47. [b] ARRIAN. Exp. Alexand. lib. iv. p. 265. CURT. vit. Alexand. lib. vi. [c] ἐλευθέρους ἄνδρας, in Dial. Phil. & Alex. [d] CURT. viii. 11, 12. [e] Hist. lib. v. cap. 27.

a conſpirators after the ancient manner, *By verdict of the army*. It is not to be concluded from hence, that the *Macedonians* were always jealous of their liberties, and quarrelling with their princes about them, for that was not the caſe. They did not call themſelves a free people, but acknowledged that they were ſubject to their prince; yet with this hope, that he would govern them as he ought, which when he did, they were moſt loyal; but were not ſo obedient, when he digreſſed from the paths of reaſon: They clamoured loudly at *Alexander*, when he began to affect the eaſtern mode of governing, nor would they be reconciled to him by gifts and fair ſpeeches, but ſhewed a viſible diſlike, not of the king, but of ſuch actions as he committed unworthy of his royal dignity [f]. The throne was hereditab ry, and continued in the race of *Caranus* till the ſlaughter of *Alexander*'s family; but it does not appear, that the *Macedonians* were very ſtrict as to the ſucceſſion, ſo it was of the royal houſe, though generally ſpeaking the eldeſt ſon ſucceeded. The ancient kings of *Macedon* were very modeſt in the enſigns of their dignity; for *Alexander the Great* ſeems to have been the firſt who wore a diadem and rich robes of ſtate; which, however, he transferred to his ſucceſſors, yet the old kings had what was ſufficient to diſtinguiſh them from their ſubjects, ſplendour, armour, and a chair of ſtate [g]. The generality of the people were always wonderfully loyal, and not only chearfully obeyed, but were zealouſly addicted to the ſervice of, their prince; nay, they ſeem to have carried their affection towards his perſon too far, by c making a law, or elſe adopting it from the *Perſians*, that not only conſpirators, but all who were related to them, ſhould be put to death, with which, however, *Alexander* diſpenſed [h]. Their love for their princes, however, did not carry them into any indecent or idolatrous ſubmiſſion, when they approached them; on the contrary, they converſed with them freely, and ſaluted them with a kiſs [i]. When therefore *Alexander* would have introduced the *Perſian* cuſtom of adoring him, the *Macedonians* were extremely diſpleaſed, and did not forbear declaring their ſentiments, *that reverence was due to kings, but adoration to the gods* [k]. In point of marriage the *Macedonian* kings ſeem not to have been very ſtrict; for it appears from hiſtory, that they had frequently many wives, and concubines not a few [l]. In the education of their chil-d dren they were exceedingly ſtrict; their ſons were brought up under the beſt maſters in the love and knowledge of all things great and glorious; their daughters in the practice of all things virtuous. What *Alexander* ſaid to *Siſygambis* will better demonſtrate this than any deſcription; *Mother, the robe I have on was not only the gift of my ſiſter, but the work of her hands* [m]. In the conduct of their affairs the kings of *Macedon* were remarkably moderate, and behaved with the greateſt prudence; they did not affect magnificent entertainments, but eat plainly with their friends. They admitted all ſorts of perſons to their preſence, and by a continual habit of buſineſs made themſelves at once neceſſary and agreeable to their ſubjects [n]. Hunting was their chief diverſion, and *Alexander* was ſo addicted to it, that he would follow it e for a whole day without taking refreſhment [o]. Theſe princes were generally ſpeaking learned, or at leaſt favourers of learned men. *Archelaus* was the great patron of *Euripides*, and not only honoured him living, but mourned for him when dead. *Philip* the father of *Alexander* was one of the beſt ſpeakers of his age; he was generous to ſuch men of learning as ſought his friendſhip, becauſe he thought himſelf honoured thereby; and he pardoned libellers, becauſe he would not puniſh wit even in an enemy [p]. If his ſon *Alexander* had not been the moſt active prince in the world, he would have been celebrated for being the moſt knowing [q]. As in the ordinary occurrences of life the kings of *Macedon* did not affect that pomp which in thoſe days was frequent enough with princes, ſo in the moſt ſolemn acts of their f adminiſtration they preſerved ſuch a modeſt decorum as rather endeared than awed their ſubjects. They heard cauſes in perſon, and ſuffered thoſe who pleaded before them to ſpeak with the utmoſt freedom. Thus, when *Philip* after drinking hard had decided contrary to right againſt a poor woman, ſhe cried out, *I appeal*. *To whom*, ſaid the king? *Why*, replied ſhe, *from* Philip, *with his head diſturbed by the fumes of wine, to* Philip, *when he ſhall be ſober and in his right ſenſes* [r]. Which the king received as

[f] Arrian. lib. iv. p. 264. Curt. lib. viii. [g] Justin. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 3. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6. [h] Curt. lib. vi. cap. 11. [i] Curt. lib. x. cap. 5. Justin. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 15. [k] Arrian. lib. iv. p. 264. [l] Plut. in Anton. circa fin. [m] Curt. lib. v. c. 11. [n] Curt. iii. c. 12. Justin. lib. ix. c. 8. [o] Plutarch. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 6. [p] Justin. lib. ix. c. 8. Solin. Polyhiſt. cap. 14. Horat. Epiſt. lib. ii. E. i. v. 232. [q] Plin. Natur. Hiſt. lib. viii. cap. 16. Athenæus Deip. lib. ix. c. 13. [r] Plutarch. Apophthegm.

as a just rebuke, and without the least resentment. This custom by a felicity peculiar to this people continued as long as they had kings; for *Livy* tells of *Perseus*, the very last of them, that, after the manner of his ancestors, he sat in an ivory chair, and heard all sorts of causes, even those which were of little consequence [a]. The kings of *Macedon* spoke even to private soldiers with great freedom and condescension; they took as much care of them as if they had been their children, or at least their intimate friends, and such of them as were slain in the wars were always carefully interred with all military honours. Such as behaved themselves with extraordinary valour were honoured with particular marks of distinction; and it is especially recorded of *Alexander the Great*, that he suffered no one to go without a just recompence of his merit [t]. The great men of the kingdom were honoured with the titles of the king's friends and counsellors, nor were they so in name only, but in reality; they gave their advice as statesmen, but they gave it with all the freedom the most intimate friendship should confer [u]. *Hephæstion* the friend of *Alexander* was not afraid even of the resentment of the queen mother, answering her angry letters with a manly freedom, telling her, that, secure in his innocence, he was in no pain from her threats, since *Alexander* was to judge of all things [x]. And that this was not peculiar to *Hephæstion* or *Alexander*, we may guess from the observation in *Justin*, *That the friends of the* Macedonian *kings were not only companions in war, but associates in empire* [z]. They were allowed to wear purple, were intrusted with armies without instruction, and when the *Macedonian* greatness triumphed over kingdoms, they were appointed governors of them with the court and state of kings [a]. The king's life-guard, which consisted but of a small number, was a post of high honour; *Oxathres* the brother of *Darius* was received into this number: Besides these there were other household troops, the commanders of which were not only honourable persons, but even the private men, who, as occasion served, were from thence preferred to great commands [b]. With respect to civil officers, we find that the king's secretaries were very much considered; they not only drew up orders, but saw them executed [c]. The king's seal, or signet which was on his ring, remained generally speaking in his own custody; but sometimes he delivered it for special purposes to one of his friends, because whatever was sealed therewith was by the *Macedonians* held sacred and inviolable. *Alexander*, when dying, delivered his signet to *Perdiccas*, which was thought to explain an expression he had before made use of, that the government should be vested in the most worthy. Not that he meant to disinherit his own family, but that by this act he constituted *Perdiccas* protector of the kingdom; and in this sense *Perdiccas* understood it, when in the presence of the *Macedonians* he desired to decline that mighty load of business, which the king in his last moments would have laid upon his shoulders [d]. The royal physicians were highly considered in the court of *Macedon*, and were treated by their masters as if they had been their intimate friends [e]. When the kings were sick, the whole nation made prayers and vows for their recovery, the meanest people shewing the same sorrow in their looks, their habits, and their speeches, as if their nearest relations were on their death-beds [f]. When *Alexander* lay ill at *Babylon*, the grief of the soldiers some days before his death was so tumultuous, that he condescended to shew himself, and, notwithstanding his great weakness, extended his hand and suffered every one of them to kiss it [g]. After their deaths the *Macedonian* kings were entered in the royal sepulchre, built by *Argeus* at the command of his father *Perdiccas*, with this assurance, that while the kings were buried there, his race should never fail, and after their interment the people mourned for them as for their common parents [h]. Such was the easy, such the excellent constitution of *Macedon*, such the paternal piety of its princes, and such the filial obedience of their people. Let us now proceed to the second head.

The customs of the Macedonians *religious and civil.*

The *Macedonians* in point of religion followed the opinions embraced by the rest of the *Greeks*, worshipping many gods, and indulging a vast variety of vain and ridiculous rites. *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Diana* were especially reverenced by them, the first as their protector; the second as the patron of the brave; the last as the goddess

[a] Tit. Liv. xlii. 67. & xli. 20. [t] Curt. ix. 6. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. [u] Justin. lib. vii. 2. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. & lib. i. p. 48. Valer. Max. lib. v. c. 1. [x] Curt. l. iii. & vii. [z] Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 4. [a] Tit. Liv. lib xlv. cap. 32. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 11. Justin. lib. xiii. c. 1. [b] Curt. lib. x. cap. 6. Arrian. lib. ii p. 113. lib. iii. p. 128. & lib. iv. p. 208. [c] Arrian. lib. iii. p. 167. [d] Curt. lib. x. c. 6. [e] Arrian. lib. ii. p. 89. Curt. III. c. 6. [f] Curt. lib. iii. c. 5. [g] Arrian. Curt. Plutarch. in vit. Alex. [h] Justin. Hist. lib. vii. 2.

a goddeſs of hunting, to which they were univerſally addicted [i]. As they were ſtrict in their morals, ſo according to the mode of thoſe times they were very religious. Their princes diſdained not to act on ſpecial occaſions as prieſts, and to offer ſacrifices for themſelves and their people. All the hiſtorians who have wrote of the life of *Alexander* agree in furniſhing us with many inſtances of his devotion, not only in ſacrifices, but in erecting altars, inſtituting games, dedicating ſtatues, and many other things. Omens were greatly heeded by this people; two eagles fluttering the whole day over the royal palace when *Olympias* was in labour was conſtrued to portend, that the two empires of *Europe* and *Aſia* would center in the child of which ſhe was then delivered [k]. Many other inſtances of a like nature occur in the hiſtory,
b as the reader will obſerve; and therefore we need not anticipate them here.

In their ordinary manner of living this nation was remarkably temperate; but when they feaſted, they were always magnificent, and loved to eat well and drink hard. *Caranus* the king of *Macedon* is recorded to have made a marriage-feaſt remarkably ſplendid [l], and the ſame taſte appeared in his ſucceſſors, particularly in *Philip*, who was a prince of high ſpirit. At theſe feaſts the young men were admitted to ſit down as ſoon as they had killed a wild boar fairly, that is with their ſpears, without toils or nets [m]. From their very infancy they were accuſtomed to ride to hunt, and as ſoon as they were able to go into the field. At their banquets no women were admitted, and it was an inviolable rule with them, that nothing ſaid
c at them ſhould be repeated. At marriage-feaſts they had an extraordinary cuſtom, a piece of bread was cut in two with a ſword, one part of which was given to the bridegroom, and the other to the bride, which had no doubt ſome concealed meaning [n]. Their captives they made uſe of as concubines, but it was held diſhonourable to marry them; yet *Alexander* broke through this by his marriage with *Roxana*, and numbers followed his example. It is certain his victories changed the manners of his ſoldiers as well as his own; for whereas before they were content with plain and light arms, they afterwards adorned themſelves with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, and became not only well, but richly, clad, at the expence of the *Perſians* [o].

In affairs of government we have ſhewn them to be wiſe and prudent; in one *Little verſed*
d thing, however, they were very defective, *viz.* in their care of maritime affairs, *in maritime*
which, notwithſtanding the great advantages they had, they neither practiſed nor *affairs.*
underſtood, as is evident from the accounts we have of *Alexander*'s fleets and naval expeditions, and the fright and terror his ſeamen were under at every new ſight they ſaw [p]. We can account for this no otherwiſe than from their being continually engaged in wars with their neighbours upon the continent, and having their ports at the ſame time either in the hands of, or blocked up by, the maritime powers of *Greece*. *Philip*, who firſt freed his country from theſe inconveniencies, had not time to think of naval affairs before he was cut off by an immature death; his ſucceſſor,
e amongſt other great deſigns he had formed, had that of ſettling and increaſing his fleets in his mind when he died at *Babylon* [q]. Whatever contributed to make them ſtrong and warlike was particularly affected by the *Macedonians*, which was the true reaſon why hunting was their great exerciſe and prime diverſion; beſides this, they were addicted to all the *Grecian* exerciſes, particularly wreſtling and boxing, for which ſports there was a place ſet apart in all their camps, and their commanders, when the buſineſs of the war allowed them leiſure, diverted themſelves with ſeeing the activity of their ſoldiers in theſe exerciſes [r]. They alſo practiſed a kind of military dancing, which was at once both pleaſant and wonderfully graceful [s].

f We have already ſaid, that their laws conſiſted only in the decrees of their princes, *Their laws.*
which were, however, founded on the principles of natural equity, or otherwiſe would have expoſed him, whoſe deciſions they were, to the hatred and ill-will of his ſubjects. We have likewiſe obſerved, that in capital caſes judgment was given by the people of the army; here it will be fit for us to obſerve, that the accuſed was always ſuffered to defend himſelf with the utmoſt freedom, though even at his trial he appeared bound in a habit of diſtreſs and without any enſigns of dignity, let his quality

[i] Arrian. lib. 1. p. 32. Justin. Hiſt. lib. xi. c. 5. Curt. iii. cap. 12. [k] Justin. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 16. [l] Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. iv. [m] Hegesand. apud Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. 1. [n] Herodot. lib. v. c. 17. Curt. lib viii. c. 4. [o] Curt. lib. ix. cap. 3. [p] Arrian. lib. iii. Curt. lib. ix. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. [q] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. [r] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. ix. c. 3. Plutarch. vit. Alexand. [s] Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. xiv.

quality be what it would. In doubtful cases the torture was permitted without any a
respect to birth or former services, of which we shall find frequent instances in the history of *Alexander*, whose reign, as it was tinged purple with the blood of his enemies, so it was also stained with the gore of his countrymen. The punishments among them were of different kinds; sometimes the criminal was thrust through with darts, at other times crucified with his head downwards: Sometimes they were thrown chained into rivers; yet these seem to have been either foreign customs or punishments inflicted in extraordinary cases; that which was most frequent, and which consequently seems to have been legal, was stoning [t] to death, wherein the army, as they had been made judges, were executioners, which perhaps was no ill expedient to prevent rash judgments. b

The Macedonian *kalendar.*

THE *Macedonian* year, or, as it is usually called, the *Greek* year, to distinguish it from the *Attic* year, was composed of twelve months; but as to the number of days in each of these months and the method of the *Macedonian* kalendar, there are great disputes, we shall set down the scheme of the judicious archbishop *Usher*, and shall inform the learned and inquisitive reader where he may receive further satisfaction in a note [u].

A Table of the Macedonian *Months.*

Dius consisted of thirty days, the first of which answered to the 24th of *September*, the last to the 23d of *October*. c

Apellacus, containing thirty days, the first of which answered to the 24th of *October*, the last to the 22d of *November*.

Audynaeus, consisted of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 23d of *November*, the last to the 23d of *December*.

Peritius, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 24th of *December*, the last to the 22d of *January*.

Dystrus, consisting of thirty days, the first answering to the 23d of *January*, the last to the 21st of *February*.

Xanthicus, containing thirty-one days, the first answering to the 22d of *February*, d
the last to the 24th of *March*, excepting the intercalated year, when it answered to the 23d. In this month there was a lustration solemnly performed, which from the name of the month was called *Xanthica*, in this manner: They divided a bitch in the middle, laying one side with the intrails on their right hand, the other on the left; between marched the army in battalia, and after they had passed, they separated into two corps, and main ained a mock fight.

Artemisius, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of *March*, and the last to the 24th of *April*.

Daesius, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *April*, the last to the 24th of *May*; this month the *Macedonians* held to be extremely unfortunate, e
which *Alexander* observing, and knowing how dangerous superstition is, when strongly seated in vulgar minds, he as a remedy in the present case decreed, that this month should not be for the future called *Daesius*, but, by a repetition of the name of the former month, called it the second *Artemisius*.

Panemus, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of *May*, the last to the 24th of *June*.

Lous, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *June*, the last to the 24th of *July*.

Gorpiacus, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of *July*, the last to the 24th of *August*. f

Hyperberetaes, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *August*, the last to the 23d of *September*.

THUS the *Macedonian* year consisted of seven even months, that is of months of thirty days each, making in all two hundred and ten days, and of five unequal months consisting of thirty-one days each, making in all a hundred and fifty-five days, together three hundred and sixty-five days; but every fourth year the month *Hyp.r-*

[t] CROPHII Antiquitates Macedon, lib. ii. c. 4. [u] USSERII, Dissertatio, &c.

a *Hyperberetaes* conſiſted of thirty-one days, which anſwered the end of our leap-year (A).

Their coin. As there were very rich mines in *Macedonia*, ſo under ſeveral kings there were great variety both of ſilver and gold pieces coined; of the latter ſort were the *Philippics*, ſo called from bearing the buſt of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which are ſo often mentioned in ancient authors, and were for a long time the moſt current money in *Greece*; and ſuch were many others, deſcriptions of which are to be found among the writings of antiquaries, as ſome of the pieces are yet extant in the cabinets of the curious. There is a ſingularity in the *Macedonian* coins, which ought not to be paſſed over, and it is this; they not only bear the buſts and inſcriptions of the b princes under whom they were coined, but alſo the names of the cities in which they were coined, and the figures in their reverſes frequently refer to thoſe cities [x].

Their language. THE *Macedonian* tongue differed very much from the *Greek*, that is, from all the ſeveral dialects of that language, as is evident from *Strabo* [y] and *Athenæus* [z]; but eſpecially from *Curtius* in his account of the proceedings againſt *Philotas*; from whence it is clear, that the natives of *Greece*, who ſerved in *Alexander*'s army, were not able to underſtand a diſcourſe delivered in the *Macedonian* tongue [a].

Their military diſcipline. WE come laſt of all to the military diſcipline of the *Macedonians*, which was their peculiar glory, and which raiſed them from a mean and obſcure people to be lords of *Greece*. They were in their firſt beginning obſtinately brave, as well as c naturally warlike; by degrees they acquired knowledge in diſcipline, and became at laſt invincible from a happy mixture of ſuperior courage with ſuperior skill. We are indebted for theſe obſervations to *Polybius*, an author of equal character for veracity and penetration, who, in his deſcription of the military virtues of the *Macedonians*, does them all the juſtice that the beſt of writers could afford the braveſt men [b]. But it may be objected, if the *Macedonians* were always ſo fierce and ſo unconquerable a nation, how they came to be ſo long under the dominion of the *Perſians*, to be awed by the *Illyrians*, *Thracians*, and other neighbouring nations, and to be tributary to the *Athenians* even to the time of *Philip*? The reader will find an anſwer to all this in the courſe of the ſucceeding hiſtory, whence it will appear, d that there were ſo many obſtacles placed in the way of the *Macedonian* greatneſs from the natural ſituation of things, againſt which they continually ſtruggled, and in the end overcame them all. True it is, that the *Macedonians* were often leſs powerful, though never leſs brave than their neighbours, that till the time of *Philip* they were far from being rich, and that till his reign they had not either ſhewn hopes or ambition of aſſuming the ſovereignty of *Greece*; but when once the genius of their prince had opened a path to the empire, they ſeconded his efforts by undertaking chearfully the moſt arduous expeditions, and undergoing in order to their accompliſhment the ſevereſt diſcipline. War from this time forward was the buſineſs of the whole nation, inſomuch, that the youth of *Alexander*'s army were not only bred but e born in the camp; but it is neceſſary for us to be more particular, and therefore we will ſubdivide the remaining part of this head into five conſiderations.

Their ſoldiers, how choſen. THE firſt ſhall relate to the choice of the army, that is, the troops of which it was made up; and theſe, after the *Macedonian* kings became conſiderable, were, firſt, their natural-

[x] CROPHII Antiquitat. Macedon. lib. ii. cap. 5. WOLFGANGI LAZII Græc. Antiq. [y] STRAB. Geograph. lib. vii. p. 687. [z] Deipnoſoph. lib. iii. c. 33, [a] CURT. lib. iv, p. 9. [b] Hiſt. lib. iv. c. 11.

(A) *Lalamnatius* wrote three diſſertations on the ancient methods of computing time, the ſecond of which relates only to the *Macedonian* year, which he tells us conſiſted of twelve months, making *Xanticus* the firſt, and *Dyſtrus* the laſt. One half of theſe months he aſſerts to have conſiſted of twenty-nine days, and the other half of thirty; taken together, the *Macedonian* year according to him conſiſted of 354 days; to reconcile which to the ſolar year, at the end of each third year they intercalated a month of thirty-three days. He does not attempt to ſupport all he ſays by authorities, but contents himſelf with laying them down as matters of fact. The very learned and judicious primate *Uſher* in his excellent work, intitled, *A Diſſertation on the* Macedonian *and* Aſiatic *ſolar year*, has examined this matter to the bottom; and, with all the ſkill of a learned aſtronomer and all the knowledge of a critic in the *Greek* literature, hath made this matter as plain as can be made, ſupporting every thing which he advances by reaſon and authority; to him therefore we have adhered in this hitherto intricate matter, and to his moſt excellent treatiſe we muſt refer the inquiſitive reader for a perfect account of the conſtruction of the *Macedonian* kalendar (1).

(1) *Ioannis Lalamnatii Diſſertationes tres, de Tempore & ejus Partibus, de Anno Macedonum ſeu Græcorum, & de anno Attico, apud Gronov. Theſ. Græcar. Antiq. Vol.* XI. *Jacobi Uſſerii de Macedonum & Aſianorum Anno ſolari Diſſertatio, apud Gronov. T. G. Antiq. Vol.* XI.

natural-born ſubjects; ſecondly, their allies; and thirdly, mercenaries. The natural *Macedonians* ſerved at their own expence, and contented themſelves with the ſpoil of their enemies [c]. The allies were compoſed of the reſpective quotas of *Theſſaly*, *Pæonia*, and other dependent provinces, as alſo of the auxiliary troops furniſhed by *Greece* after the kings of *Macedonia* were elected captains general [d]. The mercenaries were ſoldiers of fortune, who never inquired the cauſe, if they ſtood in no doubt about their pay [e]. When *Alexander* marched on his grand expedition, his infantry conſiſted of thirteen thouſand *Macedonians*, ſeven thouſand auxiliaries, and five thouſand mercenaries [f]. The *Theſſalians* furniſhed, generally ſpeaking, horſe, and there were alſo many troops of *Macedonian* cavalry; their diſcipline was ſtrict, for in caſe the private men loſt their horſes, either by ſickneſs or in action, their officers were obliged to furniſh others out of their own ſtables, if they had any in them, from an old-faſhioned notion, that the good of the public was to be preferred to the pomp of private men [g].

Secondly, let us ſpeak of the order of the *Macedonian* troops; the foot were compoſed of three ſorts, *viz.* the light-armed [h], the *Peltaſtæ*, who were better armed [i], and the heavy-armed ſoldiers, of whom the phalanx was compoſed [k]. Theſe troops were ſuited to all ſorts of enterprizes; for if a poſt was to be attacked ſuddenly, the light-armed foot were employed; if ſteadily, and in expectation of an obſtinate reſiſtance, then the *Peltaſtæ* or targeteers were ſent; the heavy armed foot were generally drawn up in the center of the army in a ſquare body, which was called the phalanx [l]. *Polybius* tells us, that it conſiſted of ſixteen in flank and five hundred in front, all pikemen, the ſoldiers ſtanding ſo cloſe, that the pikes of the fifth rank reached their points beyond the front of the battle. It is evident from hence, that the pikes of the laſt ranks were of no uſe according to this diſpoſition; they had, however, an excellent remedy for this, which was thus; the hindermoſt ranks leaned the pikes on the ſhoulders of thoſe who were before them, and locking them faſt preſſed briskly againſt them when they made the charge, ſo that the firſt five ranks had the impetus of the whole phalanx, which was the reaſon why its ſhock was, generally ſpeaking, irreſiſtible [m]. It is not very clear into what corps the groſs of the *Macedonian* infantry was divided; but that they were divided into many ſmall bodies, is apparent. But as in all wars the king was commander in chief, ſo, generally ſpeaking, he had the greateſt trouble upon his hands; for in camp, in ſieges, and in battles, he went every-where, and directed all things, affecting neither in pomp of habit, in eaſineſs of life, or by a large train, to diſtinguiſh himſelf from other commanders, but, on the contrary, fared as meanly as any of his ſoldiers, and exceeded them all in his labours; nor is this to be underſtood only of *Philip* and *Alexander*, thoſe great and ſhining lights in the *Macedonian* empire, but of their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors alſo; the laſt *Philip* is recorded by *Livy* to have trod the ſame ſteps, and to have diſdained, that either the luſtre of empire, or the load of upwards of threeſcore years, ſhould excuſe him from any part of that fatigue which he required of the meaneſt *Macedonian* [n]. Happy nation, in which the royal diadem was known and revered, not from the ſplendor of its jewels, but of the virtues of him who wore it!

Their arms. Thirdly, we will conſider the arms of the *Macedonians* offenſive and defenſive. At firſt their targeteers were furniſhed only with wooden bucklers, or ſuch as were made with a kind of wicker; but in proceſs of time they had them of leather and braſs, as we learn from a ſpeech of *Alexander*'s, when his ſoldiers were about to mutiny, wherein he reproaches them with their being in a manner naked, in his father's time, being furniſhed only with wooden arms and bucklers made of hurdles [o]. It is a difficult thing to write clearly on this ſubject after *Curtius*, becauſe he uſes words as ſynonymous which have very different ſignifications. *Arrian* therefore is a better guide; from him we diſcover, that the *Macedonians* had a large ſtrong ſhield called in *Greek Aſpis*, and a ſmall light buckler called *Pelte*, the former belonging to the heavy-armed troops, the latter to thoſe who were between the heavy and light-armed, who were from thence called *Peltaſtæ* or *Targeteers* [p]. As to the *Macedonian* ſwords, we do not find that they differed from thoſe of the reſt of the *Greeks*; they

[c] Curt. iii. c. 10. [d] Justin. Hiſt. xii. 4. Curt. x. cap. 2. [e] Curt. lib. v. cap. 1. [f] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. [g] Arrian. lib. vi. p. 426. Curt. lib. vii. c. 1. [h] Ælian. Tact. c. 6. [i] Tit. Liv. xxxi. c. 36. [k] Curt. lib. vii. c. 9. [l] Arrian. & Curt. mult. in locis. [m] See Potter's Archæol. Vol. II. lib. iii. [n] Arrian. lib. v. Tit. Liv. lib. xlii. c. 58. [o] Curt. x. c. 2. [p] Arrian. lib. iv.

a they were made both for puſhing and cutting, as will appear from various incidents in the ſucceeding hiſtory; their hilts were wrought in various forms, and that pretty early, as appears from the murder of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which was performed by *Pauſanias* with a ſword, on the hilt of which was engraven a chariot drawn by four horſes; the *Macedonians* alſo made uſe of daggers; as to their ſpears, they were of different kinds, *viz.* long and ſhort; the former were uſed by the ſoldiers compoſing the phalanx, and were ſometimes ſixteen, at the leaſt fourteen, cubits, or one and twenty feet in length; the ſhorter ſpear was uſed by the light-armed troops [q]. The head-piece was made of a raw oxe's hide, that is, untanned, we may ſuppoſe, for the ſake of its toughneſs; *Livy* ſpeaks of horns to it. 'Tis very probable that b theſe were the wings of a double creſt, one of which, as *Plutarch* tells us, was ſtruck from the head-piece of *Alexander* at the battle of *Granicus*. They had alſo breaſt-plates made of linen quilted to a proper thickneſs, and a particular kind of military ſhoe [r]. The horſemen wore the ſame defenſive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were lighter and ſmaller and their ſpears ſhorter. All theſe things were well contrived for the times in which they were uſed; and it is obſervable, that the *Roman* authors all ſpeak of the *Macedonian* diſcipline as very complete, and acknowledge that the phalanx was almoſt an equal match for the *legion*.

Fourthly, let us turn our thoughts on the *Macedonian* armies when in the field. *Their diſcipline in the field.* The phalanx was drawn up generally in the centre; the horſe and light-armed troops c in two lines on the right and left. In all engagements the phalanx marched ſlowly, but was particularly quick in its motions; that is to ſay, it did not preſs precipitately upon the enemy, but receiving its orders from the king, took what form he directed, ſometimes extending itſelf in front, at others deepening its files till it had the ſhape of a wedge, fighting ſteadily and obſtinately, till the force of the enemy was intirely broken, who were then purſued by the light-armed forces and the horſe, the phalanx remaining in the field of battle, and carefully preventing the enemy's reaſſembling their troops [s]. It is not evident from any of the ancient hiſtorians, that the phalanx was divided into very ſmall corps; a phalanx of ſixteen thouſand men conſiſted but of ten battalions; and as they were ſeldom intended to march in ſeparate bodies, d there was no great occaſion for thoſe ſubdiviſions which were in uſe in other armies [t]. When the armies drew near, the charge was ſounded by trumpets; after which the king or general was wont to make an oration, exhorting the people to conſider the glory which their anceſtors had won, and to ſhew themſelves worthy of ſuch anceſtors by their own conduct. *Curtius* tells us, that after the fight was begun, as often as occaſion offered, the king addreſſed himſelf to the army, and endeavoured by all means to excite them to the performance of great things [u]. If the ſoldiers were pleaſed with the king's ſpeech, then they ſignified it by the claſhing of their arms; but if it did not affect them, then they remained ſilent. When they charged, they cried out, *Alala*, *Alala*, a word which has no proper ſignification; but may be pro- e perly enough rendered into *Engliſh* by a word uſed to the ſame purpoſe, viz. *Huzza*. *Laſtly*, when they deſired quarter, their method was to hold their ſpears aloft in the air [x].

In the fifth place, their general diſcipline, or rather the *Macedonian* art of war, falls under our cognizance. With reſpect to the hardineſs, frugality, and good order of the *Macedonian* troops, all authors are agreed; and though, it may be, their diſcipline was in ſome meaſure relaxed, when *Alexander* diſtributed amongſt them the ſpoils of the eaſt, yet by degrees the ancient rules were reſtored, ſo that the very laſt *Macedonian* armies were much admired for the regularity of their diſcipline. When the army was in the field, the king, aſſiſted by his generals and by ſuch officers of f the army as were beſt acquainted with thoſe matters, marked out a place for a camp, which was immediately fortified with a good ditch and retrenchment. When the army was to march, part of this retrenchment was levelled, that they might march in order; an excellent maxim, if we conſider the ſtructure of their phalanx, which could not well have borne paſſing through ſeveral openings [y]. The tents were ſmall, as being intended to ſupply only a neceſſary covering againſt the inclemency of the weather. They were made of ſkins, and therefore, when they were bundled up, they ſometimes made uſe of them in paſſing rivers; two ſoldiers lay in a tent. As for the king,

[q] POLYB. Eclog. xvii. [r] CROPHII Antiquitat. Macedon. lib. iii. c. 4. [s] POTTER's Antiquities, Vol. II. lib. iii. [t] APPIAN. in Syriacis. TIT. LIV. lib. xxxiii. c. 4. XIPHIL. in Carac. [u] lib. iv. c. 13. [x] ARRIAN. lib. i. p. 15. [y] CURT. viii. 5.

king, his tent was pitched in the centre, where he lay by himself; it seems to have consisted but of two apartments, one where the king slept, the other where he saw company, before the door of it his guards did duty [z]. The military signals among the *Macedonians* were either trumpets or fires. On a march the cavalry and light-armed troops took post in the van, the phalanx in the centre, and the baggage in the rear, except when there was reason to apprehend a sudden engagement; then they marched in order of battle; every soldier had a kind of knapsack, and there were also carts and waggons which attended on the army, but not in such numbers as were used by other nations, because among the *Macedonians* neither women nor useless servants were indulged [a]. As to plunder, it was sometimes distributed amongst the soldiers, at others collected together and sold for the use of the king, or for the army [b]. When in quarters, to keep up discipline, and to preserve the army from corruption, military games were instituted, wherein rewards both honorary and lucrative were bestowed. After victories obtained, their kings were wont to reward all such as particularly distinguished themselves; as for such as died in the service, they were honoured with public monuments, and their children and relations freed from tribute; in all other respects, they were treated with the greatest humanity and condescension, and when the time limited for their service expired, or their wounds rendered them incapable of serving, they were dismissed, not to seek a living where they could, but with ample provision for themselves and families, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labours, and by living in ease and peace excite younger and more robust men to serve chearfully in their stead [c]. We have insisted the longer upon this head, because the *Macedonians* were rendered considerable by nothing so much as their abilities in war; their empire was gained and preserved by arms, and of consequence the *Macedonian* history would be unintelligible, if the nature and discipline of their armies were not fully and properly described; for want of it the exploits of *Philip* have been ill understood, and those of *Alexander* wear too often the air of romance. We hope that in the subsequent sheets they will appear in the light of true history.

[z] CURT. lib. iv. c. 10. [a] Id. lib. vi. c. 2. [b] CURT. lib. iv. ARRIAN. lib. i. p. 6. [c] ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. CURT. lib. ix. cap. 1. DIOD. lib. xvi. VELL. lib. i.

SECT. III.

The history of the Macedonian *kingdom, from its foundation to the reign of* Philip *the father of* Alexander.

THE great obscurity of the *Greek* history, arising chiefly from the want of ancient historians, and the variations which are visible in the works of such authors as have attempted to give us the story of those ancient times, have already sufficiently appeared from the account we have given of the fabulous and heroic times and of the ancient states of *Greece*. The history of the *Macedonian* kingdom wants not many difficulties of the same kind, and flowing from the same causes; however, the series of its ancient kings is pretty well settled, and though we have no regular account of them in any one ancient historian, yet from the scattered relations in *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Justin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and other ancient writers, we have been able to assemble such a number of passages, as, when ranged in their just order of time, affords us a very passable account of the *Macedonian* affairs, during the period assigned at the head of this chapter; and thenceforward we shall meet with fewer doubts and obstacles, and scarce any chasms in the narration to the very end of the *Macedonian* monarchy under *Perseus* the son of *Philip*. But, in the first place, it will be necessary to exhibit a scheme of those kings and the years of their reigns, as they are set down by the learned *Petavius*, who has adjusted these intricate points with wonderful judgment and perspicuity.

a

A TABLE *of the* Macedonian *kings, from the foundation of that monarchy to the reign of* Philip *the father of* Alexander the Great.

1. *Caranus*	28	12. *Archelaus*	14
2. *Canus*	28	13. *Oreſtes*	0
3. *Thurimas*	45	14. *Areopas*	4
4. *Perdiccas*	48	15. *Pauſanias*	1
5. *Argeus*	32	16. *Amyntas* II.	1
6. *Philippus*	35	17. *Argeus*	2
b 7. *Æropas*	42	18. *Amyntas* again	21
8. *Alcetas*	28	19. *Alexander*	2
9. *Amyntas*	49	20. *Ptolemæus Alorites*	3
10. *Alexander*	43	21. *Perdiccas*	5
11. *Perdiccas* II.	23	22. *Philippus*	24

Caranus the founder of this kingdom was an *Argive* by birth, and a deſcendent from *Hercules*, though authors are not well agreed at what diſtance. An ancient *Greek* writer cited in *Euſebius*'s chronicon places him in the eleventh degree [a]; but *Velleius Paterculus* ſays, that he was the ſixteenth from *Hercules* [b]. It is, however, owned, that he derived his line from *Temenus* one of the ſons of that hero, and that this *Caranus* was the brother of *Phidon*, the brother of *Argos*, who is reported to have been the inventor of weights and meaſures. On what account *Caranus* quitted his native country, no authors inform us; but all agree, that he left it at the head of a conſiderable body of *Greeks*, with whom intending to ſettle, as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, in ſome other country, he conſulted the oracle as to the meaſures which he ought to take; he was anſwered, that he ſhould eſtabliſh his empire according to the direction of the goats. It is very probable, that *Caranus*, when he received this reſponſe, knew not what to make of it; however, in purſuit of his firſt intention he entered that country, ſince known by the name of *Macedonia*, and particularly the little d kingdom of *Æmathia*, at that time governed by king *Midas*, and drew near to its capital, which was then called *Edeſſa*. On a ſudden the ſky being overcaſt and a great ſtorm coming on, *Caranus* obſerved a herd of goats running for ſhelter to the city; immediately recollecting the oracle, he commanded his men to follow them cloſely, and entering the city by ſurprize, he poſſeſſed himſelf firſt of it, and after of the kingdom. In gratitude to his conductors, he changed the name of the place into *Ægea*, and called his people *Ægeates*; he likewiſe made uſe of a goat in his ſtandard, in order to perpetuate the memory of this extraordinary event. *Telegonus* the ſon of *Aſteriopæus*, the friend of *Priam* and one of the heroes in the *Trojan* war, governed *Pæonia*, and other little princes the ſeveral regions of which *Macedonia* e is compoſed [c]. *Caranus* ſubdued by degrees ſuch of his neighbours as were inferior to him in force, and added their dominions to his own, laying by that means the foundation of that kingdom which his ſucceſſors afterwards raiſed to ſuch ſplendor. *Pauſanias* has recorded an exploit performed by this prince, which deſerves conſideration, inaſmuch as it confirms what we have ſaid before, and ſhews alſo how maxims come to be eſtabliſhed in particular kingdoms. *Caranus*, among other princes againſt whom he turned his arms, attacked *Ciſſæus* the ſovereign of a ſmall territory ſouth of the new kingdom *Ægæa*, and conquered his country; whereupon, according to the cuſtom of the *Argives*, *Caranus* erected a trophy; but a lion, coming out of a f foreſt in the neighbourhood of *Olympus*, deſtroyed it; of which the conqueror being informed, underſtood it as a caution from the gods not to irritate his barbarous neighbours by erecting monuments to their ſhame; whence he made it a rule to himſelf, and left it as an inviolable maxim of ſtate to his ſucceſſors, never to treat any vanquiſhed people as enemies, but to receive them immediately into their protection, as if they had been born their ſubjects [d]. Chronologers are by no means agreed as to the beginning of this prince's reign; but, after conſidering what has been offered on all hands, and comparing the conjectures of the learned in this ſcience with the facts mentioned by ancient hiſtorians, the moſt probable opinion ſeems to be, that he founded

Caranus.

[a] p. 47. [b] Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 6. [c] JUSTIN. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 6. [d] PAUSAN. l. ix. SCALIGER. ad Euſeb. p. 47. Can. Iſagog. lib. ii. p. 163. lib. iii. p. 33.

Year after the flood 2205. *Before Christ* 794.

founded this kingdom about seventeen years before the first olympiad, that is to say, about the years specified in the margin, according to the tables of the judicious archbishop *Usher* [c]. a

Cœnus.

To *Caranus* succeeded his son *Cœnus*, of whom we know very little more, than that his mother was the daughter of one *Cnopis* a *Colchian*, who on some account or other came into *Macedonia*, and lived with *Caranus*, who married his daughter; this *Cœnus* began his reign in the last year of the third olympiad, and having governed twenty-eight years as well as his father, he left his throne to *Thurymas* or *Thurimas* his son [f].

Thurymas.

Thurymas, *Thurimas*, or *Thyrmas*, succeeded to the *Macedonian* throne about the eleventh olympiad. As to the particulars of his reign, we are totally in the dark, no ancient author having recorded any thing about it. In order, however, to give the reader some idea of the time in which this *Macedonian* prince swayed with so little noise the sceptre of his fathers, it may not be amiss to take notice of some few remarkable things which fell out in his days in the neighbouring parts of the world. He was cotemporary with *Ahaz* and *Hezekiah* kings of *Judah*; in the eighteenth year of his reign *Salmanazar* carried away captive the ten tribes of *Israel*. In his twentieth year *Candaules* king of *Lydia* was slain by *Gyges* his servant, and thereby the race of *Hercules* dispossest of that kingdom. About the same time the famous *Sethos* began his reign in *Egypt*. In the twenty-ninth year of *Thurymas*'s administration, *Dejoces* erected the monarchy of the *Medes*. *Rome*, which had been founded in the days of his father *Cœnus*, had during his life its two first kings *Romulus* and *Numa*. After possessing the throne of *Macedon* forty-five years, he transmitted it to his son *Perdiccas* [g]. b c

Perdiccas.

Perdiccas the first began his reign in the twenty-second olympiad, a monarch of great parts, and happy in his fortune; he extended his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, and did so many great things, that, like most other heroes, the light of his glory hath received some diminution from the shade of fiction which hath followed it [h]. When full of years, he is said to have shewn his son the place where he desired to be buried, and where he likewise exhorted him to order his own body to be laid, and those of his posterity, signifying at the same time, that till this custom was abolished, there should not want one of his line to sit upon the throne; and some have been superstitious enough to imagine, that this prediction was fulfilled on the interring of *Alexander the Great*'s body elsewhere [i]. *Herodotus* hath recorded many things which have indeed the air of fable in relation to this prince; but as it is fit the reader should be acquainted with them, they are placed below in a note (A). d

Argæus

[c] USSER. ad A. I. P. 3920. [f] HELVIC. Theatr. Chron. p. 51. [g] USSER. ad A. I. P. 3966.
[h] HERODOT. l. viii. [i] JUSTIN. lib. vii. cap. 2.

(A) The relation of *Herodotus* runs thus: "*Perdiccas* obtained the monarchy of *Macedonia* in the following manner; *Gavanes*, *Æropus*, and *Perdiccas*, three brothers, descendents of *Temenus*, fled from *Argos* to *Illyria*, and from thence passing into the upper *Macedonia*, arrived in the city of *Lebæa*, where they entered into the king's service for wages. One of them had the care of his horses, another of his oxen, and *Perdiccas*, who was the youngest, kept the lesser cattle; for in ancient time, not only the people, but monarchs too, had little wealth. And as the wife of this king made their bread, she constantly perceived that of *Perdiccas* encreased to double the quantity of the rest; which when she had long observed, she acquainted her husband with what she had seen. The king having heard, and taking the thing for a prodigy, portending some considerable event, sent for the brothers, and commanded them to depart out of his territories. They answered, that in justice they ought to receive their salaries, and then they would readily go. But the king hearing them mention their salary, and at the same time seeing the sun shining through the chimney into the house, blasphemously said, *This I give you as a sufficient reward of your service*, pointing to the sun as he pronounced these words. *Gavanes* and *Æropus* the elder brothers stood amazed at his discourse; but the youngest answering, *We accept thy offer, O king*, took out a sword which he happened to have about him; and having drawn a circle upon the floor, round the brightness made three several motions to put up the light of the sun into his bosom, and then departed with his brothers. After their departure, one of those that were present, told the king what the youth had done, and that being the youngest, he must have had some design in accepting his offer: Which when the king heard, he fell into a great rage, and sent away men on horseback, with orders to pursue and kill the brothers. In this country is a river, to which the descendents of these *Argians* sacrifice in commemoration of their deliverance, because they had no sooner passed, than the streams ran so high and with such violence, that the horsemen could not possibly get over. The *Temenides* thus escaping went to inhabit in another country of *Macedonia*, near the gardens that are said to have belonged to *Midas* the son of *Gordias*, where roses of sixty leaves each, and of a more fragrant scent than any other, grow naturally without any cultivation."

a *Argæus* the ſon of *Perdiccas* ſucceeded his father about the thirty-fourth olympiad; he was a prince of great affability and goodneſs, whereby he gained the love of his people, and governed with much tranquillity and applauſe. In his time the *Illyrians*, a fierce and barbarous nation, invaded the *Macedonians*, and did them conſiderable miſchief; but *Argæus*, who was a wiſe and valiant, as well as a mild and peaceable, prince, put himſelf at the head of his troops in order to oppoſe them; and having by a ſtratagem drawn them into his power, he fell upon them, and put them to the ſword with great effuſion of blood. In the laſt year of his life, he was cotemporary with *Ancus Martius* king of *Rome*, and having then enjoyed the royal ſceptre thirty-two years, he died and left the kingdom to *Philip* [k]. Argæus.

b *Philip* the firſt became king of *Macedon* about the entrance of the forty-ſecond olympiad; he was a very good, as well as very valiant, monarch; but, as to the tranſactions of his reign, there is little or nothing recorded about them, farther than that he fought with great courage in defence of himſelf and his people againſt the *Illyrians*, by whom he was ſlain in battle, and ſo left the crown to his ſon, an infant in his cradle [l]. Philip I.

Æropas became king of *Macedon*, about the beginning of the fifty-firſt olympiad, at which time the *Thracians* and *Illyrians* ravaged all his country, and were continually ſucceſsful in their battles againſt his ſubjects, till the *Macedonians*, enraged by the misfortunes they had ſuffered, and ſuperſtitiouſly conceiving that they could c never fight ſucceſsfully, but under the auſpice of their king, cauſed the young *Æropas* to be carried into the midſt of the battle in his cradle; and either encouraged by the preſence of their infant prince, or diſdaining to leave a child in danger, they fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that they intirely defeated the *Illyrians*, and obliged them to retire. What were the future fortunes of a prince ſo proſperous in his infancy, no ancient hiſtorian has told us; and therefore we can only ſay, that, after ruling *Macedon* forty-two years, he yielded to fate, and left his dominions to his ſon [m]. Æropas.

Alcetas began his reign over *Macedon*, at a time when the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* exerted their increaſing power, and ſought to extend their fame and their dominion d both by ſea and land; when the affairs of *Aſia* and the whole eaſt were ſtrangely altered by the fall of the *Aſſyrian* empire, and the conjunction of the *Perſian* and *Median* power in the perſon of the great *Cyrus*; and when the petty princes in his neighbourhood began to feel the effects of the *Greek* power on the one ſide, and of this new-erected empire on the other, what precautions this king of *Macedon* took, either to preſerve his own dominions from inſults, or to extend their boundaries by ſubduing his neighbours, is not to be diſtinguiſhed in the *Greek* hiſtories now extant; but, if we may conjecture from what they relate of the tranſactions happening in his ſon's time, it will appear moſt probable, that he contented himſelf with the kingdom left him by his anceſtors, and ſought rather to preſerve that in peace, than to run the e hazard of war through an ambitious deſire to encreaſe it [n]. Alcetas.

Amyntas ſaw the power of the *Perſian* empire increaſe daily; for a while the ambitious views of *Cambyſes* and *Darius* were either directed another way, or checked by ſeditions at home; but, after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius*, either envying the power of the *Scythians*, who ſome time before had made themſelves lords of *Aſia*, or being incenſed againſt king *Iancyrus* for refuſing him his daughter in marriage, determined to march with a prodigious army into that country, and utterly to deſtroy the people; accordingly having drawn together, as ſome authors report, an army of ſeven hundred thouſand men, he cauſed a bridge to be laid over the *Boſphorus*, whereon his army paſſed over from *Aſia* to *Europe*, himſelf, however, going by ſea; then he gave inſtruction to the *Ionians*, and other his ſubjects, to ſail to the mouth of the river *Iſter*, over which they were commanded to lay a bridge; which having paſſed, he gave them leave after waiting for him ſixty days, if he returned not in that time, Amyntas.

to

[k] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Justin. ubi ſupra. [l] Justin. ubi ſupra. [m] Justin. ubi ſupra. [n] Justin. ubi ſupra.

" tivation. If we may believe the *Macedonians*, *Si-* " *lenus* was taken in theſe gardens, which are ſhel- " tered by a mountain called *Bermion*, inacceſſible " in winter. Here they began their firſt enter- " prizes; and after they had reduced theſe parts, " they reduced the reſt of *Macedonia* (1).

(1) *Herodot. Hiſt. lib.* vi.

to retire back again into their own country [o]. While the *Perſian* emperor and all his mighty army were wandering about the deſarts of *Scythia*, ſometimes having an enemy in ſight, and yet ſeeing nothing, which might give them to believe the country in which they travelled was inhabited at all; the *Ionians*, with the reſt of the nations who were left to guard the bridge over the *Iſter*, were conſulting among themſelves, whether they ſhould ſtill remain there in expectation of the *Perſians*, or whether breaking up the bridge they ſhould leave *Darius* and his army to periſh by want and by the arms of his enemies.

The *Scythians* ſtrongly ſolicited them to return into their own country, and the famous *Miltiades*, at that time prince of the *Cherſoneſe*, conjured them not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of delivering themſelves from the *Perſian* yoke. But *Hiſtæus*, tyrant of *Miletus* a city of *Ionia*, conſidering with himſelf, that, the *Perſian* power deſtroyed, he ſhould no longer be able to keep his city in ſubjection; took pains to poſſeſs the other reguli or petty kings, who were preſent, with the ſame notion, and ſo drew them all to concur with him in remaining firm to the intereſt of *Darius*. That the *Scythians*, however, might be pacified, and give them no diſturbance, he adviſed them to break up ſo much of the bridge as was within bow-ſhot of their coaſt; which when they began to do, the *Scythians*, conceiving that they had gained their purpoſe, immediately quitted the ſhore, and went in purſuit of *Darius*. The ſixty days being expired, that prince made all the haſte he could to the banks of the *Iſter*, fearing that the bridge was broken, and that he and his army ſhould find no paſſage; but when they had reached it, and, as their cuſtom was, ſet up a great ſhout to give notice of their arrival, *Hiſtæius* inſtantly brought together the veſſels which had been taken away, and ſo the army paſſed over into *Thrace*, from whence *Darius*, with the far greater part of it, made all the haſte he could into *Aſia* [p].

To conceal, however, the want of ſucceſs in this expedition as much as the thing would allow, he left behind him *Megabyzus* in *Europe* with an army of eighty thouſand men, giving him orders to reduce all the neighbouring nations. In purſuance of theſe inſtructions, he ſent ſeven of the principal commanders of his army into *Macedonia*, to require *Amyntas* to acknowledge king *Darius*. *Herodotus* has preſerved to us a very exact account of this negotiation; we are of opinion, that the reader will not be diſpleaſed in having it as near as may be in his own words. When the *Perſians* arrived in *Macedon*, they went and demanded earth and water in the name of *Darius*. *Amyntas* not only gave them what they required, but received them for his gueſts: and, having prepared a magnificent feaſt, entertained them with great humanity. But, as the *Perſians* were beginning to drink after ſupper, "*Macedonian* friend, ſaid they, "when we make a great feaſt in *Perſia*, our manner is to bring in our concubines and "young women to the company; and therefore, ſince you have received us ſo affec- "tionately, treated us with ſuch magnificence, and owned king *Darius* by the de- "livery of earth and water, we invite you to imitate our cuſtom". *Amyntas* anſwered, "The manner of our country is quite different; for we keep our women "ſeparated from our men: Nevertheleſs, becauſe you are our maſters and require "their attendance, we will do as you deſire". Having finiſhed theſe words, he ſent for the women, who, coming in as they were ordered, placed themſelvs on the other ſide of the table oppoſite to the *Perſians*. But when they ſaw the women were very beautiful, the *Perſians* told *Amyntas* that they were not placed with diſcretion; and that he would have done better not to ſend for them at all, than to let them ſit at that diſtance only to offend their eyes. Upon this *Amyntas*, compelled by neceſſity, ordered the women to ſit down among the men: Which when they had done, the *Perſians*, when full of wine, began to handle their breaſts; and ſome would have proceeded to kiſſes. Theſe actions *Amyntas* ſaw with indignation; yet ſeemed unconcerned, becauſe he was afraid of the *Perſian* power. But his ſon *Alexander*, who was preſent and obſerved the ſame thing, being a young man and unacquainted with adverſity, was no longer able to endure their inſolence; and therefore ſaid to *Amyntas*, "Father, conſider your age; and leaving the company retire to your reſt. "I will ſtay here, and furniſh theſe ſtrangers with all things neceſſary". *Amyntas* perceiving that *Alexander* had ſome raſh deſign to put in execution, "Son, ſaid he, "I pretty well diſcern by thy words, that thou art angry, and art reſolved to "attempt

[o] Herodot. lib. iv. Strab. Geogr. lib. vii. ii. cap. 6.

[p] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Justin. Hiſt. lib.

a " attempt ſome imprudent action in my abſence. I charge thee therefore to do " nothing againſt theſe men, that may turn to our diſadvantage: But be contented " to obſerve their actions with patience; and, for my own part, I will comply and " retire". When *Amyntas* had given him this counſel and was gone out, *Alexander* ſpoke to the *Perſians* in theſe terms: " Friends, ſaid he, theſe women are at your " command: You may lie with all, or as many of them as pleaſe you beſt; and " therefore I deſire you to declare your intentions with freedom: For I ſee you " are inclined to ſleep, and abundantly repleniſh'd with wine. Only permit them " if you think fit, to go out to bathe; and in a little time you may expect their " return". The *Perſians* applauded this propoſal, and *Alexander* ſending away the b women, ordered them to their own apartment: And having dreſſed a like number of ſmooth young men in the habit of women, he furniſhed every one with a ponyard, and introducing them to the *Perſians*, ſaid, " We have treated you with all manner " of variety: We have given you not only all we had, but whatever we could pro- " cure: And, which is more than all the reſt, we have not denied you our matrons " and daughters to complete your entertainment, that you may be abundantly " perſuaded we have paid you all the honours you deſerve; and at your return " may acquaint the king who ſent you, that a *Grecian* prince of *Macedonia* gave " you a good reception both at table and bed". Having thus ſpoken, *Alexander* placed at the ſeat of every *Perſian* a young *Macedonian* in the diſguiſe of a woman; c who, when the *Perſians* attempted to careſs them, immediately diſpatched all the ſeven. This was the fate of theſe *Perſians* and of their attendants, who together with the chariots and all the baggage preſently diſappeared [q].

Megabyzus hearing nothing of the meſſengers he had ſent into *Macedonia*, and diſdaining to march againſt ſo poor a kingdom himſelf, ſent thither *Bubaris* one of his principal officers with a conſiderable body of troops, inſtructing him, as ſoon as he entered the frontiers of *Macedon*, to ſend for *Amyntas*, and make a ſtrict inquiſition after the embaſſadors ſent him before. This had certainly been the ruin of the *Macedonian* kingdom in the houſe of *Caranus*, if *Alexander*, who had been the author of the death of the *Perſians*, had not likewiſe contrived a method how d to pacify *Bubaris*; in order to this, he went directly to confer with him as ſoon as he entered the country, carrying with him *Gygæa* his ſiſter, a very beautiful woman; with whom *Bubaris* became ſo much in love, that for the ſake of obtaining her for a wife, he adjuſted all things to the ſatisfaction of *Amyntas*. Thenceforward the kings of *Macedon* became dependent on the *Perſian* emperors, but were always regarded as faithful allies, and therefore worthy of good uſuage and eſteem [r]. It fell out in the reign of *Amyntas*, that *Athens* recovered her liberty, by expelling *Hippias* the ſon of *Piſiſtratus*, who had aſſumed the ſovereignty. This exiled prince the king of *Macedon* (or his ſon) offered a retreat in his dominions, and the revenues of the city *Authymus* for his ſupport; but *Hippias* thought fit to refuſe this favour, as he did alſo e an offer of the ſame ſort from the *Theſſalians*, who would have given him the city of *Iolchus*, chuſing to retire firſt to *Sigeum*, and afterwards to *Darius* [s].

MANY circumſtances about this time concurred to influence the *Perſian* emperor with a deſire of making war with the *Greeks*; the *Athenians*, without ſtaying till any injuries were offered them, ſent a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the *Ionians*, who had revolted from *Darius*, merely becauſe he had given a kind reception to *Hippias*; while the tyrant uſed all the eloquence, of which he was maſter, to perſuade *Darius* to reſtore him the ſovereignty of *Athens*; in which he had at laſt prevailed, for, the rebellion in *Ionia* being ſuppreſſed, the great king determined to ſend *Mardonius* to chaſtiſe the *Athenians*, and to put *Hippias* again in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty he had f uſurped. This general, having croſſed the *Helleſpont*, marched with his land-forces into *Macedonia*, which, as *Herodotus* tells us, he added to the *Perſian* dominions: but this muſt be underſtood in a reſtrained ſenſe; for it is univerſally agreed, that the *Perſians* did never deprive *Amyntas* or any of his poſterity of the kingdom, but on the contrary treated them always with kindneſs and reſpect. While *Mardonius* lay here, the *Perſians* endeavouring to double the cape of mount *Athos*, were ſurprized by a ſtorm, which drove more than half their ſhips aſhore, whereby there periſhed no leſs than twenty thouſand men. Nor did the land-army eſcape all misfortunes in theſe quarters; for the *Bryges*, a bold and barbarous people of

[q] HERODOT. lib. iv. cap. 34, 35. [r] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. [s] PAUSAN. in Lacon.

Thrace,

Thrace, ſuddenly attacked *Mardonius* and his army in the night, with ſuch advan- a
tage, that they ſlaughtered a great number of his men, and wounded himſelf, which provoked him ſo much, that he quickly made their country the ſcene of war, and reduced them under the *Perſian* yoke. After which, and ſome other inconſiderable conqueſts on the north and north-weſt of *Macedon*, he marched back into *Aſia*. Spurred on rather than checked by theſe diſappointments, *Darius* ſtill meditated the deſtruction of *Greece*; in order to which, he ſent a new army, under the command of *Datis* a *Median* and *Artaphernes* the ſon of his brother, with whom went *Hippias*, who conducted them to the plains of *Marathon*, where they were ſhamefully defeated by *Miltiades* at the head of the *Athenian* army. Even this misfortune could not cure *Darius* of the malice he had conceived againſt the *Greeks*; on the contrary, it height- b
ened and inflamed it; he ordered new preparations to be made for war throughout all his wide dominions, and eſpecially directed all the *Greeks*, who were tributary to him, to provide ſhips and men, which gave the *Macedonians* an opportunity of exerting themſelves with uncommon diligence, and thereby meriting the favour of their maſters. But while theſe things were doing, *Egypt* revolted, againſt which *Darius* finding it neceſſary to march in perſon, he appointed *Xerxes* his ſucceſſor, not long after which he died, without ſeeing either the *Egyptian* or *Grecian* war ſo much as begun[1].

Xerxes, purſuing the ſchemes of his father notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the c
wiſeſt men about him, determined on a war with *Greece*; but previous to his grand expedition, he reſolved to cauſe two things to be performed, which might ſtrike his enemies with terror, and thereby induce ſubmiſſion without the expence of blood; theſe were the cutting a canal or paſſage for his ſhips through the iſthmus, joining mount *Athos* to the continent, which was twelve furlongs, or a mile and a half broad; the other erecting a bridge croſs the *Helleſpont*, where the ſea was about a mile broad. The firſt of theſe enterprizes was committed to the care of *Bubaris* and *Artachæus*, and as ſoon as all things were ready, the great king marched with his prodigious hoſt into *Macedonia*, his fleet being alſo ſtationed on this coaſt. The diligence and fidelity of *Amyntas*, his ſon *Alexander*, and their ſubjects, appeared d
in ſo fair a light to the *Perſians*, eſpecially through the repreſentation of *Bubaris* who had married *Alexander*'s ſiſter, that he thought fit to add to the *Macedonian* kingdom the country lying near the mountains *Hæmus* and *Olympus*; at the ſame time *Amyntas* the nephew of *Alexander* obtained the city of *Alabanda* in *Phrygia*. It would be foreign to our purpoſe, ſhould we enter here into a long detail of what happened in the famous war carried on at this time by the *Perſian* emperor againſt the *Greeks*; we ſhall therefore take notice only of ſuch points as immediately concern the princes whoſe hiſtory we are writing. When the *Greeks* firſt heard of *Xerxes*'s invaſion, they had thoughts of ſending a body of forces into *Theſſaly* in order to check him there, and to prevent his eaſy entrance into *Greece*; but the *Alluadæ*, princes of *Theſſaly*, and e
Alexander of *Macedon* adhering to the *Perſian* intereſt, the *Greeks* were conſtrained to abandon this ſcheme, and content themſelves with diſputing the paſſage at *Thermopylæ*. After the battle of *Salamis*, in which the mighty fleet of *Xerxes* was beaten in his ſight by that of the *Athenians* and their confederates, and the haſty retreat of *Xerxes*, on a ſuppoſition that the *Greeks* would attempt the ruin of his bridge over the *Helleſpont*, *Mardonius*, was left with an army of four hundred thouſand men, to try if he could conquer the *Greeks* by land, whom his maſter had found invincible by ſea. This *Mardonius* was an accompliſhed courtier, one who ſought to accommodate himſelf to his prince's humour, and to preſerve himſelf in honour and power by giving pleaſing counſels; this man had been a principal inſtrument in ſupporting *Xerxes* in this deſtructive ſcheme, and therefore, to avoid the odium and puniſhment due to that offence, he had promiſed the performance of mighty things, provided the command of the army was given to him. As ſoon as *Xerxes* was gone, he ſent for the principal perſons of the adjacent countries, to whom he repreſented what a mighty confidence the great king repoſed in them, and exhorted them, by their zeal on this occaſion in bringing troops to join his army, to demonſtrate their being worthy of the friendſhip of the great king. This made ſuch an impreſſion on the *Macedonians* and the reſt, that, exerting themſelves to the utmoſt, they in a ſhort time augmented the *Perſian* army with two hundred thouſand men.

How-

[1] HERODOT lib. v.

a However, the city of *Potidea* in *Macedonia*, in the midſt of theſe preparations, abſolutely refuſed to ſend any ſuccours to the *Perſians*; but on the contrary declared for their enemies the confederate ſtates of *Greece*: with theſe the *Pellenians* joined, and the *Olynthians* ſhewed ſome inclination to increaſe the defection, which began now to become formidable to the *Perſian* power. *Mardonius*, that he might as ſoon as poſſible put a ſtop to this evil, detached *Artabazus* at the head of ſixty thouſand men to reduce theſe rebels. Againſt the *Olynthians* and *Pellenians* this commander was very ſucceſsful, but the *Potideans* gave him a very great deal of trouble; it is highly likely, that the inhabitants of this place being free, and ſubſiſting chiefly by their traffic with the *Greeks*, were better diſciplined, and conſequently more capable of
b defending themſelves againſt the *Perſians*. At firſt *Artabazus* contented himſelf with blocking up *Potidea*, becauſe he at the ſame time beſieged the city of *Olynthus*, then inhabited by the *Bottiæanes*, who had been driven out of the coaſt of the bay of *Therma* by the *Macedonians*. But after the taking of this city, and putting moſt of the inhabitants thereof to death, he came with his whole army before *Potidea*, and entered in earneſt on the ſiege. How ſtrong ſoever the place might be, and whatever valour its citizens might exert, it narrowly eſcaped the fate of *Olynthus*; for *Timoxenus* the commander of the *Scyonæans* entered into a conſpiracy to betray the city; the manner in which he carried on his correſpondence with *Artabazus* was, by putting a letter into the head of an arrow, afterwards affixing the feathers, and then ſhooting
c it to a certain place. But *Artabazus* having the misfortune to ſhoot when the people were about the place, it ſo happened, that his arrow ſtruck into the ſhoulder of one of the *Potideans*; upon this ſeveral gathered about him, and drawing out the arrow, the letter was diſcovered, and thereby the conſpiracy defeated. But this was not the only misfortune; after *Artabazus* had continued the ſiege three months, the ſea broke into his camp, upon which he raiſed the ſiege, and marched as expeditiouſly as he could to *Pellene*; but before they had reached half way to that city, the waters overtook them, and, what was no leſs fatal, the *Potideans* in their boats, ſo that all who could not ſwim were drowned, and ſuch as could were ſlain by the enemy; only *Ariſtarchus* lying in *Theſſaly*, *Artabazus* found means to march the ſmall remainder of his army,
d which had taken the higher road to his camp, and thereby finiſhed this unfortunate expedition, which, inaſmuch as *Potidea* is a city of *Macedon*, fell properly within this ſection of our hiſtory [a].

In the beginning of the ſpring, *Mardonius* ſent one *Mus* of *European* extraction to conſult the moſt famous oracles on the preſent ſtate of affairs. At his return, he took a ſudden reſolution of treating with the *Athenians*, whom he juſtly looked on as the moſt dangerous enemy his maſter had. In order to negotiate a ſeparate peace with them, and thereby weaken the force of *Greece*, he made choice of *Alexander*, the ſon of *Amyntas*, king of *Macedonia*, to be his embaſſador. What were the motives that determined him to this are not very exactly recorded; but it is not difficult
e to diſcover them with ſome degree of certainty. *Alexander* was a prince of great genius, ſtrictly allied to the *Perſians*, and at the ſame time not a little eſteemed by the *Greeks*; for he, when a very young man, being preſent at the olympic games, and challenged there as a barbarian who had no right to aſſiſt, had proved himſelf by deſcent an *Argive*, on which being admitted, not only to ſee, but to ſtrive, he carried off the prize, and had the honour to be victor. When he came to *Athens*, that wiſe and then virtuous people, though they received him with great hoſpitality and kindneſs, yet they delayed giving him audience, till the *Lacedæmonian* embaſſadors arrived. Then in a ſolemn aſſembly, he was permitted to ſpeak freely, and to acquaint them with the propoſitions with which he was entruſted by *Mardonius*. *Hero-*
f *dotus* having given us the ſpeech which he made on this occaſion, the reader will probably be well pleaſed to ſee it in the words of that author, whoſe harangues are not the leaſt admired parts of his work. "Men of *Athens*, *Mardonius* has ſent me "to tell you, that he has received a meſſage from the king containing theſe words: "I forgive the *Athenians* all the injuries they have done me; and therefore, *Mar-*"*donius*, obſerve the following orders: Reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of their "own territories; give them moreover whatever other country they ſhall chuſe; let "them govern by their own laws, and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, "if they come to an agreement with me. Having received theſe orders, I am "obliged

[a] Herodot. lib. vii.

" obliged to put them in execution, unleſs you prevent me: And now I myſelf a
" would aſk you, What madneſs puſhes you on to make war againſt a king you
" will never conquer, nor always be able to reſiſt? You are not ignorant of the
" numerous forces and great actions of *Xerxes*; you have heard of the army I have,
" and if you ſhould happen to be victorious, and to defeat us, which you can never
" hope ſo long as you have the uſe of reaſon, another much more powerful will
" come againſt you. Suffer not yourſelves then to be diſpoſſeſſed of your country,
" and continually alarmed for your own lives, by meaſuring your ſtrength with the
" king; but be reconciled to him, ſince you have now ſo favourable an oppor-
" tunity in your hands from the preſent diſpoſition of *Xerxes*. Enter therefore into
" an alliance with us, ſincerely and without fraud, and continue to be a free people. b
" Theſe, O *Athenians*, are the words which *Mardonius* ordered me to ſay to you:
" For my own part, I ſhall not mention my conſtant affection to your ſtate, be-
" cauſe you have had ſufficient proof of that in former time: I beſeech you then,
" hearken to the counſel of *Mardonius*; for I ſee you will not be always able
" to make war againſt *Xerxes*. Had I not known this, I ſhould never have
" undertaken to bring you this meſſage; but the king's power is incomparably
" greater than that of all other mortals, and his reach ſo extenſive, that, unleſs
" you immediately accept the favourable conditions he offers, I dread the con-
" ſequences to you, who lying in the way of danger more than any other of the
" confederates, and poſſeſſing a country placed as a prize between the contending c
" parties, muſt be always moſt expoſed to ruin. Let theſe reaſons prevail with you,
" and conſider the important advantages you will receive, if the great king forgives
" you alone among all the *Grecians*, and becomes your friend". The *Lacedæmo-*
nians, in anſwer to the arguments offered by *Alexander*, inſiſted, *Firſt*, on the diſhonour
which the *Athenians* would ſuſtain, if they made a ſeparate peace with the common
enemy: *Secondly*, they took notice, that the commencement of this war was wholly
owing to the *Athenians*, in whoſe cauſe the other confederate ſtates had armed:
Thirdly, they promiſed, that the allies would provide for the ſubſiſtence of the *Athe-*
nian women, and ſuch as were unable to bear arms as long as the war continued:
Laſtly, they let fall ſome bitter expreſſions in regard to the embaſſador himſelf. d
" Be not therefore (ſaid they) ſeduced by the deluſive colours which *Alexander* the
" *Macedonian* has put upon the words of *Mardonius*. He acts in conformity to his
" condition; he helps the tyrant, becauſe he is a tyrant himſelf. But you ought
" to act in another manner, if you judge rightly, becauſe you know the *Barbarians*
" have no regard either to truth or juſtice". The *Athenians* acted as became them
on this occaſion, they told *Alexander*, " They were ſenſible, that the power of the
" *Medes* was far ſuperior to theirs; but that liberty was to be defended againſt any
" force, bidding him therefore tell *Mardonius*, that they would never make peace
" with his maſter as long as the ſun continued his courſe, adding by way of cau-
" tion to the embaſſador himſelf; Appear no more in the preſence of the *Athenians* e
" with ſuch meſſages, nor exhort us to deteſtable actions under colour of doing
" us good offices; for we are unwilling to uſe methods that may be uneaſy to you,
" who are our friend, and engaged with us in a reciprocal hoſpitality". *Alexander*,
having received his anſwer, returned to *Mardonius*, who, when he found that the *Athe-*
nians would not hear of a treaty, immediately determined to march his mighty
army into their country, and deſtroy *Athens* a ſecond time [x]. Having performed
this, and gratified his revenge, he quitted *Attica* and marched into *Bœotia*, becauſe,
being a champain country, it was more proper for his horſe. Here he encamped
on the banks of the river *Aſopus*. The confederate ſtates of *Greece*, having drawn
together their army, marched towards the enemy, and encamped over-againſt them f
in the neighbourhood of mount *Citharon*. For ſome time the armies looked upon
each other, neither of them caring to act offenſively, it having been declared by
ſuch as inſpected the ſacrifices, that the victory would be on that ſide that ſhould be
attacked. *Mardonius*, at length growing weary of this lingering kind of war, whereby
they were reduced to the want both of proviſions and of forage, reſolved, againſt the
opinions of *Artabazus* and the *Thebans*, to fight the *Greeks*. Having one day diſco-
vered his opinion, and ordered all things to be diſpoſed for the attack early in the
morning, *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, when the night was far ſpent, mounting on horſe-
back,

[x] HERODOT. lib. viii. JUSTIN. lib. ii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi.

a back, advanced to the *Athenian* guard, deſiring to ſpeak with their leaders, whom he named diſtinctly: Notice being given them, they came immediately to the barrier; then *Alexander* addreſſing himſelf to them in theſe terms: I come to depoſit "a ſecret with you, O *Athenians*, on condition you will conceal it from all men, "except only *Pauſanias*, leſt you ſhould ruin me. I would not make this diſco- "very to you, if I were not extremely concerned for the ſafety of *Greece*; and, "being myſelf of *Grecian* original, were not very unwilling to ſee the liberty of "*Greece* oppreſſed. Know then, that *Mardonius* would have fought long before "this time, if the ſacrifices offered for him and his army had been found favourable; "but now he has taken a reſolution to have no regard to the ſacrifices, and to b "attack you at the break of day; fearing, as I conjecture, that more forces may "come in to your ſuccour. Be therefore in readineſs to receive him. But if *Mar-* "*donius* ſhould defer the execution of his purpoſe, and not come to a battle, continue "in your camp; for his proviſions are not ſufficient to laſt many days. And if "this war terminates happily on your ſide, ſome of you ought to remember me; "who, for the ſake of the *Græcians*, and out of a deſire to preſerve their liberty, "have voluntarily undertaken ſo dangerous an enterprize, and acquainted you with "the intentions of *Mardonius*; to the end, that the *Barbarians* may not ſurprize "you, and fall upon your forces before you are prepared to receive them". Of this advice the *Greeks* made great uſe, and no doubt retained a grateful ſenſe of c *Alexander*'s favour. Not long after a deciſive battle was fought, in which *Mardonius* was ſlain, and his prodigious army cut to pieces, excepting only a body of forty thouſand men commanded by *Artabazus*, who retired as ſoon as he ſaw that victory declared againſt him. With theſe he paſſed ſafely, though with great haſte, thro' *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, diſſembling the defeat which the *Perſians* had received, and affirming that *Mardonius* with the groſs of the army was marching after him [y]. The ſubſequent actions of *Alexander*'s life are moſt of them covered with oblivion, becauſe we have no ancient writer left, who treats expreſsly of the *Macedonian* affairs before the time of *Philip*, and therefore we are forced to join ſuch circumſtances from general hiſtorians as regard that people, in order to fill up, as well as we may, that obſcure d period, between the acceſſion of *Caranus* and that of the famous monarch we have before mentioned. An ancient hiſtorian informs us, that in the beginning of the LXXVIIth olympiad, the *Argives*, moved by ambition and a thirſt of revenge, made war againſt the *Mycenians*, a brave and free people, whom by degrees they mightily diſtreſt; and at laſt, taking their capital city, drove them out of their native country and obliged them to ſeek habitations among ſtrangers. Drawn by the fame of his generoſity and virtue, numbers of theſe diſtreſſed people fled into *Macedonia* to king *Alexander*, who received them with much kindneſs and hoſpitality, aſſigned them a region to dwell in, and thereby gained immortal honour to himſelf. As he was extremely uſeful to the *Perſians*, ſo we need not queſtion that he took the neceſſary e meaſures in order to make them uſeful to him, by procuring from time to time, as their circumſtances would allow, ſuch additions to his dominions, as made him before his death a great and formidable prince. But, however extended his territories might be, his ſoul was yet ſuperior to his fortune; he lived with ſuch magnificence, made ſuch noble preſents to the oracles, and gave on all occaſions ſuch teſtimonies of generoſity and munificence, that he was by the *Greeks* ſirnamed *the rich*, and is always very reſpectfully ſpoken of by their authors. He had three ſons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*; the firſt ſucceeded to his throne, but the latter kept up for a long time a claim thereto, and thereby created great diſturbances in their native country [z].

f *Perdiccas* the ſon of *Alexander*, in the very beginning of his reign, diſcovered ſuch Perdiccas I. prudence and forecaſt as ſeemed to demonſtrate, that he ſucceeded to his father's abilities as well as to his dominions; he found himſelf environed on all hands either by open enemies or ſuſpicious friends. The inhabitants of *Thrace*, and other barbarous nations, looked on his increaſing kingdom with an envious eye; the *Perſians* treated him as their vaſſal, and, on the other hand, the *Athenians* became ſo powerful by their colonies and allies on the ſea-coaſt, that he was in no ſmall danger from them. A while he amuſed them with a ſhew of friendſhip; but when he found, that they treated

[y] Herodot. lib. ix. Plutarch. in vit Ariſtid. [z] Herodot. lib. ix. Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pausan. in

treated him with an air of ſuperiority and haughtineſs, he reſolved to check their progreſs in this part of the world, nor did he long want an occaſion. The city of *Epidamnus* or *Epidamnum*, being alike diſtracted by ſeditions at home and terrified with the approach of foreign enemies, was in the utmoſt diſtreſs; the weaker party had called the *Illyrians* to their aſſiſtance, by which the government was brought ſo low, that they ſent firſt to the *Corcyrians*, after to the *Corinthians*, for aid; they being a colony immediately from the former, who were themſelves a colony of the latter. The *Corinthians* ſent relief to *Epidamnum*, which the *Corcyrians* reſented and ſent a fleet on the coaſt of *Macedonia*, in order to compel the *Epidamnians* to ſubmit to ſuch terms as they were pleaſed to preſcribe them. Thus a war was began between the two ſtates, in which the *Corcyrians* had the better in the beginning; for they beat the *Corinthians* by ſea, and took the city of *Epidamnum* by ſtorm. The *Athenians* alſo took part in this buſineſs, and aſſiſted the *Corcyrians*; whereupon the *Corinthians* tampered with the city of *Potidea* to revolt from *Athens*, at the ſame time that king *Perdiccas* declared himſelf againſt that ſtate, and perſuaded the *Chalcidians* to abandon their ſea-ports, and to inhabit and fortify the city of *Olynthus*. The *Athenians*, highly provoked at theſe proceedings, determined to revenge themſelves on thoſe who had deſerted them, and eſpecially on king *Perdiccas*, whom they looked upon as the principal author; to which end, they ſent *Agnon* with a fleet and a conſiderable army on board it to beſiege *Potidea*, and to reduce the *Chalcidians*; but the plague infecting his army, he was able to effect little, and therefore ſailed quickly back to *Athens*, leaving *Potidea* as he found it, blocked up by a ſmall army the *Athenians* had there before. By the end of the winter the *Potideans*, finding themſelves reduced to the utmoſt extremity, inſomuch, that they had been obliged to eat one another, treated with *Xenophon*, *Heſtiodorus*, and *Callimachus*, the *Athenian* generals, to render the place on honourable terms, which were granted them, ſo that they had leave to depart with their wives and children, every man having one ſuit of cloaths, and every woman two, with a ſmall ſum of money to bear their charges into *Chalcidia*, and other places where they thought fit to retire[a]. The next year the *Athenians*, under the command of *Xenophon*, made war againſt the *Chalcidians*, but with ill ſucceſs. *Perdiccas* in the mean time, foreſeeing that in the end the *Athenians* would be too powerful for him, endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to that ſtate, or rather with a ſhew of reconciliation, in which he was aſſiſted by *Sytalces* king of *Thrace*, a very potent prince, and one who ſought to augment his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. But how artfully ſoever the *Macedonian* managed his affairs, the *Athenians* ſuſpected him a-new, and *Sytalces* took umbrage at his behaviour. The *Athenian* embaſſadors, then at the *Thracian* court, ſolicited this king to make war upon *Perdiccas*, and exalt *Amyntas* the ſon of *Philip* his brother to the throne of *Macedon*, into which project *Sytalces* was eaſily drawn. That the invaſion might be attended with all imaginable ſucceſs, the ſeveral nations of *Thrace* and all its allies were invited to contribute their quotas to the war, which in hopes of plunder they readily did; the *Athenians* alſo promiſing to ſend a ſtrong fleet with a conſiderable number of land-forces on board. *Sytalces*, taking with him the embaſſadors and young *Amyntas*, entered *Macedon* at the head of 150,000 men, two-thirds foot and one cavalry. *Perdiccas*, knowing it was impoſſible for him to make any reſiſtance in the field againſt ſo great an army, withdrew his forces into ſtrong towns, that he might ſpin out the war into the greater length. At firſt *Sytalces* went on as proſperouſly as he could wiſh; for the principal cities in that territory, which formerly belonged to *Philip*, readily yielded to his ſon; *Mygdonia*, *Greſtonia*, and *Anthemus* he waſted without oppoſition; *Europus*, however, he attacked in vain, and the *Macedonian* horſe, falling on him in defiles and other advantagious places, where his numbers could be of no uſe, did him conſiderable miſchief; in the end, however, it appeared, that though the *Macedonian* horſe were excellent, yet numbers would overpower them, and therefore *Perdiccas* would not hazard any longer his forces in theſe ſkirmiſhes. He found indeed an eaſier and ſafer way of getting clear of this formidable enemy; for having engaged one *Seuthes* the king's near relation in correſpondence with him, he offered him his ſiſter *Stratonica* with a vaſt fortune, in caſe he could bring about a peace. He immediately applied himſelf to the work with an eagerneſs ſuitable to the reward which was promiſed him, nor did he want

[a] Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor Sicul. lib. xii.

a want very plauſible topics to induce *Sytalces* to enter into the meaſures which were to be profitable to him. In the firſt place, he inſiſted, that the *Athenians* inſtead of a fleet had ſent embaſſadors only with inconſiderable preſents, notwithſtanding the war was entered into at their requeſt, and was carried on chiefly for their advantage: He obſerved next, that though this war had not profited the king much, yet it had ſtirred up a multitude of enemies; for the *Theſſalians*, not knowing what turn this war might take, were all in arms in the ſouth, and in the north all the *Thracians*, inhabiting the plain country, with the *Panæans*, *Odomantians*, *Droans*, and *Derſæans*, were likewiſe in arms, fearing this humour of conqueſt might lead him their way; but above all, he argued from the ſituation he was in, unſupported by his allies, haraſſed by his enemies, and already ſtraitened for victuals, as well as pinched with
b cold. After eight days conſideration, *Sitalces* yielded to his kinſman's arguments, and quitting the *Macedonian* territories, marched with all imaginable ſpeed into his own. Within a ſhort ſpace after this, *Seuthes* had his wife given him with a large ſum of ready money, and *Amyntas*, in ſupport of whoſe title the war was undertaken, was left in the ſame melancholy ſtate in which he was before [b]. *Perdiccas*, being rid of this formidable enemy, retained, however, a moſt implacable enmity againſt the *Athenians*, who had ſtirred him up to this invaſion; he therefore privately negotiated with the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend an army into thoſe parts, promiſing to do all in his power to drive the *Athenians* out of all their colonies and conqueſts in *Thrace* and *Macedon*. This was in the beginning of the eighth year of the *Peloponneſian* war,
c and the *Lacedæmonians*, having had lately many and great misfortunes therein, gladly accepted this offer, in hopes of retrieving the honour of their arms; in order to which, they diſpatched *Braſidas*, one of their beſt and braveſt captains, with a well provided army to march through *Theſſaly* into *Macedonia*. The *Theſſalians*, when he firſt entered their country, were in great confuſion; they were well inclined to the *Athenians*, but had never done any thing to provoke the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore looked upon *Braſidas*'s coming amongſt them as an invaſion. But this general, being a perſon of very moderate temper, as well as invincible courage, entertained them with ſoft words, and general aſſurances of friendſhip and kindneſs,
d till he reached *Dion*, a ſmall city in the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus*, and the firſt in the *Macedonian* dominions; of which when he had given *Perdiccas* notice, that prince declared openly againſt the *Athenians*, and owned, that he called *Braſidas* to expel them out of his own country and *Thrace*. But there was ſtill more at the bottom, *Perdiccas* had framed a deſign of ſubduing the *Lynceſtheans*, a bold and warlike people, very troubleſome to himſelf, as well as his anceſtors; and though he had given out, he ſought only to protect his own dominions and the *Chalcidians*, who at his perſuaſion had revolted from the *Athenians*; yet when *Braſidas* arrived, he would have immediately employed him and his forces againſt *Arrhibæus* king of the *Lynceſtheans*; but *Braſidas* deſired to be excuſed, till he had ſent a herald to that
e prince, to acquaint him of his arrival, and to demand whether he would be a friend or foe to *Sparta*. *Perdiccas* took this very ill, and could not forbear ſaying, that he did not ſend for him thither to be an arbitrator, but to fight againſt ſuch enemies as he ſhould ſhew him. The *Chalcidians*, however, hoping to attach *Braſidas* more ſtrongly to themſelves, commended his conduct much; and *Arrhibæus*, laying hold of this favourable opportunity, declared himſelf the friend of *Sparta*, upon which *Braſidas* removed from his frontiers; which ſo offended the king of *Macedon*, that whereas before he had furniſhed half the expences of the army, henceforward he would furniſh but a third. The moderate behaviour of *Braſidas* wrought greater effects than any army twice as numerous as his could poſſibly have done, and many
f cities opened their gates to him, for where-ever he had an opportunity of treating, his word rendered his ſword unneceſſary. About this time died *Sitalces* king of the *Odryſians*, and was ſucceeded in all his dominions by *Seuthes* the brother-in-law of *Perdiccas*. In the winter, *Braſidas* with the confederate army blocked up *Amphipolis*, a famous city; for the poſſeſſion of which the *Athenians* and *Thracians* had ſtruggled long, but was at preſent in the hands of the former, who had alſo an army not far from it under the command of *Thucydides*. *Braſidas* after ſome time determined to attempt ſurprizing the place, having very good intelligence therein; and he marched with ſuch expedition towards it, that he had well-nigh effected what he propoſed;

[b] Thucydid. ubi ſupra.

propoſed; as it was, he put the inhabitants into ſuch a confuſion, that they ſent to a
Thucydides the hiſtorian, who, as we ſaid before, then commanded in *Thrace*, to
intreat him to come to their relief. *Braſidas*, having intelligence of this, offered
the townſmen their liberty, either to reſide in the city under their own government,
or to remove in five days, if they thought fit; which propoſition they accepted,
notwithſtanding all that *Eucles* the *Athenian* general, who commanded in the place,
could ſay to prevent them. After this ſucceſs, *Perdiccas* joined him, and they toge-
ther made many other conqueſts; after which they marched to reduce the country
about mount *Athos*, which in a great meaſure they effected, and then turned their
arms againſt *Torone*, a ſtrong city in *Chalcidia*, which was ſtill held by the *Athenians*,
and which *Braſidas* ſurprized in the night, but without fighting[c]. After this the b
campaign ended, and the *Athenians* procured a truce, deſigning to make uſe of the
time afforded them thereby, to put their affairs in *Thrace* into better order, and to
contrive the utter deſtruction of *Perdiccas*, whom they now held for their moſt bitter
and moſt formidable enemy. On the other hand, *Perdiccas*, having a juſt idea of
the ſituation in which his affairs ſtood, neglected nothing which might reſtore them,
or tend towards eſtabliſhing the *Macedonian* power ſo effectually, as to leave him for
the future without apprehenſions either of *Greeks* or barbarians[d].

WITH this view he ſtrongly ſolicited *Braſidas* to undertake now that expedition,
which he had ſo much preſſed on his firſt coming into *Macedonia*, *viz.* againſt king
Arrhibæus, which, on account of that prince's not performing his promiſes, the c
Lacedæmonian general readily yielded to. The expedition once reſolved was im-
mediately put into execution, *Braſidas* leading his own army, and *Perdiccas* his,
but with promiſe to act for each other's benefit, and to unite their forces, if there
ſhould be any occaſion. When they came into the country of the *Lynceſtheans*,
they found *Arrhibæus* very ſtrongly incamped on the brow of a hill, with a plain
before him; wherepon *Perdiccas* and *Braſidas* encamped on the deſcent of an oppo-
ſite hill, having the ſame plain before them. In this ſituation the armies did not
continue long before an engagement enſued. At firſt only the horſe fought; but
Arrhibæus ſending ſome of his men at arms to ſupport his cavalry, *Perdiccas* and
Braſidas did the ſame; upon which the battle became general, in which the *Lynce-* d
ſtheans were defeated with very great ſlaughter, and conſtrained to betake them-
ſelves to their fortreſſes. Thither the king of *Macedonia* would have purſued them;
but *Braſidas* would not conſent, becauſe his heart was ſet on a ſpeedy return to the
ſea-coaſts, from an apprehenſion that the *Athenians* would attempt ſomewhat during
his abſence. During ſome days the army was in ſuſpenſe, *Braſidas* conſenting to
march on, in caſe a body of *Illyrians*, whom *Perdiccas* had taken into his pay, joined
them; but it was not long before they were conſtrained to think of a retreat, by
reaſon that the *Illyrians*, fearing to aggrandize *Perdiccas*, deſerted to the *Lynceſtheans*,
and thereby enabled them to take the field the ſecond time, which they did with
ſuch vigour, that on the firſt news thereof the *Macedonian* forces, being not well e
diſciplined, and having with them as auxiliaries ſeveral thouſand much worſe diſci-
plined than themſelves, were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they fled in the night,
carrying their king with them by force, without ſo much as ſuffering him to confer
with *Braſidas*. The *Lacedæmonian*, however, made a retreat with ſome difficulty, and
much loſs; and from this time forward there was not a right underſtanding between
the king and that general, each conceiving himſelf to be ill treated; *Perdiccas* re-
ſenting his refuſal to proſecute the war after their victory, when he conceived it to
have been intirely in their power to have ſubdued *Arrhibæus*; and *Braſidas* having
been much offended with the *Macedonian* army's quick retreat, which left him and
his troops expoſed to ſo much danger. The ſtate things were now in gave the ad- f
vantage to *Perdiccas*, becauſe it inclined the *Athenians* to court him, notwithſtand-
ing all the injuries he had done them; and he, on the other hand, beginning now
to diſlike the *Greeks* in general, from an apprehenſion that they all ſought their own
intereſt, and to aggrandize themſelves at the expence of others, determined to lay
hold of this opportunity of cloſing with *Athens*, in hopes that it would enable him to
rid himſelf both of it and the other party[e]. He accordingly began to treat with
Nicias, and at laſt concluded peace; but the *Athenian* general ſuggeſting, that it
would be proper for him to give ſome open proof of his ſincerity, the king reſolved
to

[c] THUCYD. l. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi. ſupra. [d] See TOURREIL's Preface to DEMOST. Orations. THUCYD. ubi ſupra. [e] THUBYD. l. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii.

a to gratify him, and at the ſame time do himſelf a kindneſs; he therefore undertook to ſtop a body of *Spartan* troops under the command of *Iſchagoras*, which was ordered to march through *Theſſaly* to join *Braſidas*. This he effected by his great intereſt in *Theſſaly*, and thereby prevented ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength to the *Lacedæmonian* army, as would in all probability have rendered them far ſuperior to their enemies; whereas a ſhort time afterwards, the *Athenians* ſending over freſh troops, under the command of *Cleon*, *Braſidas* was forced to fight in defence of *Amphipolis*; and tho' he gained the victory, yet he was ſlain in fight, which determined the *Lacedæmonians* to make peace, and ridded *Perdiccas* of his apprehenſions on that ſubject. Some time after the *Athenians* began to have new jealouſies as to the intentions of *Perdiccas*. They charged him with treachery, or at leaſt with coldneſs, in their affairs, and b eſpecially with his not aſſiſting *Nicias* ſo much as they thought he might have done; for which reaſon they poſted troops in ſuch a manner, that *Perdiccas* had no communication with the ſea, which was exceedingly detrimental to his affairs. The next year they carried matters farther; for they ordered a body of horſe to be tranſported to *Methone*, from whence they made inroads into *Macedonia*, and did much miſchief. The *Lacedæmonians* had it not now in their power to aſſiſt *Perdiccas* much; however, they did all they could, which was to ſend orders to the *Chalcidians* their allies to aſſiſt him; but the *Chalcidians*, being not a little afraid of the power of *Perdiccas*, did not think fit to act as they were directed [c]. From this time we meet with very c little concerning him in *Greek* hiſtorians; becauſe, as we have more than once obſerved, there is not one of them who treats profeſſedly of the affairs of *Macedon*; all therefore that we can add of this *Perdiccas* the ſecond is, that he died after a long reign full of years and glory [d]. He ruled at a time when all *Greece* was in commotion, when the *Athenians* were moſt ambitious and moſt powerful, and when the *Lacedæmonians*, who had never attempted it before, began to think of eſtabliſhing gariſons in *Thrace*. He had alſo long and ſharp conteſts with his barbarous neighbours, equally fierce and perfidious, ever ready to make war when occaſion offered, and ſeldom to be depended upon when they thought fit to make peace; yet, in ſpight of all theſe difficulties, and, which added not a little to them, the imbecillity d of the *Perſian* government, which had been the chief ſupport of his predeceſſors, *Perdiccas* maintained himſelf in a ſtate of independency, was formidable to all parties, and left his kingdom both in a better condition and larger in extent, than he found it. It is true, that thoſe authors, from whom we have collected our hiſtory, ſeem to charge him with art and falſhood; but if we conſider who theſe hiſtorians were, and what king *Perdiccas* was, we ſhall not think their authority of any great weight. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſought to aggrandize themſelves, by making conqueſts in, or upon the borders of, his dominions; and in their turns they endeavoured to make uſe of him for that purpoſe. *Perdiccas*, as far as in him lay, eluded their deſigns, and, under colour of fulfilling them, uſed their forces to e ſtrengthen himſelf. Here was art and falſhood on both ſides; but the king was true to the intereſt of *Macedon*; and therefore, as all authors acknowledge him to have been a great king, ſo, with reſpect to his own ſubjects, we muſt allow him to have been a good one *.

Archelaus. It is certain, that *Perdiccas* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Archelaus*, a prince of great parts and wonderful induſtry; but with reſpect to his title to the crown, his perſonal character, and the number of years that he reigned, authors ſpeak ſo differently, and ſo obſcurely, that it is next to an impoſſibility to deliver with tolerable clearneſs the ſtory of his reign. Some ſay, that he was not the legitimate ſon of king *Perdiccas*, but that he obtained the kingdom by throwing his brother, who was its lawful heir, f into a well, and paſſing it upon his mother that he tumbled in by chance, as he was following a gooſe. They alledge likewiſe, that he invited *Alcetas* the ſon of *Alexander the rich*, with his young ſon *Alexander*, to return into *Macedonia*; and that when he got them into his power, he put them to death, for fear leſt, at ſome time or other, they might ſet up a claim to the crown, and give him ſome diſturbance [e], All dread of rivals being now removed, he bethought himſelf of fortifying ſome of his principal cities, that his neighbours, who were powerful in horſe, and who could eaſily draw aſſiſtance from *Athens*, might not over-run *Macedonia* with the ſame facility they did in the days of his father, when *Sitalces* king of *Thrace* ravaged

[a] Thucyd. l. v. [b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. [c] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Crophii Antiq. Macedon. l. i. [d] Diodor Sicul. l. xii

ravaged the richeſt provinces, without riſquing a battle, or running any great hazard a
in his retreat. He likewiſe took other meaſures for raiſing the courage and reputa-
tion of the *Macedonian* monarchy, which did not a little diſturb his neighbours. The
city of *Pydna*, more apprehenſive than the reſt, after ſoliciting the aid of the *Athe-*
nians, declared againſt him, upon which he raiſed a very puiſſant army, and laid
ſiege thereto. The *Athenians*, according to their promiſe, ſent a fleet and army,
under the command of *Theramenes*, to relieve *Pydna*; but that general found king
Archelaus's army in ſo good condition, and ſo advantagiouſly encamped, that he
was forced to retire without ſuccouring the place, which, after a long ſiege and a
very brave defence, fell into the hands of the king, who obliged its inhabitants to
remove twenty furlongs farther from the ſea, that their friends the *Athenians* might b
not ſo eaſily viſit them. *Archelaus* was for nothing more diſtinguiſhed than for his
love of learning and learned men. He had always many about his court, whom he
not only maintained with a magnificence worthy of a prince, but converſed with
them as familiarly as if they had been his equals; inſomuch, that many of his ſay-
ings at table are recorded; for it was the peculiar wiſdom of the *Greeks* to preſerve
from oblivion ſuch ſentences as were either remarkable for their ſprightly wit, or for
the ſolid ſenſe contained in them [h]. Amongſt others *Socrates* was of the number
of the learned, whoſe friendſhip was ſtrongly ſolicited by *Archelaus*; but on account
of the violences he had committed in the beginning of his reign, it is ſaid that great
philoſopher declined correſponding with him [i]. *Euripides* the tragic poet was his c
gueſt, and lived with the greateſt intimacy with this king, who is thought to have
honoured his memory with a tomb, deſervedly commended by ancient authors [k].
It is clear from theſe paſſages, that *Archelaus* ſpent his days in peace and honour.
It ſeems to us moſt probable, that he reigned fourteen years, and that he was ſuc-
ceeded in the throne by his ſon *Oreſtes*. As for the manner of his death, it was by
treaſon, *Craterus* his favourite conſpiring againſt him; but he alſo was murdered in
four days, and ſo reaped little benefit from his treachery [l]. Others again affirm,
that he reigned but ſeven years, and that he was ſucceeded by another *Archelaus*,
who was the elder brother of *Oreſtes*; which *Archelaus* the ſecond they will have to
be the perſon murdered by *Craterus*. *Diodorus Siculus* indeed ſays, that *Archelaus* d
reigned but ſeven years, and that he was killed by *Craterus*; yet he does not men-
tion two princes of that name; and he places the death of *Archelaus* where it ought
to be placed, according to our table [m].

Oreſtes. *Oreſtes* being but a child, *Æropus*, one of the royal blood, governed as protector, and by degrees he increaſed this power of his ſo much, that he acted as abſolutely as if he had been king. It was in his time that *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta* returned by land out of *Aſia* into *Greece*. He ſent to *Æropus*, as he had done to the reſt of the princes whoſe dominions lay in his way, to deſire the liberty of paſſing. *Æropus* anſwered his meſſengers, That he would conſider of it; which anſwer being reported to *Ageſilaus*, *Let him conſider*, ſaid he, *but let us march* [n]; which accordingly e
he did through the heart of *Macedonia*, without waiting for any farther permiſſion; which ſo ſtruck *Æropus*, that he gave orders for the treating him and his army with the utmoſt civility, by which he preſerved his country from being pillaged; for in *Theſſaly*, where the people were not ſo tractable, *Ageſilaus* ſuffered his troops to live at diſcretion. The only reaſon aſſigned for transferring the regal authority, from the family of *Perdiccas* to this *Æropus*, was, that the kingdom could not bear the want of a prince, or, which to the *Macedonians* ſeemed all one, that the ſceptre ſhould remain in the hands of an infant; however, it is very likely, that the family of *Per-*
diccas had many friends; and that after the death of *Oreſtes*, *Æropus* ſtood ſo much in fear of them as to act very cautiouſly; for we hear of nothing he did againſt any f
of his neighbours; but that, after a troubleſome reign of ſix years, he was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Pauſanias. *Pauſanias* held the ſceptre of *Macedon* by no better title than his father had done; and therefore *Amyntas* the ſon of *Philip Tharaleus* conceiving, that neither poſſeſſion nor ſucceſſion could ſanctify an uſurpation, cut off *Pauſanias* before he had reigned a year, and placed the crown on his own head [o].

Æropus

[h] Plutarch. in Apophthegm. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [l] Ælian Var. Hiſt. l. [m] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Petav. in Catal. Reg. Macedon. [n] Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. in Apophthegm. Lacon. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv.

a *Æropus* had ſeveral ſons beſides *Pauſanias*, and of theſe one named *Argæus*, who was the moſt capable. He, on the murder of his brother, immediately began to intrigue, both with the *Macedonian* nobles and with the neighbouring princes, by whoſe aſſiſtance he quickly raiſed a numerous army; and having put himſelf at the head thereof, entered *Macedonia*, and aſſerted his right to the crown, which *Amyntas* not being able to conteſt, he was forced to abandon it almoſt as ſoon as he had aſſumed it [p]. Amyntas.

Argæus remained in poſſeſſion of *Macedon* about two years. We are not informed either how he governed, or what it was that induced his people to wiſh for *Amyntas* again; but at the expiration of that term, the *Theſſalians* furniſhing that exiled prince with an army, he entered *Macedonia* therewith, and forced his competitor to Argæus.

b retire.

Amyntas, being reſtored to his kingdom, found himſelf quickly engaged in a quarrel with the *Olynthians*, on this account: At the time he quitted his kingdom, he made over to them part of his territories which lay next to their city, being in doubt, whether he ſhould ever come into *Macedon* again; but now, when he was thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed on his throne, he demanded the reſtoration of theſe lands, which the *Olynthians* peremptorily refuſed, and prepared to defend their title by force. *Amyntas* ſaw clearly, that, as things ſtood, he ſhould not be able alone to contend with ſo powerful a people; he therefore determined with himſelf to call in the *Lacedæmonians* to his aſſiſtance, which accordingly he did; and that republic, having long Amyntas reſtored.

c had a jealous eye on the power of the *Olynthians*, readily yielded to his requeſt, and ſent *Phœbidas* with ten thouſand men to ſupport the king in this war. Soon after they appointed his brother *Eudamidas* general, and diſpatched him with three thouſand men into *Macedonia*. The *Olynthians*, not at all frighted at theſe formidable armies, prepared to defend themſelves; and having aſſembled a very great body of troops, an engagement enſued, wherein *Amyntas* and his allies were beaten. The *Spartans*, as ſoon as they received the news, raiſed forces afreſh, and ſent a new army, under the command of *Teleutius* the brother of king *Ageſilaus*, to join *Amyntas*. This general, being a man of great courage, immediately entered upon action; and before the *Olynthians* were ready to take the field, waſted their country, and

d enriched the ſoldiers with the diſtribution of the booty; but when the *Olynthians* had received the ſuccours they expected, immediately they quitted their city, and offered *Amyntas* and *Teleutius* battle. The battle was very long, and very obſtinate; but in the end the *Olynthians* were victors, *Teleutius*, with 1200 *Spartans*, being killed upon the ſpot. This ſlaughter ſerved only to exaſperate the *Lacedæmonians*, by whom a third army was raiſed, and *Ageſipolis* their king intruſted with the command thereof. The *Olynthians*, perceiving plainly that they ſhould be at laſt beſieged, raiſed ſtrong fortifications, and laid up vaſt quantities of corn and other proviſions in their magazines. They found means, however, to protract the war for a year, without coming to an engagement. About the end of this ſpace king *Age-*

e *ſipolis* died, and *Polyudas* was ſent from *Sparta* to command in his ſtead. This new general gained ſeveral victories, and at laſt ſhut up the *Olynthians* in their city, preſſing them with ſo cloſe a ſiege, that they were at length conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the *Macedonians*, and accept of ſuch a peace as they were pleaſed to give them [q]. *Amyntas* was not only happy enough to engage *Lacedæmon* ſo heartily in his cauſe, but he was alſo ſucceſsful in his negotiations with the *Athenians*, who had not hitherto ſhewn any great kindneſs to the kings of *Macedon*. He artfully declared, that, in his opinion, *Amphipolis* belonged to them, and promiſed to do all in his power to put it into their hands, whereby he procured their friendſhip without any expence to himſelf [r]. In all other reſpects he behaved like a great po-

f litician, ſtrengthening the intereſt of his family, raiſing the credit of the *Macedonian* monarchy, and binding moſt of his neighbours, particularly the *Theſſalians*, to his intereſt, by good turns, till, after a reign of twenty-four years, he died much reſpected by all the *Grecian* ſtates, and greatly beloved by his own ſubjects. He left behind him three legitimate ſons, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*, under the tuition of *Eurydice* their mother, as alſo an illigetimate ſon, called *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Alorites*, and ſeveral others.

Alexander, being the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father, and proved a prince of great parts, tho' of little probity. The *Theſſalians* were at that time oppreſſed by *Alexander* Alexander.

[p] Petav. ubi ſupra. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [r] Æschin. de falſ. legat. p. 400.

ander of *Phærea*, who ſought to make himſelf abſolute lord of the whole country; a
the nobility applied themſelves to *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who was not back-
ward in promiſing them aſſiſtance. *Alexander* the *Phærean*, having intelligence of
theſe negotiations, immediately raiſed an army, and therewith entered *Macedon*.
The king met him with another army, and a briſk engagement enſued, wherein
the *Macedonian* gaining the victory, he marched ſtraight on to *Lariſſa* the capital of
Theſſaly, the inhabitants of which opened their gates to him, and their example
was followed by the moſt conſiderable places in that country, the king promiſing
to reſtore them all to their liberty; which, however, he was ſo far from performing,
that he put gariſons into every one of them, ſo that the *Theſſalians* quickly found
they had only exchanged one tyrant for another [s]. Upon this they applied to the b
Thebans to deliver them from both. *Pelopidas* was choſen to command a body of
troops ſent for this purpoſe; and the reputation of ſo great a captain effected almoſt
as much as could have been expected, if the whole power of *Thebes* had been em-
ployed in this enterprize; for *Alexander* immediately began to execute the treaty he
had formerly made with the *Theſſalians*, and to quit *Lariſſa*, and other cities which
had been put into his hands. *Alexander* of *Phærea* alſo began to act with greater mo-
deration, and the preſence of *Pelopidas* diffuſed a quiet hitherto unfelt in theſe parts [t].
In this time *Ptolemy Alorites*, the baſe ſon of *Amyntas*, began to plot againſt king
Alexander, and drew ſuch a number of the *Macedonian* lords to his intereſt, as made
the king's authority very precarious; he therefore applied to *Pelopidas*, intreating c
him, ſince he had quitted *Theſſalia*, to act as umpire in the diſputes between him
and *Ptolemy* in *Macedonia*. *Pelopidas*, conſenting to what he deſired, marched im-
mediately into *Macedonia*; and having there ſettled all things to the ſatisfaction of
both parties, it was agreed, that *Philip* the king's youngeſt brother ſhould be put
into his hands as a hoſtage, and with ſome other young noblemen of *Macedon* be
carried to *Thebes*, whither *Pelopidas* at preſent departed, and immediately after king
Alexander was ſlain, and the kingdom transferred to his brother [u]. What were the
original ſources of theſe diſputes in *Macedon*, hiſtorians do not inform us; but it is
moſt likely, that the factions, formerly ſubſiſting in this kingdom and which *Amyn-*
tas ſo hardly kept under, began to revive. However it was, of this we are certain, d
that, on the death of *Alexander*, all things fell into great confuſion, inſomuch, that
the queen-mother thought neither herſelf nor her children ſafe, even as to their
lives and private fortunes.

Perdiccas ſhould have mounted the throne on the demiſe of *Alexander*, and he did
accordingly claim it; but was far from obtaining a peaceable poſſeſſion. *Pauſanias*,
a prince of the royal houſe, ſet up for the kingdom as well as he, and was at firſt ſo
grateful to the people, that the whole family of *Amyntas* were in the utmoſt danger.
It happened fortunately for them, that the *Athenians* about this time ſent *Iphicrates*
with a ſmall fleet to prepare things for the ſiege of *Amphipolis*; to him therefore on
his arrival *Eurydice* applied herſelf; and on her intimation to him of the difficulties e
ſhe was under, *Iphicrates* with great alacrity repaired to the place of her reſidence.
After the firſt civilities were over, *Eurydice* placing her two ſons upon her knees,
ſhewed them to *Iphicrates*, and then putting the eldeſt into his hands, and placing
the other upon his knee, ſhe ſpoke to him thus: "Generous *Athenian*, you know
"perfectly well how tenderly *Amyntas* the father of theſe orphans loved your coun-
"try, and how ſincere an affection he had for yourſelf, whom he adopted for a ſon;
"by this double tie therefore you are bound to ſuccour my diſtreſſed family. The
"friendſhip my huſband had for the *Athenians* his dear allies, and his peculiar ten-
"derneſs for you, muſt conſpire to fill your breaſt with the ſentiments of a brother
"in reſpect to theſe orphans." *Iphicrates*, moved by the queen's tears and intreaties, f
eſpouſed her cauſe, turned his arms againſt *Pauſanias*, and compelled him to retire out
of *Macedon* [x]. *Perdiccas* had little more quiet from this friendly interpoſition of the
Athenians; for ſcarce was *Pauſanias* retired, before *Ptolemy Alorites* pretended to the
throne, and by degrees wrought himſelf into favour ſo with the people, that he
outed his brothers, aſſumed the enſigns, and diſcharged the functions, of a king.
Perdiccas did not, however, quit his title, tho' only a ſmall part of the country owned
it. He had always hopes, that either the *Athenians* or *Thebans* would ſupport him;
but

[s] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv. JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 4. [t] PLUT. in Vit. Pelopid. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [u] PLUT. ubi ſupra. [x] ÆSCHIN. de falſ. legat. p. 400.

a but they, being much embarraſſed at home, neglected all his ſolicitations; till at laſt *Pelopidas*, moved with compaſſion towards the brother of a king with whom he had treated, drew together a few mercenaries, and, with no other authority than what he derived from the reputation of his virtue, marched towards *Macedonia*, in order to reſtore this deprived prince. *Ptolemy* raiſed an army to oppoſe him, and when their forces drew near to each other, he made privately ſuch offers to *Pelopidas*'s mercenaries, that they immediately deſerted him, and went over to *Alorites*; yet this deſertion did not quiet *Ptolemy*'s fears, who looked upon this as an eſcape only for the preſent; and fearing the reſentment of *Pelopidas* much more than many armies, he, of his own motive laid down his arms, and referred the difference be-
b tween himſelf and his brother to that general's deciſion. He having declared, that the crown belonged to *Perdiccas*, the *Macedonians* ſo readily came into his ſentiments, that *Ptolemy* was forced to ſubmit [y]. *Pelopidas*, fearing that, as ſoon as he was withdrawn, all things might fall again into confuſion, took hoſtages on both ſides; from *Perdiccas* his brother *Philip*, who was to have been ſent to *Thebes* before; from *Ptolemy* his ſon *Philoxenus*, with ſeveral young men his companions; and thus an end was put to all diſturbances here for the preſent. *Eurydice* doubtleſs was not a little fearful of giving up her darling *Philip* into the hands of ſtrangers; her concern, however, was ſomewhat abated, from the conſideration of the worth of *Pelopidas*, whom ſhe earneſtly beſought to take care of his education, which he not only pro-
c miſed, but very exactly fulfilled. On his return to *Thebes*, he placed the young prince in the hands of *Epaminondas* his friend, who had in his houſe a *Pythagorean* philoſopher of great reputation. Under his care *Philip* learned the principles of philoſophy, and under *Epaminondas* himſelf he acquired the art of war. Thus his exile became beneficial, not only to himſelf but his country; and he acquired amongſt foreigners thoſe abilities which enabled him afterwards to triumph over them. This was eſpecially owing to his making *Epaminondas* his model; for by ſtudying that great man's temper and diſpoſition, he joined qualities which are ſeldom met with together, that is, indefatigable activity and a ſteady compoſure. As for his temperance, juſtice, diſintereſtedneſs, and candor, thoſe *Philip* meddled not with, as
d ſuiting little with his temper and circumſtances [z]. *Perdiccas* in the mean time governed *Macedon* with a mediocrity of fortune, till he came to be engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, a very martial nation, the ancient hereditary enemies of his ſubjects. Againſt theſe *Perdiccas*, at the head of a very conſiderable army, marched as ſoon as poſſible, that he might hinder them from plundering the country. A general engagement quickly enſued, wherein the *Macedonians* were routed with great ſlaughter, and, which was ſtill worſe, with the loſs of their king, who left behind him a ſon named *Amyntas*, then in his infancy; who, tho' the lawful heir of the kingdom, was unable to govern it; ſo that now a field was opened to civil diſſenſions, while at the ſame time the kingdom groaned under the weight of a
e foreign war [a].

SECT. IV.

The reign of PHILIP.

The miſerable ſtate of Macedon at Philip's acceſſion. Year after the flood 2639. Year before Chriſt 360.

IT was the peculiar felicity of this prince, of whom we are now to record the actions, that his fame ſuffers no diminution, which ever end of his reign we
f conſider, and whether we enquire from what condition he raiſed his kingdom, or to what height under his auſpice it arrived. When he went ſuddenly and ſecretly from *Thebes* to *Macedon*, on the news of his brother's death, he found the people dejected, and the ſtate in the utmoſt confuſion, a king juſt ſlain, the whole ſtrength of the kingdom routed, the *Illyrians* preparing for a new invaſion, and the *Peonians* on the point of making one; a child on the throne, and two powerful competitors contriving to diſpoſſeſs him; *Pauſanias*, ſupported by the *Thracians*, and *Argæus*, to whoſe aſſiſtance the *Athenians* had ſent their general *Mantias* with an army: Yet was *Philip*, tho' but twenty-two years old, ſo far from ſinking under this mighty load,

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [z] Plut. ubi ſupra. Justin. l. vii. c. 5. [a] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.

load, that he not only kept up his own spirits, but invigorated and re-encouraged his despairing countrymen. He applied especially to the army, whom he caressed with the tendrest expressions, and the nobility, whom he bound to his interest by the strongest testimonies of confidence and vast promises. Things a little quieted at home, he began immediately to provide for what was requisite to put foreign affairs in a better situation. In order to abate the vigour of the *Athenian* army, king *Philip* caused *Amphipolis* to be declared a free city, and left it to its inhabitants to govern it how they would. By this step, tho' it seemed a lessening to his kingdom, on account of the importance of the place, yet he was a great gainer; for chiefly for the take of this city the *Athenians* undertook the war and supported his competitor, and by leaving it free, he took away all ground of quarrel with respect to himself; and yet added nothing to the power of the *Athenians* in these parts. To the chief men in *Peonia* he made considerable presents, and thereby avoided a dispute in the field, for which as yet he was unprovided. By the same arts he took off *Pausanias*, his friends knowing well, that, to a feeble state, gaining time is gaining all [a] (A).

His prudence in settling affairs civil and military.

That the best use might be made of this interval of quiet, *Philip*, who at first acted as guardian only to his nephew *Amyntas* the son of *Perdiccas*, laying the youth aside, stept into the throne, with the unanimous consent of the *Macedonians*, who declared, that necessity ought to supersede loyalty; and that, since the public safety required a man, they ought not to pay allegiance to a child. He then proceeded to introduce a new and stricter discipline among the troops, which probably he had learned from the *Thebans*, at least in part. He particularly instituted, or rather modelled, the phalanx, and taught the soldiers how to become more formidable from order and a just conception of the rules of war, than from force; and by the help of frequent instructions, kind language, and, when it was necessary, some bold strokes of severity, he attained his end. Most authors attribute all things in the *Macedonian*

[a] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Justin. l. vii. c. 5.

(A) The discerning reader will easily perceive, that we have taken the liberty to discourse at large on the policy of *Philip*, which is indeed a liberty we ought to account for, this work being intended for an universal register of facts, not of lectures upon them. First then, let it be observed, that this was the most glorious reign which was ever seen in *Macedon*; for *Alexander* cannot be said to have reigned in *Macedon* after his conquests; on the contrary, he rather despised it; and of his successors none, in point of prudence, fortune, or true greatness, can be compared with *Philip*. It is requisite therefore, that this reign, which laid the foundation of the *Greek* empire, should be copiously treated of. Secondly, the reign of *Philip*, tho' crowded with wars, and adorned with many remarkable victories, was, however, a *reign* of *policy*, in which the judgment of the prince wrought more than the force of the people. The *Macedonians* were a brave and generous nation before his time; but it was he who fixed fortune to their arms, and, by making a right use of their valour, procured them those advantages they had deserved, but had scarce tasted before. He found them a nation inured to war; yet he taught them a new discipline, incomparably better than any at that time in use, by which they were enabled to bear away the victory, not only from more numerous armies, but from the best troops in *Greece*, having also numbers on their side; such as the *Phocians*, who made war a trade; and the *Athenians*, in pitched battles held, till then, the expertest among the *Greeks*. He found his subjects low, beaten, and alike without spirits and without allies. He left them feared by their neighbours, dreaded by the great king, and sovereigns of *Greece*, and all this by dint of genius. Thirdly, they who opposed *Philip*, considered him rather as a *politician* than as a *hero* (unless we take that in the oriental sense, and conceive it to signify a person distinguishable alike for the excellence of his wisdom and for his extraordinary valour). His enemies, I say, considered him in this light, and so ought we, otherwise we shall have but an imperfect idea of his character, as is ingeniously hinted by a great *French* writer, who says, Philip *is in esteem only with such as understand history* (1). Our political reflections are inserted for that very purpose. We have collected them from the best authors, not invented them ourselves; and we have inserted them in such places only, as with great difficulty would be intelligible without them. Thus much on this subject may suffice; let us close this note with a few words on the school wherein *Philip* learned this extraordinary wisdom: It was the house of *Polymnas* the father of *Epaminondas*, the greatest man among the *Greeks*, if we will subscribe to the opinion of the most judicious of the *Romans* (2), frequented by the most learned and the most virtuous citizens of *Thebes*, wherein *Lysias* of *Tarentum* read his lectures (3). In all probability *Philip* rather studied *Epaminondas*, than any system of philosophy. That great man raised *Thebes* to be mistress of *Greece*; *Philip* did the same by *Macedon*. *Epaminondas* looked on discipline as the main skill of a general, as well as the main strength of an army; *Philip* taught it his *Macedonians*, and took care they should not forget his lessons. *Epaminondas* was secret and sudden in all his enterprizes; so was *Philip*. We might easy carry the parallel farther; but this is enough to shew, that what *Plutarch* (4) and others of the ancients have advanced on this head, is well founded, and that we ought to regard this *Macedonian* statesman as a copy of the *Theban*.

(1) *Mr. Tourreil in his preface to Demosthenes.* (2) *Cicer. Tuscul. l.* i. (3) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xv. & xvi. *Elian. Hist. Var. l.* iii. *Pausan. in Bœotic. D. Chrysost. Orat. inscript. Rivgat. magistratus.* (4) *In vit. Pelopid.*

Macedonian diſcipline to *Philip*, which in one ſenſe is certainly true, but in another falſe. *Philip* fixed the rules of diſcipline amongſt his troops; but it is not likely he invented them, which, tho' a new opinion, is yet probable, as we ſhall ſhew in a note (B). *Argæus* with a body of mercenaries advancing as far as *Ægæ*, and being conſtrained by the citizens to retire, *Philip* determined to try the mettle of his troops by purſuing them; which accordingly he did, and coming up with them, engaged and defeated them with great ſlaughter; an action which mightily revived and encouraged the *Macedonian* army, taught them to confide in their prince, and to diſcern the ſingular advantages they received from regular diſcipline. The king, however, ſhewed on this occaſion the moderation which diſtinguiſhed his character from moſt of the chieftains of his age, by admitting a great body of troops, which had retired to an eminence, to a compoſition. By this method he ſecured a preſent victory, and eſtabliſhed a reputation of clemency, which proved of infinite ſervice.

He makes peace with the Athenians, ſubdues the Peonians, and tranquillizes the Illyrians.

IMMEDIATELY after this victory, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Athens*, and having inſtructed them to give up all his right to *Amphipolis*, he eaſily procured a peace; for tho' the *Athenians* drew great benefit from their colonies and conqueſts in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, yet the vaſt expence of ſending and of maintaining armies there, diſcouraged them much, and inclined them to make peace whenever it was offered them, eſpecially on honourable terms, which, as they conſiſted chiefly in words, *Philip* failed not in gratifying them[d]. Another thing which contributed to the ſpeedy concluſion of this peace was, the mean opinion the *Athenians* had of *Philip*'s power, which inclined them to believe all his embaſſadors told them, and made them little apprehenſive of his breaking the peace. Thus delivered from one potent enemy by his own addreſs, nature quickly freed him from another, by taking off *Agis* king of *Peonia*. This news no ſooner reached the ears of *Philip*, than he determined to lay hold of this opportunity of revenging himſelf of the *Peonians*, and

[b] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. ÆLIAN. l. xiv. OSOR. l. iii. [c] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [d] POLYÆN. Stratag. l. iv.

(B) It is certain, that in a ſtrict ſenſe *Philip* could not be the inventor of the *phalanx*, ſince we find the *Purgos* or *Tower*, which was a kind of phalanx, and the very reverſe of the *plinthion* or *tile*, mentioned by *Homer* (5). To ſay the truth, the phalanx was in uſe among the *Greeks* in general, as our preſent learned and venerable primate has fully demonſtrated (6), tho' it is probable, that the *Macedonian* phalanx was better diſpoſed, and thoſe who compoſed it better diſciplined, than any of the *Greek* armies had been before. Officers uſually improve one on the other. The *Spartans* were famed in the earlieſt times of *Greece* for exact order; then the *Athenians* came into high reputation from the improvements made by *Iphicrates*; after theſe came *Epaminondas*, or rather *Pelopidas*, who taught war as an art to the *Thebans*, from whom *Philip* learned it, and quickly ſurpaſſed his maſters. That he was not, however, the firſt who introduced the phalanx into *Macedon*, ſeems evident from the teſtimony of *Diodorus*, who tells us, the *Illyrians*, when firſt attacked by *Philip*, had their *plinthion* (7); and inaſmuch as they lay farther from *Greece* than the *Macedonians*, it would be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe them better ſkilled in the *Greek* diſcipline; we muſt therefore conceive, that the phalanx was known to his countrymen before the reign of *Philip*, tho' it was new-modelled, and received a freſh ſet of rules from him; which diſcipline became peculiar to them, rendering the *Macedonian* infantry invincible then, and admirable yet. Whoever reads *Ælian* (8) will diſcern, that the whole doctrine of drawing up armies conformable to the ground aſſigned for the line of battle, the methods of changing theſe forms, marching, countermarching, charging, retreating, and encamping, was thoroughly ſtudied by the *Greeks*, and practiſed by the *Spartans*, *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, &c. with great facility and ſucceſs. As this art of diſcipline was of great conſequence and public utility, it was taught by public profeſſors, ſtiled *Tactici*, or *maſters in military exerciſe*, from a verb ſignifying *to exerciſe*. That what we have advanced may be juſtified, as well by authority as from probable conjecture, it will be neceſſary to remark, that *Ælian* before-mentioned expreſly mentions the alterations introduced by *Philip* in the evolutions of the *Macedonian* phalanx; whence it is evident, he did not either invent or introduce the phalanx itſelf. The great change he made was in the mode of their altering their wings at the beginning of an engagement. According to the old method, the motion contrived to effect this purpoſe had the air of a retreat; *Philip* had penetration enough to perceive, that this motion reverſed would effect the ſame thing, and yet ſhew rather as an onſet. As all things are of the utmoſt conſequence which have a tendency to encourage the ſoldiery, *Philip* laid aſide the old method, and brought in this which had been practiſed by the *Lacedæmonians* (9). To theſe remarks we may add one general one, that diſcipline, under the eye of an able general, renders troops invincible; but, under officers of ſmall abilities, it is far from being of ſuch high advantage. Men of inferior *genii* have no ideas of thoſe changes which the alterations induced by time require, and therefore, by adhering too ſcrupulouſly to old rules, ruin themſelves and thoſe under their command, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of the conqueſt of *Macedonia* by the *Romans*.

(5) *Iliad.* μ'. ν'. 43. (6) *Potter's Archæol.* l. iii. c. 6. (7) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi. (8) *Tactica cum Binghamii notis.* (9) [illegible]

and accordingly invaded their country, took their cities, and reduced them to ſuch a extremities, that they were conſtrained to ſubmit to him, and become his ſubjects. This war thus happily concluded, he without delay marched againſt the *Illyrians*, with an army of ten thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. This was one of the boldeſt and moſt martial nations in thoſe parts, and had within a few years often beaten the *Macedonians*. *Bradylis*, however, who was their king, offered to treat with *Philip* of a peace, on this condition, that each ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed. *Philip* anſwered, That he always preferred peace to war, but could not think of obtaining it, by quitting his claim to thoſe places in *Macedonia* at preſent in the hands of the *Illyrians*. *Bradylis* upon this encouraged his troops, from the conſideration of their victories, to behave gallantly; and with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred b horſe, offered *Philip* battle. The engagement was both bloody and obſtinate, and, as *Diodorus Siculus* intimates, the *Illyrians* had their phalanx as well as the *Macedonians*. In the end, however, chiefly thro' the conduct of *Philip*, who brought a body of horſe to charge the *Illyrians* in flank, whilſt himſelf with the phalanx charged in front, the enemy was routed, and the *Macedonians* purſued, and ſlew in the whole no leſs than ſeven thouſand men, which exceedingly broke and diſordered the *Illyrians*, and conſtrained them to buy a peace at the expence of all their conqueſts [e].

By this time the affairs of *Macedon* were in a tolerable poſture, and *Philip*, from the ſucceſs which he already had experienced, animated to greater things. It is not probable, that he already meditated the ſubjection of *Greece*, becauſe as yet he was c maſter of no force adequate to ſuch an undertaking, but it is moſt likely he propoſed even now the rendering his kingdom not only independent, but raiſing it to a ſtate of pre-eminence over its neighbours. Whatever his views were, he did not continue long at reſt, but ſuddenly, and when it was leaſt expected, attacked *Amphipolis*. This city, as we have already ſeen, was always a mighty curſe to the *Macedonian* princes, and therefore, from the beginning of his reign, *Philip* had kept his eye continually thereupon, watching for a fit time to reduce it. The *Amphipolitans*, ſenſible of the danger to which they were expoſed, ſent *Hierax* and *Stratocles* to *Athens*, to offer themſelves and their city to that commonwealth. *Demoſthenes*, and thoſe who, with him, foreſaw how formidable *Philip* would one day become, ſeconded d the deputies of *Amphipolis*; but the agents of *Philip* giving out, that the king intended to deliver it up to the *Athenians* when taken, they ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed, and denied the *Amphipolitans* relief. *Philip* proſecuted the ſiege briſkly, both by force without, and by negotiation within. At laſt he took it by ſtorm, and treated it as he did other places, that is, he put to death or baniſhed ſuch as were not in his intereſt, and treated the reſt of the inhabitants kindly. This blow once ſtruck, he proceeded to reduce *Pydna* and *Potidæa*, in the laſt of which was an *Athenian* gariſon, which he drew out, and diſmiſſed with all the marks of honour. After this he delivered the city to the *Olynthians*, according to his maxim, *That thoſe are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome*. Theſe conqueſts made a great noiſe, and e *Philip* now began to grow terrible to all his neighbours [f]. If this terror had engaged them in a league, in all probability they had ſet very narrow bounds to the *Macedonian* king; but as it produced a deſire of obliging the conqueror, and turning his arms from themſelves, the bordering nations concurred to ruin each other; and this they did the more effectually, becauſe *Philip* was ſo perfect a maſter in diſſimulation, that he ſeemed to give implicit credit to whatever was told him, tho' at the ſame time he communicated his real ſentiments to no-body, his ſucceſs being known as ſoon as his deſign.

Subdues the country between the rivers Strymon *and* Neſſus. *Year after the flood* 2642. *Year before* Chriſt 357.

We have heretofore ſhewn, in our deſcription of *Macedonia*, that the tract of country between the river *Strymon* and *Neſſus*, was extremely rich in gold. Indeed f the fame of its mines had made it often change its maſters. When the *Athenians* were firſt powerful at ſea, it belonged to the *Thaſians*, from whom they conquered it. This republic declining, it fell into other hands; and a few years before this time the *Thracians* poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and fortified *Crenides* its capital city. *Philip*, who looked upon gold as the beſt weapon, and the beſt ſervant in the world, reſolved to ſeize upon this country, and to extract out of its bowels a treaſure ſufficient to buy that empire for which he ſo paſſionately longed. He executed this ſcheme before it was known that he had formed it, and having taken *Crenides*, he not

[e] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [f] Demosth. Olynth. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Isocrat. ad Phil.

a not only altered the city, but in a manner rebuilt it, changing alſo its name into *Philippi*[h]. He likewiſe gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had been made of them before, and having by this means eſtabliſhed a certain revenue of a thouſand talents *per annum*, which was in itſelf a large ſum, and ſo much the larger in that it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his ſubjects, he began to turn his eyes towards other conqueſts.

The birth of Alexander the Great. *Year after the flood* 2643. *Year before Chriſt* 356.

In the firſt year of the one hundred and ſixth olympiad, *Philip*, being then in the field received advice, that his wife *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus* king of *Epirus*, was brought to bed of ſon at *Pella*. This ſon was the famous *Alexander*, juſtly ſurnamed *the Great*. At the ſame time *Philip* received advice, that his cha-
b riot had gained the prize at the olympic games; and upon the heels of this a third courier came, with an account that *Parmenio* had beaten the *Illyrians*. This ſurprizing run of good fortune is ſaid to have affected *Philip* ſo much, that he wiſhed it might be tempered by ſome ſlight miſhap, not that he was inſenſible of felicity, but becauſe he was afraid that his fortune might decline as ſwiftly as it had riſen[i] (C).

King Philip *proceeds, and extends his conqueſts towards* Thrace *and the ſea coaſt.*

At this time all *Greece* was in confuſion; the *Phocian*, or, as was otherwiſe called, *the ſacred war*, of the cauſe and conſequences of which we have ſpoken elſewhere, then raged with prodigious fury, which gave *Philip* an opportunity of ſecuring and extending his frontiers without interruption. It alſo produced various
c applications from the contending parties, in order to incline his aſſiſtance, the effects of which we ſhall hereafter ſee. In the mean time, let us follow the track of his conqueſts. The little city of *Methone* had given him ſome umbrage; he conceived that his conqueſts in *Thrace* might be in ſome danger, if it fell into the hands of his enemies; to prevent which he immediately inveſted it. The inhabitants made a very ſtout defence, and ſubmitted at laſt, on condition, that they might have free leave to quit the place, which was agreed to and executed; after which *Philip* cauſed the city to be razed, and divided its territories among his ſoldiers[l]. At this ſiege he had the misfortune to loſe an eye, by a very extraordinary accident if the circumſtances tranſmitted to us may be believed (D). This evil was, however, in ſome meaſure

[h] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Dion. Cass. l. xlvii. [i] Plut. in vit. Alex. Juſtin. l. xii. Plut. Apophthegm. Usser. Annal. A. I. P. 4358. [k] Univers. Hist. Vol. II. p. 543. [l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Demost. Phil. i.

(C) The birth of *Alexander* we have fixed to the firſt year of the one hundred and ſixth olympiad. Ancient authors are much divided on this head, and therefore it is but reaſonable to ſhew on what grounds we have adhered to ſome, and rejected the authority of others (10). *Arrian* from *Ariſtobulus* informs us, that *Alexander* died in the month of *Thargelion* the laſt but one of the *Attic* year, in the cloſe of the firſt year of the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, being then thirty-two years and eight months old (11). This plainly refers his birth to the year wherein we have fixed it. *Ælian* indeed ſays expreſsly, that he was born and died on the ſixth day of the month *Thargelion* (12). *Plutarch* places his birth in the month *Hecatombeon*, which, he ſays, anſwered to the *Macedonian* month *Lous* (13); but in this he was miſtaken, for it appears clearly from a letter of *Philip*'s ſtill preſerved in the orations of *Demoſthenes*, that at this time the *Macedonian* month *Lous* did not anſwer to the *Attic* month *Hecatombeon*, but to the month *Boedromion* (14). In after-times indeed the month *Lous* anſwered to *Hecatombeon*, which, without doubt, was the ſource of *Plutarch*'s miſtake in this point. *Plutarch* hath fallen alſo into another miſtake on this ſubject; he ſays, that *Philip* received this news immediately after he had taken *Potidæa*; yet, without doubt, *Potidæa* was taken two years before, *viz.* in the third year of the one hundred and third olympiad, where we have placed it, on the authority of *Demoſthenes*, who was *Philip*'s cotemporary (15), and of *Diodorus Siculus*, a more accurate writer in point of chronology than *Plutarch* (16). There is one thing which may be urged againſt thus ſettling the birth of *Alexander* as we have done, and that is, his father's receiving the news of his victory in the olympic games on that very day (17). But admitting that this is improbable, had we not better allow that *Philip* received this news a little before, than depart from a fact ſo clearly and ſo exactly ſettled by *Ariſtobulus*, who is acknowledged to have been the moſt authentic hiſtorian in whoſe works the actions of *Alexander* were found?

(D) There is ſomething ſo fabulous in the ſtory we are told of *Philip*'s loſing his eye before this place, that we could not judge it fit to appear with thoſe circumſtances in the body of our hiſtory. The reader, when he has peruſed the relation as it is commonly told, will judge of the propriety of our conduct. It is ſaid, that when *Philip* inveſted *Methone*, one *Aſter*, a moſt excellent archer, was recommended to him with this commendation, that he could ſtrike the ſwifteſt bird in its flight. *Very well*, replied *Philip*, *we will call for him, when we make war with ſtarlings.* This ſo ſtung the archer, that he immediately threw himſelf into the city beſieged, from the walls of which, when *Philip* was one day viewing the place, he diſcharged an arrow with

(10) *Euſeb. Chronicon.* (11) *Arrian. expedit. Alex. l.* ix. (12) *Var. Hiſt. l.* ii. *c.* 25. (13) *In vit. Alex.* (14) *In Oratione de Corona.* (15) *In Oratione contra Leptinem.* (16) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvi. (17) *Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. l.* xii.

meaſure alleviated by the ſkill of his ſurgeon, who, tho' he could not ſave its ſight, a
preſerved the form of the king's eye from ſuffering any diſfigurement [m]; yet the
king was ſo much chagrined thereat, as never afterwards to hear the word *Cyclop*,
or even an *Eye*, mentioned with patience [n]; a ſtrange weakneſs in ſo great a man!

Marches into Theſſaly. *Year after the flood* 2646. *Year before Chriſt* 353.

As ſoon as *Philip* was recovered, he began to think of marching into *Theſſaly*,
where the petty princes of the country earneſtly deſired his preſence, to redreſs thoſe
miſchiefs which the ambition of a ſingle family had brought upon all *Theſſaly*. *Alex-*
ander of *Phærea*, the original tyrant, had been murdered, for his inſupportable arro-
gance, by his wife and his brethren, who thereupon grew into great reputation with
the *Theſſalians*; but *Lycophron* the elder brother aſſuming the government, and
acting no better than *Alexander* had done, the *Alluadæ*, ſo the *Theſſalian* chiefs are b
called, addreſſed themſelves to *Philip*, and beſought his protection. He, having
ſettled his affairs in *Thrace* and on the ſea-coaſts, marched into *Theſſaly*, and made
war on *Lycophron*; who, finding himſelf too weak to conteſt with the *Macedonian*
foot, joined with the *Theſſalian* cavalry, demanded aid of the *Phocians*, or rather of
Onomarchus their general, who ſent his brother *Phayllus* with ſeven thouſand men,
to preſerve *Lycophron* in his dominions. The tyrant, after the junction of theſe
troops, no longer declined battle; yet his ſucceſs no way anſwered his expectation,
for he was defeated by *Philip*, and the *Phocians* driven out of *Theſſaly*. *Onomarchus*
hearing this marched with all his forces to ſupport *Lycophron*, and in two general
engagements vanquiſhed *Philip*, and compelled him to retire out of *Theſſaly* in great c
diſtreſs. But tho' his army was beaten, his ſpirit remained unconquered ſtill; ſo
that perceiving the reduction of *Theſſaly* was abſolutely neceſſary to his propoſed
empire, he applied himſelf with all diligence to the recruiting of his army; and, as ſoon
as it was in a tolerable condition, marched immediately againſt *Lycophron*. The
tyrant did not wait his coming; but withdrawing his troops to a ſecure camp, ſent
again to invite the *Phocians* to his aſſiſtance. *Onomarchus*, being determined to put
an end to the war, marched with twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to
oppoſe the *Macedonian*. *Philip* in the mean time had prevailed on the *Theſſalians* to
make their utmoſt efforts in his favour; ſo that at length his forces conſiſted of
twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and then he no longer delayed a d
general battle. This action proved deciſive, chiefly through the valour of the *Theſ-*
ſalian horſe; for the princes who commanded them, knowing that they were to
expect nothing but deſtruction from *Lycophron*, if he prevailed, fought with deſpe-
rate reſolution; inſomuch, that ſix thouſand of the *Phocians* were ſlain upon the ſpot,
and amongſt them their general, and three thouſand were taken priſoners. There
had been ſtill a greater ſlaughter, if the engagement had not happened on the ſea-
ſhore, when the *Athenian* fleet commanded by *Chares* paſſed by, and thereby afforded
ſuch of the *Phocians* as could ſwim a refuge. *Philip* cauſed the body of *Onomar-*
chus to be ſearched for, and when it was found, he directed it to be hung up with
ignominy, denying alſo funeral rites to all that were ſlain, looking on them as e
ſacrilegious perſons for having violated the temple at *Delphi*. *Lycophron* and his
brother *Pitholaus*, ſeeing now no hopes of retaining their principality, were content
to reſign it; and being diſmiſſed on giving their oaths to be quiet, they deliver'd
up

[m] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. vii. c. 37.

[n] DEMET. PHALER. de Elocut. c. 3.

with this inſcription, *For the right eye of* Philip; which it accordingly ſtruck, and put out. The king ſhot back the ſame arrow with this anſwer on the oppoſite ſide, Philip, *when the town is taken, will cauſe* After *to be hanged*; which he alſo performed (18). It was not here only that *Philip* felt the effects of war; his courage puſhed him into all places of danger; and darts, ſtones, and javelins make no diſtinction of perſons. *Demoſthenes* therefore, who cannot be ſuſpected of flattering *Philip*, could not forbear, when the ſubject afforded him a proper occaſion, painting his perſonal bravery in ſuch a light, as might have rouſed the *Athenians* to emulation. "I will ſhew you, ſaid that glorious ora-
"tor, this ſame *Philip*, with whom we diſpute for
"ſovereignty and empire; I will ſhew him to you
"as he is covered with wounds, blind of an eye,
"his ſkull cracked, lame of a hand and of a leg,
"ready to throw himſelf into the midſt of new
"dangers, and to put it into the power of fortune
"to deprive him of ſome other limb, in hopes
"with the remainder of his body to live with glo-
"ry and honour; ſuch, *Athenians*, is *Philip* (19)!"
It muſt be owned, that if in the reſt of his orations *Demoſthenes* hath ſhewn this monarch to be a very bad man, he has here acknowledged him to be the greateſt prince of his time; which it is certain was a character ſo much his due, that how much ſoever they might ſeek to leſſen, even his enemies could not deny him.

(18) *Suidas in voce* καβᾶν.

(19) *Orat. pro Cteſiphon.*

a up the city of *Phærea* into the hands of *Philip*, who, as he had promised the *Thessalians*, restored all the cities to liberty, and having thereby secured the friendship of so powerful a nation, he attempted to pass through the *Pylæ*, in order to make war upon the *Phocians* °. This was a very bold attempt; for since the defeat of the *Persians* at *Platæa*, no *Macedonian* prince had ever set foot in *Greece*. The *Athenians* therefore, having notice of his design, marched with the utmost expedition, seized the passes, and obliged him for this time to abandon his purpose and return into *Macedon* ᵖ.

Meditates the ruin of the Athenian power.

We may reasonably look on this retreat as the æra of *Philip*'s hatred to the *Athe-*
nians. He saw, that they were the only people in *Greece* capable of defeating his
b projects, or of giving him uneasiness in his own kingdom; he therefore provided with much diligence a fleet composed of light ships, which continually disturbed their trade, and at the same time enriched his subjects by bringing in wealthy prizes. He also increased his army by new levies, and projected the destruction of the *Athenian* colonies in *Thrace*. Besides these preparations at home, he practised very successfully in *Athens* itself; and by large appointments secured some eminent orators to charm the people with delusive hopes of peace, or to frighten them with very expensive estimates, while they pretended a zeal for carrying on the war. *Demosthenes* was the only man in *Athens*, who had a just idea of the danger his country was in from the growing power of *Philip*, and who had likewise capacity enough to
c point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatness ᵠ. He shewed the *Athenians*, that the measures they had hitherto pursued were unworthy of them, and would never answer their ends. He told them, that running hither and thither, according as they heard that *Philip* marched this way or that, looked more like following him as their general, than making war upon him as their enemy; he therefore advised transporting two thousand foot and two hundred horse into *Macedonia*, assuring them, that if they had once an army, how small soever, there, the enemies of *Philip* would soon advance it to a formidable greatness ʳ. The *Athenians* approved, but they did not follow, his advice; all the effect it had was this, that *Philip*,
d being informed of it, provided with greater vigour, and determined at all events to have neither state nor prince independent of himself within the limits of *Macedon*, that the *Athenians* might be deprived of all hopes of treating him as they had done his ancestors, *viz.* compelling them, by the assistance given to their neighbours, either to put all to the hazard of an unequal war, or to become absolute dependents on their republic ˢ.

Makes war on Olynthus. Year after the flood 2649. Year before Christ 350.

Olynthus had now, in a great measure, recovered that power and authority, which it had when *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* called in the *Lacedæmonians* to assist him in making war against it. *Philip* himself had contributed to this recovery, by giving up thereto certain cities and territories, when he first began his conquests; but this was only to lull the *Olynthians* asleep, and to save himself the expence of garisons,
e when it suited not his circumstances to maintain them ᵗ; but now, when his affairs were altered, he began to think not only of resuming what he had bestowed, but of making himself master of *Olynthus*, and thereby subverting a republic, which had been heretofore an over-match for *Macedon*. The *Olynthians* were too discern-
ing not to suspect *Philip*'s design, before he actually put it in execution; as soon therefore as they observed that he was advancing towards the *Chalcidian* region, they put themselves on their guard, and sent embassadors to *Athens* to intreat a con-
siderable and speedy assistance. *Demosthenes* failed not to espouse the cause of the *Olynthians*. He began with putting the *Athenians* in mind, that till now they had held the balance between the kings of *Macedon* and this state; and that, if they held
f it not still, they were as sure to be ruined as the *Olynthians* themselves. Hence he inferred, that a prompt and considerable succour should be sent according to the request of the embassadors, and that commissioners should be appointed for abrogating such laws, as hindered the settling the necessary funds for carrying on a war of such importance with vigour ᵘ. *Demades* and the rest of the orators, who were corrupted by *Philip*, opposed this proposition with all their eloquence; but as they had not either truth on their side, or a power of speaking equal to *Demosthenes*, the people

° Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. ᵖ Demosth. Philip. i. Just. l. viii. ᵠ Plut. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. ʳ Demosth. Philip. i. ˢ Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. ᵗ Demosth. Philip. ii. ᵘ Demosth. Olynth. ii.

people inclined to follow his advice [w], and accordingly decreed, that relief ſhould a
be ſent to the *Olynthians*. *Philip* in the mean time took *Zeira*, a town in the *Chal-*
cidian region, and razed it to the ground. He ſoon after marched againſt *Myca-*
berna and *Torone*, both of which he ſubdued. After this he openly attacked the
Olynthians, defeated them twice in the field, and at laſt ſhut them up in their city [x].
The *Athenian* ſuccours conſiſted of mercenaries, which therefore did the *Olynthians*
but little ſervice, and were beſides ſo much ſuſpected, that they were little leſs
dreaded than the *Macedonians* themſelves; the citizens therefore ſent embaſſadors a
ſecond time to *Athens*, to intreat freſh aſſiſtance, and that it might be of *Athenian*
troops. *Demoſthenes* ſeconded this propoſition with his uſual vehemence, and on
his motion *Chares* was ſent a ſecond time with ſeventeen gallies, and a land army b
of two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, all citizens of *Athens*; but, alas! the
cordial came too late. It did indeed revive the fainting ſpirits of the *Olynthians* for
a time; and the *Athenians*, hearing of ſome ſlight ſucceſſes of theirs, grew ſo elate,
that they took no farther care of the war, as appears from an oration of *Demoſthenes*
yet remaining [y]; but in the end *Olynthus* was taken, not ſo much by the bravery of
Year after the flood 2651. *Year before* Chriſt 348. the *Macedonian* troops, as by *Philip*'s corrupting its principal magiſtrates, *Euthycrates*
and *Laſthenes*, who baſely betraying their country, after the city had made a glori-
ous defence, ſecretly opened its gates, and let in *Philip* and his army. The king
on this occaſion proceeded with great ſeverity; he gave up the houſes of the citizens
to be plundered, and expoſed their perſons to ſale, acquiring thereby an immenſe c
treaſure, at the ſame time as he ridded himſelf of ſuch as were his implacable ene-
mies. After this he celebrated olympic games in honour of this victory, which hap-
pened in the firſt year of the one hundred and eighth olympiad, cauſing ſplendid
ſhews to be exhibited for the diverſion of his army, making magnificent feaſts, at
which they might be merry, and giving great rewards to ſuch as had ſignalized
themſelves during the ſiege, that his ſoldiers might be encouraged to ſerve him both
gallantly and faithfully [z].

Remarkable incidents at the olympics inſtituted by Philip. Two incidents happened amidſt theſe ſolemnities, which deſerve to be recorded,
becauſe they ſhew the temper of *Philip* on both ſides, and conſequently muſt enable
us to form a better idea of the motives on which he acted, than we could poſſibly d
have done without them; for without doubt the reaſons of actions are better found
by knowing the mind of the actor, than by the moſt circumſtantial accounts of the
things acted. The firſt of theſe incidents was a complaint brought by *Euthycrates*
and *Laſthenes* againſt the *Macedonian* ſoldiers for calling them traitors. To which
Philip gave this anſwer, *You muſt never mind what ſuch fellows ſay; they are a ſort of*
clowniſh people, who will call a ſpade a ſpade [a]. As to the other remarkable incident,
Satyrus a player, whom *Philip* had admitted to a great familiarity with him, was
the only perſon who wore a grave countenance, and reached not out his hand to
receive any of the gifts which *Philip* beſtowed upon his friends. The king obſerved
it, and with his uſual complacency aſked him, How he came to look ſo dull? and e
why he would not ſuffer himſelf to be obliged as well as other people? To which
Satyrus anſwered, *I don't either affect gravity, Sir, or put any ſlight on your preſents; on*
the contrary, I ſhould be extremely glad if you would give me yonder girls, pointing to
two young women who were among the ſlaves; *they are the daughters of a man in whoſe*
houſe I lodged. I aſk them not out of greedineſs, but with an intent to give them ſuch
portions as may procure them honeſt huſbands. *Philip* commended his generoſity,
granted his requeſt, and loaded him with preſents of great value [b]. This affability,
and particular care in rewarding every man who ſerved him, gained *Philip* friends
in every city, and made them eager to run any riſque to obtain his favour. He was
ſenſible of this, and was ſo far from being aſhamed of it, that he was wont to ſay
publicly, that he was no leſs indebted to his purſe than to his ſword.

He over-reaches the Athenians. THE *Phocian* war was ſtill unextinguiſhed, and *Philip*, tho' he affected a neutra-
lity, placed all his hopes in putting an end to this war, and thereby making himſelf
the arbiter of *Greece*. His hopes were well founded. The *Thebans*, who were at the
head of the league formed for reducing the *Phocians*, ſolicited him on one ſide; the
ſtates confederate with the *Phocians* ſought his friendſhip on the other. He anſwered
neither,

[w] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. SUIDAS in voce Δημάδης. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [y] DEMOSTH. Olynth. iii. PLUT. in vit. Demoſth. [z] DIODOR. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [a] PLUT. in Apophthegm.
[b] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

a neither, yet held in dependence both. In his heart he favoured the *Thebans*, or rather placed his hopes of favouring his own cauſe on that ſtate; for he knew well enough, that the *Athenians*, *Spartans*, and other ſtates allied with *Phocis*, would never ſuffer him to paſs *Thermopylæ*, and lead an army into their territories[c]; yet he ſhewed ſo much reſpect to the embaſſadors from theſe ſtates, particularly to *Cteſiphon* and *Phrynon*, who were ſent from *Athens*, that they believed the king was in their intereſt, and reported as much to their maſters. The *Athenians*, who were now diſſolved in eaſe and luxury, and conſequently were afraid of being diſturbed with wars, received this news with great ſatisfaction, and named immediately ten plenipotentiaries to go and treat of a full and laſting peace with *Philip*. Of the number
b of theſe plenipotentiaries were *Demoſthenes* and *Æſchines*, the moſt eminent orators in *Athens*. The king of *Macedon* gave directions, that theſe embaſſadors ſhould be treated with the utmoſt civility, naming at the ſame time three of his miniſters to confer with them, *viz.* *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus*. *Demoſthenes* being obliged to return to *Athens*, recommended it to his collegues not to carry on their negotiations with *Philip*'s deputies, but to proceed with all diligence to court, there to confer with the king himſelf. On this, he told them, all things would depend, as on what they did depended the ſafety of their country. The embaſſadors, however, were ſo far from following the inſtructions of *Demoſthenes*, that they ſuffered themſelves to be put off for three months by the arts of *Philip* and his miniſters. In
c the mean time the king took from the *Athenians* ſuch places in *Thrace* as might beſt cover his frontiers, giving their plenipotentiaries in their ſtead abundance of fair promiſes, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that his good-will ſhould be as beneficial to them as ever their colonies had been. At laſt a peace was concluded; but then the ratification of it was deferred till *Philip* had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Pharea* in *Theſſaly*, and ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army; then he ratified the treaty, and diſmiſſed the plenipotentiaries with aſſurances, that he would be ready at all times to give the *Athenians* proofs of his friendſhip. On their return to *Athens*, when this matter came to be debated before the people, *Demoſthenes* plainly told them, That in his opinion, the promiſes of *Philip* ought not to be relied on, becauſe they appeared
d to be of little ſignificance in themſelves, and came from a prince of ſo much art and ſo little fidelity, that they could derive no authority from their maker[d]. *Æſchines*, on the other hand, gave it as his ſentiment, that the king of *Macedon*'s aſſurances ought to give them full ſatisfaction. He ſaid, That, for his part, he was not politician enough to ſee any thing of diſguiſe or diſſimulation in the king's conduct; that there was great danger in diſtruſting princes, and that the ſureſt method of putting men upon deceit, was to ſhew that we ſuſpected them of it. The reſt of the plenipotentiaries concurred with *Æſchines*; and the people, deſirous of quiet and prone to pleaſure, eaſily gave credit to all that was ſaid, and decreed that the peace ſhould be kept. All this was the eaſier brought about, becauſe that *Phocion*, the worthieſt
e man in the republic, did not oppoſe *Philip*; which was owing to his having a juſt ſenſe of the ſtate his country was in. He conceived, that the *Athenians* of thoſe times were nothing like their anceſtors, and therefore, as he expreſſed himſelf on another occaſion, he was deſirous, ſince they would not be at the head of *Greece* themſelves, they would at leaſt be upon good terms with that power which would be ſo[e].

He enters Phocis, *and puts an end to the ſacred war.*

Philip, who knew how to uſe, as well as to procure, opportunity, while the *Athenians* were in this good humour, paſſed *Thermopylæ*, without their knowing whether he would fall on *Phocis* or *Thebes*; but he quickly undeceived them, by command-
f ing his ſoldiers to put on crowns of laurel, declaring them thereby the troops of *Apollo*, and himſelf the lieutenant-general of that god. He then immediately entered *Phocis*, with an air of triumph, as if thunder and lightening had been at his command; which ſo terrified the *Phocians*, whom he had cauſed to be proclaimed ſacrilegious perſons, that they immediately diſmiſſed all thoughts of defence, and without more ado ſubmitted to his mercy. Thus the *Phocian* war, which had ſo long employed all *Greece*, was ended without a ſtroke, *Phalæcus*, with eight thouſand mercenaries, being permited to march off into *Peloponneſus*, and the judgment on the *Phocians* remitted to the *Amphictyons*, or grand council of *Greece*. By their decree the walls of three *Phocian* cities were demoliſhed, the people were forbid to inhabit

[c] Demost. Philip. ii. [d] Demost. Orat. de falſa legat. [e] Plut. in vit. demoſth. & Phocion.

habit in any but villages, to pay a yearly tribute of ſixty talents, and never to make uſe either of horſes or arms, till they had repaid to the temple of *Apollo* the money they had taken ſacrilegiouſly from thence. Their arms were taken from them, broken to pieces, and burnt; their double voice in the council was taken from them and given to the *Macedonians*. Other orders were made for reſettling the affairs both of religion and ſtate throughout *Greece*, all of which were executed by *Philip* with great exactneſs and moderation, paying the moſt profound reſpect to the council; and when he had performed its commands, retiring peaceably with his army back to *Macedon*, which gained him great reputation [f]. This ſeems to have been one of the greateſt atchievements of his life, and that which laid the foundation of his empire. Hence one hiſtorian remarks, that the *Grecians* paid the next honours to divinity, to a prince who had vindicated the honour of the gods [g]; and another tells us, that from this time forward *Philip* proſpered in all things, which was thought to be the juſt reward of his piety, and the care he had taken in reſtoring the worſhip of *Apollo* and a general quiet to *Greece* [h].

Year after the flood 2653. *Before Chriſt* 340.

Athenians *ready to declare againſt him.*

AT *Athens* alone the juſtice and piety of *Philip* was not underſtood. The people began to ſee, tho' a little of the lateſt, that they had been abuſed and deceived by thoſe who had negotiated the late peace; they ſaw, that, through their acceptance of it, the *Phocians* were deſtroyed, that *Philip* was become maſter of *Thermopylæ*, and might enter *Greece* when he pleaſed; that in abandoning their allies they had abandoned themſelves; and that, in all probability, they might ſoon feel the weight of his power, whom they had ſo fooliſhly truſted: They therefore began to take new and violent meaſures; they ordered, that the women ſhould retire out of the villages into the city, their walls ſhould be repaired, and their forts new ſtrengthened. They ſeemed inclined to queſtion *Philip*'s election into the council of the *Amphictyons*, becauſe it had been done without their conſent, and even to proceed to an open war. In all likelihood they had carried things to extravagancy, if *Demoſthenes* had not interpoſed. He told them, that tho' he was not for making the peace, he was, however, for keeping it; and that he ſaw no manner of occaſion for their entering into ſo unequal a conteſt as would needs enſue, if they took up arms, not only againſt *Philip*, but againſt all the ſtates concurring with him in the late tranſactions. This ſeems to have cooled the rage of the *Athenians*, and to have brought them to think of *ruining Philip* by degrees, as by degrees they had *raiſed* him [i] (E).

Diopithes *with an* Athenian *army enters* Macedon, *while* Philip *invades* Thrace

THE fame of his atchievements without the bounds of *Macedon* having diſpoſed the ſubjects of *Philip* to hope every thing from his conduct, and the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* to deſire above all things his friendſhip; that prudent monarch laid hold of this favourable ſituation to fix his dominion on ſuch a ſtable foundation as that a reverſe

Year after the flood 2665. *Before Chriſt* 334.

[f] DIOD. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [g] JUSTIN. lib. viii. c. 2. [h] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [i] DEMOSTHEN. Orat. de Pac.

(E) *Libanius* and *Photius* have taken pains to prove, that the oration to which we refer above, ought not to be aſcribed to *Demoſthenes*. We might well enough defend ourſelves by alledging, that it has been generally eſteemed his, and, as ſuch, as conſtantly maintained its place in his works. This would be ſufficient for our purpoſe; but in truth, the arguments on which the oppoſite ſentiment is built are ſo eaſily overturned, that we might be juſtly blamed for neglecting ſo favourable an occaſion of ſetting this point in its true light. *Demoſthenes*, ſay thoſe who will not allow this oration to be his, charged *Æſchines* with betraying his country on account of his recommending warmly a peace with *Philip*; they cannot therefore think, that *Demoſthenes* would run openly into thoſe meaſures, which he had ſo lately and ſo warmly decried, or that he, who on every other occaſion ſingly oppoſed *Philip*, and run all hazards to bring him into odium with the people, ſhould now be ſingle on the other ſide, and attempt to croſs the diſpoſition of the *Athenians* in favour of peace and *Philip* (20). Theſe objectors forget, that *Demoſthenes* was a patriot as well as an orator; that he did not purſue *Philip* with implacable hatred, becauſe he was king of *Macedon*, but becauſe he thought him both willing and able to obſtruct the deſigns of *Athens*, and even to reduce her from that ſplendid pre-eminence which ſhe now held in *Greece*, to the ordinary rank of a ſtate in name free, but in truth dependent upon him; this was the motive of *Demoſthenes*'s heat on other occaſions; and the motive to his coolneſs now was the ſtrict alliance between *Philip* and the other *Grecian* ſtates, which rendered it a thing impracticable for *Athens* to contend with him and them alone. Beſides, as he rightly obſerves in the harangue, it would have been ridiculous for thoſe who refuſed to enter into an equal war for rich cities and fertile provinces, to have ruſhed ſuddenly into a moſt unequal conteſt about an empty title, or, as he emphatically expreſſes it, *To take away the ſhadow of* Delphos *from him who was maſter of* Delphos *itſelf* (21). We therefore acknowledge this to be the oration of *Demoſthenes*, becauſe he was worthy of it.

(20) *Phot. Biblioth. cod.* 265. (21) *Demoſthen. Orat. paſſ.*

reverſe of fortune ſhould not immediately deſtroy it. To this end, while he carried on his negotiations through *Greece*, he likewiſe kept his army in exerciſe by taking ſeveral places in *Thrace*, which terribly incommoded the *Athenians* [k]. *Diopithes*, who had the government of the *Athenian* colonies in thoſe parts, perceiving well what end *Philip* had in view, did not ſtay for any inſtructions from home; but having raiſed with much expedition a conſiderable body of troops, taking advantage of the king's being abſent with his army, entered the adjacent territories of *Philip*, and waſted them with fire and ſword. The king, who on account of the operations of the campaign in the *Cherſoneſe*, was not at leiſure to repel *Diopithes* by force, nor indeed could divide his army without eminent hazard, choſe like an able general rather to abandon his provinces to inſults, which might be afterwards revenged, than by following the dictates of an ill-timed paſſion to hazard the loſs of his veteran army, whereon lay all his hopes. He contented himſelf therefore with complaining to the *Athenians* of *Diopithes*'s conduct, who in a time of peace had entered his dominions, and committed ſuch devaſtations, which could ſcarce have been juſtified in a time of war. His partiſans ſupported this application with all their eloquence; they told the *Athenians*, that unleſs they recalled *Diopithes*, and brought him to a trial for this infringement of the peace, they ought not to hope either for the friendſhip of *Philip*, or of any other prince or ſtate; neither could they juſtly complain, if, prompted by ſuch a precedent, others ſhould break with them, and fall without the leaſt notice upon their dominions. *Demoſthenes* defended *Diopithes*, and undertook to ſhew, that he deſerved the praiſe, and not the cenſure, of the *Athenians*. Thoſe of the other party began to charge him then with crimes of a different nature; they alledged, that he had oppreſſed the ſubjects, and mal-treated the allies of *Athens*. *Demoſthenes* replied, that of theſe things there were as yet no proofs; that when ſuch ſhould appear, a ſingle galley might be ſent to bring over *Diopithes* to abide their judgment, but that *Philip* would not come if they ſent a fleet; whence he inferred, that they ought to be cautious, and to weigh well the merits of this cauſe before they took any reſolution. He ſaid, that it was true, *Philip* had not as yet attacked *Attica*, or pretended to make a deſcent on their territories in *Greece*, or to force his way into their ports; when it came to that, he was of opinion they would be hardly able to defend themſelves, wherefore he thought ſuch men were to be eſteemed as fought to protect their frontiers, in order to keep *Philip* as long as might be at a diſtance; whereupon he moved, that inſtead of diſowning what *Diopithes* had done, or directing him to diſmiſs his army, they ſhould ſend him over recruits, and ſhew the king of *Macedon*, they knew how to protect their territories, and to maintain the dignity of their ſtate as well as their anceſtors. Theſe arguments had ſuch an effect, that a decree was made conformable to his motion [l].

An account of the ſources of the continual differences between Philip *and the* Athenians.

The reader muſt certainly be ſomewhat at a loſs as to the grounds on which theſe parties proceeded; nor is it eaſy to ſet them in a clear light. *Philip* is, generally ſpeaking, repreſented not only as a politic and over-reaching, but as a fraudulent and perfidious, prince, one who had ſmall regard to treaties, and who ſet no bounds to his ambition. But then it muſt be conſidered, that we have all theſe reports from the ſworn enemies of *Philip*; he had the misfortune to have been at variance all his reign with the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* were at that time the moſt eloquent, as their authors are yet eſteemed the moſt excellent, among the *Greeks*. The orations of *Demoſthenes* many of them remain, but for any anſwers that were made to them, time has ſwallowed them up; and we ſcarce have any apologies for *Philip*; yet in ſpight of theſe croſs accidents, it may be diſcerned, that *Philip*'s character ought not to be conſidered in altogether ſo bad a light as the orator has placed it. For, firſt, all ſpeakers in popular aſſemblies are wont to exaggerate the ſubjects on which they declaim, and like the painters of domes and cupolas make large allowances for the diſtances between their pictures and thoſe who are to look up to them. Secondly, The *Athenians* naturally hated kings, and conceived all nations to be barbarians who were governed by them. Thirdly, they held their territories in *Thrace* by a very dubious title, which we ſhall take this occaſion to explain. When the republic was in the zenith of its glory, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Cherſoneſe* by force. When *Lyſander* deſtroyed *Athens*, the inhabitants of the before-mentioned country put themſelves under the protection of the *Lacedæmonians* [m]. *Conon*

[k] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [l] Demosthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſ. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. ii. Orat. 8. [m] Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii.

Conon afterwards reduced them to the obedience of their ancient masters [n], and *Cotys* king of *Thrace* conquered them once more from *Athens*. *Chersobleptes* his son, finding himself unable to oppose *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave up this place again to the *Athenians*, reserving only the city of *Cardia* which stood on the isthmus [o]. *Philip* having now dispossessed *Chersobleptes* of his kingdom, the citizens of *Cardia*, unwilling to fall under the *Athenian* yoke, submitted themselves voluntarily to *Philip*; whereupon *Diopithes* began the war, on a supposition, that so enterprizing a prince would not stop here, but would make use of the advantages he had already gained, utterly to dispossess the *Athenians* of their colonies in these parts [p]. Such were the sources of those differences, which so long embroiled the *Athenians* and *Philip*; sources which, lying as they did in the constitutions of *Macedon* and *Athens*, could never be dried up; for the prudence of *Philip* giving him to understand, that till he was master of *Greece*, he would never be able to keep the *Athenians* under; and till that was done, knowing himself to be unsafe at home, and scarce to be called a king; he chose to run all hazards in order to be the *former*, chiefly because of all situations he dreaded to be in the *latter* (F).

His expedition in repressing the Illyrians, *and his negotiations in* Greece.

While affairs stood thus, the *Illyrians*, recovering courage, and seeing *Philip* at such a distance, harassed the frontiers of *Macedon*, and threatened a formidable invasion; but this attempt of theirs prejudiced none so much as themselves, for *Philip* by quick marches arrived on the borders of *Illyrium*, and struck this barbarous people with such a panic, that they were glad to compound for their former robberies at the price he was pleased to set [q]. Most of the *Greek* cities in *Thrace* now sought the friendship of the king, and entered into a league with him for their mutual defence. As it cannot be supposed, that each of these free cities had a power equal to that of *Philip*, we may therefore look upon him as their protector. This is exactly conformable to the account which *Diodorus* gives us of this matter; but *Demosthenes* represents this transaction as downright robbery, insinuating, that to have *Philip* for a protector, was to own him for a master; and that consequently his proceeding in this manner was making a conquest of so many cities, and an injury to all *Greece* [r]. About this time *Philip*'s negotiations in *Peloponnesus* began to come to light; the *Argives* and *Messenians*, growing weary of that tyrannical authority which the *Spartans* exercised over them, applied to *Thebes* for assistance; and the *Thebans*, out of their natural aversion to *Sparta*, sought to open a passage for *Philip* into *Peloponnesus*, that, in conjunction with them, he might humble the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philip* readily accepted the offer, and resolved to procure a decree from the *Amphictyons*, directing the *Lacedæmonians* to leave *Argos* and *Messene* free; which if they complied not with, he, as the lieutenant of the *Amphictyons*, might, with great appearance of justice, march with a body of troops to inforce their order. When *Sparta* had intelligence of this, she immediately applied to *Athens*, earnestly intreating assistance, as in the common cause

[n] Corn. Nepos, vit. Conon. [o] Demosthen. Orat. adv. Aristoc. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [p] Demosthen. Orat. de Chersones. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [r] Demosthen. Orat. Philip. iii. iv.

(F) The extended country of *Thrace* was inhabited by many nations. The reader will meet with what can be collected respecting their history hereafter, at present it will be necessary to say something of the families of those kings with whom *Philip* had to do. *Teres* king of the *Odrysians*, by the conquest of many little princes, raised himself to a very high rank, and swelled his dominions to a large extent; he had two sons, *Sitacles* and *Sparadocus* (22). The descendants of these sons were engaged in continual wars amongst themselves, which extremely broke and ruined all their principalities, till at last *Seuthes* raised a considerable kingdom out of the conquests he made, and left it to his son *Cotys* the father of *Chersobleptes*, as *Demosthenes* tells us (23); but *Diodorus* will have him to be his brother (24). After the death of *Cotys*, his dominions were shared by *Chersobleptes*, *Berisades*, and *Amadocus*. *Chersobleptes* quickly dispossessed the other two, and flushed with these conquests, and the hopes he had of the friendship of the *Athenians*, he began to contend with *Philip*, who, falling upon him with a veteran army of well-disciplined troops, defeated and dethroned him. This *Chersobleptes* we shall hear much of hereafter: The *Athenians* granted him the honour of being inrolled in their city register, and he, when he found *Philip* too strong for him, resigned a part of his dominions to them. The truth is, conquest was the best title that any of them had, except the *Thracians*, who may be said to have had a birthright in their own country. *Philip* therefore wisely added that tract of land he conquered between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus* to *Macedonia*, without pretending to make himself absolute master of *Thrace*. His son *Alexander* indeed did conquer it, but after his death, it fell again under the obedience of a native, viz. *Seuthes* the son or grandson of *Chersobleptes*, who defended his right and his possession against the *Macedonians*, more successfully than his ancestors had done (25).

(22) *Aristot. Polit. lib.* v. *c.* 10. (23) *Demosthen. adv. Aristoc.* (24) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvi. (25) *Demosthen. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii. & xix.

a cauſe of *Greece*. The *Argives* and *Meſſenians*, on the other hand, laboured aſſiduouſly to gain the *Athenians* to their ſide, alledging, that if they were friends to liberty, they ought to aſſiſt thoſe whoſe only aim was to be free. *Demoſthenes* at this juncture outwreſtled *Philip*, if we may borrow that king's expreſſion; for by a vehement harangue, he not only determined his own citizens to become the avowed enemies of the king, but alſo made the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* not over-fond of him for an ally[s]; which when *Philip* perceived, he laid aſide all thoughts of this enterprize for the preſent, and began to practiſe in *Eubæa*.

The cauſes of the war in Eubœa. *Year after the flood* 2695. *Before Chriſt* 304.

THIS country, now called *Negropont*, is ſeparated from *Greece* by the *Euripus*, a ſtreight ſo narrow, that *Eubæa* might eaſily be united to the continent. This ſitua-
b tion made *Philip* call it, *the Fetters of Greece*, which he therefore ſought to have in his own hands. There had been for ſome years great diſturbances in that country, under colour of which *Philip* ſent forces thither, and demoliſhed *Porthmos*, the ſtrongeſt city in thoſe parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom *Demoſthenes* roundly calls tyrants, eſtabliſhed by *Philip*[t]. Shortly after the *Macedonians* took *Oreus*, which was left under the government of five magiſtrates, ſtiled alſo tyrants at *Athens*. Thither *Plutarch* of *Eretria*, one of the moſt eminent perſons in *Eubæa*, went to repreſent the diſtreſſes of his country, and to implore the *Athenians* to ſet it free. This ſuit *Demoſthenes* recommended warmly to the people, who ſent thither their famous leader *Phocion*, ſupported by formidable
c votes but a very ſlender army; yet ſo well did he manage the affairs of the commonwealth and her allies, that *Philip* quickly found he muſt for a time abandon that project, which, however, he did not, till he had formed another no leſs beneficial to himſelf, or leſs dangerous to *Athens*[u]. It was the proſecution of his conqueſts in *Thrace*, which he thought of puſhing much farther than he had hitherto done, or could be reaſonably ſuſpected to have any intention of doing (G).

Philip *invades the cities of* Helleſpont.

THE preparations he made for the campaign were extraordinary, his army larger than he was wont to make uſe of, and the precautions he took for the ſafety of his dominions in his abſence, by appointing his ſon *Alexander* regent, ſuch as ſhewed he had vaſt deſigns in his mind. At length when the ſeaſon of the year permitted,
d he marched with thirty thouſand men and inveſted *Perinthus*[x]. This city was one of the moſt conſiderable in *Propontis*, always firm to the *Athenians*, and conſequently both dreadful and dangerous to *Philip*. The ſiege was hardly formed before the king received advice, that his reſtleſs neighbours had taken arms, ſuppoſing that they were at the head of affairs, and were profeſſed friends to *Philip* of *Macedon*; *Euphreus*, who had formerly dwelt at *Athens*, began to treat theſe magiſtrates as traitors; he alledged, that they were entirely devoted to the *Macedonian*, and would betray the city into his hands; *Philiſtides* and his collegues immediately threw this man into priſon; the people it ſeems concurred with their magiſtrates, and looked upon him as a diſturber of the public peace. When the diſorders in the reſt of *Eubœa* had occaſioned *Macedonian* troops to be ſent thither, the magiſtrates of *Oreus* owned them for their protectors, baniſhed ſuch as had confederated againſt them, and aſſumed the direction of public affairs to themſelves, which had ſuch an effect on the patriot they had impriſoned, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf. *Philiſtides* and his collegues are qualified by the *Athenian* orator with the name of tyrants, and *Philip*, who was their protector, is made the tyrant of tyrants (26). This was the true ſtyle of *Athens*, where all power, underived from, or unexerciſed for, them, was held tyrannical. It is very poſſible, the *Eubœans* might ſpeak another language, and without queſtion the partizans of *Philip* proteſted loudly, that he intereſted himſelf in the affairs of *Eubœa*, in order to preſerve the people being oppreſſed by foreign ſtates.

[s] DEMOSTHEN. Philip. ii. [t] PLUT. in vit. Phocion. DEMOSTHEN. Philip. iii. [u] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. DEMOSTHEN. ubi ſupra. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. viii. DEMOSTHEN. pro Cteſiphon.

(G) We have ſhewn above of what importance *Eubœa* was both to *Philip* and to the reſt of *Greece*; we ſhall here take occaſion to ſpeak of the form of government which *Philip* would have eſtabliſhed there. We no-where find, that he had any idea of annexing it to his dominions, or of obliging the people to live under new laws, or new modes of rule. *Eubœa* was full of great cities, each of which was a kind of republic, and together with the benefits of freedom and independence were ſometimes diſturbed by that ſpirit of diſſenſion, which frequently enters where liberty is adored. In theſe diſputes both parties were wont to have recourſe to foreign aſſiſtance, the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Lacedæmonians*, all in their turn, had ſent auxiliaries to ſupport their friends in this iſland; and now it ſeems the king of *Macedon* thought fit to do the like; without doubt on a principle of intereſt, for when do princes act from any other? We have very imperfect accounts of this war, which ended at laſt to the diſadvantage of the *Athenians*: inſtead therefore of drawing together all the jejune paſſages in ancient authors, wherein the *Eubœan* war is mentioned; we will from *Demoſthenes* himſelf give a ſuccinct detail of the tyranny which *Philip* ſet up in *Oreus*, one of the principal cities of *Eubœa*. *Philiſtides*, *Menippus*, *Socrates*, *Agapeus*, and *Thoas*,

(26) *Demoſthen. Orat. Philip.* iii.

they could eaſily deal with forces commanded by a child; for *Alexander* was not above a
fifteen: but before he had leiſure to reflect on this danger, he was farther informed, that
Alexander had marched againſt them with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, as to fall upon
them before they were aware, and thereby ſtruck them with ſuch conſternation, that
making a precipitate retreat, they covered themſelves with ſhame, and crowned the
youth they deſpiſed with laurels: *Philip*, however, ſent for his ſon immediately to
the camp, fearing that this ſucceſs might make him adventurous, and that fortune
might not be always ſo favourable, as upon this occaſion ſhe had been. The *Perinthians*,
however, made a gallant defence, their city being well fortified, as well as remarkably
ſtrong from its ſituation. *Philip* on his ſide preſſed it cloſely, both by his artillery,
that is, *Battering engines*, and by *ſap*: he cauſed alſo moveable towers to be erected, b
and bringing them near the walls, his ſoldiers from thence threw all ſorts of miſſive
weapons into the city [y]. *Athens*, for whoſe ſake *Perinthus* thus ſuffered, heard the
complaints of her embaſſadors, ſupported by the pathetic orations of *Demoſthenes*,
with compaſſion. Succours were immediately decreed in ſpight of all the arts
which the friends of *Philip* could make uſe of; however, *Chares* was made choice
of to command them, and if *Philip* had been to have appointed a general, he
would probably have been the man. He was vain, luxurious, haughty, inſolent,
and unjuſt; was very indifferently ſkilled in military matters, yet ſo full of pro-
miſes of what he would perform, that *the promiſe of Chares* became a proverb, to
ſignify an undertaking which would never be fulfilled. This commander in chief c
ſet ſail with a ſmall ſquadron of gallies, a conſiderable body of land-forces, and
an excellent band of muſic, which he choſe with great care, and paid at an extra-
vagant rate. His character was ſo well known, that the *Perinthians*, in as bad a
ſtate as they were, refuſed to admit him into their port, ſo that he was forced to
return home, without doing any thing more than plundering the allies, and thereby
bringing diſgrace on the *Athenian* name [z].

Philip *writes a letter to the* Athenians.

As *Philip* was perfectly well acquainted with the ſtate of *Athens* at that time, and
knew that the engaging it in a war would in all probability revive that ſpirit of am-
bition and that appetite of glory, which had in former times rendered it ſo power-
ful; he had recourſe to thoſe mighty talents which diſtinguiſhed him in that age, and d
which may be ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed him from all kings. He wrote the *Athe-
nians* a letter, which is ſtill extant, and which it would be injurious to his memory
to abridge, or to publiſh in any other than his own words. It was intended as a
manifeſto to the commons and to his enemies in *Athens*, and as a ſcheme of inſtru-
ction to his friends; how well it anſwered both purpoſes, the reader will diſcern, and
form from thence a juſt idea of a prince, who was his own ſecretary, as well as his
own general, his own miniſter, and his own treaſurer; not that he was opinionated
of his own parts, but becauſe he was a perfect judge of thoſe of other men, as
appears from a ſaying of his relating to theſe *Athenians*. He was told they elected
annually ten generals: *They are a happy people, ſaid he, who every year can find ten* e
generals, ſince I in my whole life have found but one, which was, *Parmenio* [a]. But
to the letter, thus it ran:

Philip to the ſenate and people of *Athens*, greeting;

" After applying to you often, though always in vain, by my embaſſadors,
" in order to engage your paying the ſame regard to your oaths and treaties
" that I do to mine; I am determined to explain to you myſelf the miſchiefs I
" ſuſtain by your perſiſting in a contrary conduct. Do not be ſurprized at the
" length of my letter; to enter into a detail of your infractions and my patience,
" requires no ſmall room.

" I begin with *Nicias* my herald, taken out of my dominions. Inſtead of puniſhing
" ſuch as were concerned in this fact, you were pleaſed to detain him in priſon for
" no leſs a time than ten months before you ſent him back, neither did you make
" any difficulty of taking from him, and reading in the public aſſemblies, the let-
" ters with which he was intruſted by me. After this the ports of the iſle of *Thaſus*
" were opened to the *Byzantine* gallies, or rather to all ſorts of corſairs, which you
" ſaw

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.
[z] Plutarch. in vit. Phocion. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.
[a] Plutarch. Apophtheg.

a " ſaw with the ſame indifference, as if this practice did not involve you in the guilt
" of evident perjury. Then your general *Diopithes* entered my territories in a hoſtile
" manner, carrying into ſlavery the inhabitants of *Crobylus* and *Tiriſtaſas*, pillaging
" and ſacking all the villages in that part of *Thrace*. When *Amphylochus* my em-
" baſſador went to treat for the ranſom of the priſoners, *Diopithes*, to crown his
" worthy exploits, clapped him up, and forced him, to reſcue himſelf from ill uſage,
" to pay down nine talents, and all this he did with your participation and coun-
" tenance. Ought the violating the reſpect due to a herald at arms, or an em-
" baſſador, to be borne rather from you than from other people? What think you
" of the buſineſs at *Megara?* As ſoon as its inhabitants had injured *Anthemocrites*,
b " cloathed by you with a publick character, you thought yourſelves obliged to take
" a public and proportionate revenge; you excluded ſuch as were guilty from any
" commerce with you; and you erected a pyramid before your gates to perpetuate
" the memory of your juſtice and their crime. Well then! an outrage held ſo
" intolerable, when done to your ſelves, doth it paſs for nothing when you your-
" ſelves do it?

" *Callias*, one of your generals, made not the leaſt ſcruple of reducing under
" your obedience all the towns ſeated on the *Pegaſæan* gulph, though they were
" expreſsly comprehended in our treaty under the name of my allies. This done,
" he attacked all the veſſels bound to *Macedonia*; paſſengers, merchants, all were
c " held good prize, and ſold for ſlaves. Theſe piracies you have applauded and
" juſtified by your decrees; for my part, I don't ſee what you could have done
" worſe, if you had declared open war againſt me. Nay, heretofore, when the
" ſword was drawn, you contended yourſelves with carrying on hoſtilities in an
" open manner; you made repriſals on my ſubjects; you did all you could to in-
" jure their trade; you ſupported my enemies, and endeavoured to make deſcents
" on my territories; but now, while we are at peace, you ſtop not at theſe things,
" your rancour and your injuſtice have puſhed you on to ſtir up a barbarian to be-
" come my enemy; and your embaſſadors have ſolicited the king of *Perſia* to over-
" whelm *Macedonia*. What ſtrange conduct is this? to beſeech that monarch to
d " ally himſelf with you againſt me, without remembering, that before he had ſub-
" dued *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, you reſolved to invite me and the reſt of the *Greeks*
" into a confederacy againſt him as the common enemy. Very conſiſtent! T'other
" day you were for going with me againſt him, now you deſire him to go with
" you againſt me. Your anceſtors, as I have been informed, objected it as an un-
" pardonable crime to the children of *Piſiſtratus*, that they invited *the great king* in-
" to *Greece*; yet the ſame thing is done by your modern politicians. You are not
" thus it ſeems aſhamed to injure me by methods you condemned even in your
" tyrants, ſo that all things become lawful and laudable, as ſoon as it is diſcerned
" they will ſpight *Philip*. You have given me a ſignal mark of this in your de-
e " crees, injoining me to put *Teres* and *Cherſobleptes*, as citizens of *Athens*, into quiet
" poſſeſſion of their eſtates. I ſhall not inquire whether they were comprized in
" our treaty of peace, whether their names are to be found in your liſt of citizens,
" or whether they are natives or deſcendents of *Athens*; this I know very well, that
" I have ſeen *Teres* ſerving in my armies againſt you, and *Cherſobleptes* being on the
" very point of ſwearing to a treaty concluded with my embaſſadors, declined it,
" terrified by the menaces of your general, who threatened to proclaim him an
" enemy to your republic. What juſtice! what equity! what conſiſtency is here!
" when he was about to become my friend, you threatened to declare him your
" enemy; after doing me all the miſchief he could, now truly he is your citizen.
f " You who heretofore received and protected a murderer, while yet *red* with the
" *blood* of *Sitalces! Sitalces* king of *Thrace! Sitalces*, whom you called your citizen!
" yet in regard to this title, you are now for taking *Cherſobleptes* under your pro-
" tection, and for making war on me on his account; however, upon other occa-
" ſions, you have more than once regarded in another light theſe adopted citizens,
" your laws, and your decrees. But to cut ſhort this diſpute, you cannot deny, that
" you have ſeen dethroned, and ignominiouſly baniſhed, *Evagoras* of *Cyprus* and
" *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſe*, two kings, who for themſelves and their deſcendents were
" honoured with the high titles of citizens of *Athens*. If your eloquence can be
" ſo effectually employed as to perſuade thoſe who have driven theſe tyrants from
" their throne to replace them again, you may be aſſured, that you will find

" me no leſs tractable in reſettling *Teres* and *Cherſobleptes* in all and ſeveral their do- a
" minions in *Thrace*. If you look upon that to be a crime in me, with which
" you will not ſo much as upbraid others, can you wonder, that I pay little regard
" to your cenſure? I could ſay many things more upon this head, but I chuſe rather
" to ſuppreſs them.

" WITH reſpect to other things, be it known to you, that if you attack the
" *Cardians*, they ſhall be ſuccoured; I will and I ought to do it, not only in reſpect
" to the ſtrict alliance there has been between us, long before I concluded the
" treaty with you, but on account alſo of your obſtinacy in refuſing to ſubmit the
" differences between you and them to arbitration, as they and I have often deſired
" you to do. Would you not take me for the meaneſt creature in the world, if b
" upon this occaſion I ſhould deſert my old and conſtant friends, for the ſake of
" people who thwart me in every thing I do? I can no longer be ſilent, your inſo-
" lence is come to a height not to be borne; your late proceedings are of ſuch a
" caſt, that moderation is no longer a virtue. The *Peparethians* did but tell you
" they were oppreſſed by me; and, without further inquiry, you direct your generals
" to avenge theſe iſlanders, whom I had chaſtiſed more mildly than they deſerved.
" Theſe faithleſs people had in full peace ſurprized *Halonneſus*, nor would they
" part either with the iſland or the gariſon, though I often ſolicited them by my
" embaſſadors. When I was thus inſulted, you ſaid not a word; but when I came
" to do myſelf juſtice, what a clamour have you ſet up? You know very well, that c
" I took this *Halonneſus* neither from them nor you, but from *Soſtrates* the pirate.
" If you ſay that he held it under your protection, you declare yourſelves his ac-
" complices: If you diſown him and his robberies, why ſhould you think of de-
" priving me of my juſt reward, for clearing the ſeas and protecting trade? I be-
" lieve I can gueſs the reaſon. All things I do offend you, kindneſſes not excepted.
" I offered you this *Halonneſus* merely out of the great reſpect I had to your friend-
" ſhip; this did not pleaſe your demagogues, they talked you into a refuſal of my
" offer, and which was ſomewhat ſingular, they talked you into reclaiming what
" they made you refuſe to accept. Would you know the reaſon? Come, I'll tell it
" you: Either I muſt have reſtored the iſland, which you know would have been d
" a full proof of my taking it unjuſtly; or I muſt have refuſed to reſtore it, and
" thereby have opened a way to thoſe violent motions which they long to make in
" your aſſemblies. Well, I penetrated all this, and, to be even with them,
" offered to ſubmit our diſputes to arbitration, reſolving to make you a preſent of
" the iſland, if it was adjudged to me, and to have yielded it up, if judgment had
" gone againſt me. Many a time did I offer this, and as often did you reject it.
" The *Peparethians* in the mean time ſeized the iſland. Well, what was I to do
" then? Was I bound not to puniſh thoſe violators of their oaths? Was I patiently
" to ſubmit to injuries of ſuch a nature, offered in ſuch a manner? Conſider a little;
" if *Halonneſus* belonged to theſe people, how came the *Athenians* to demand it? If e
" it belonged to you, why did not you attack the uſurpers? Things came at laſt
" to ſuch a paſs, that, to ſecure the paſſage of *Macedonian* veſſels from the priva-
" teers, fitted out from your colonies by order of *Polycrates*, authorized ſo to do
" by your decrees, I was conſtrained to come in perſon before the ports of theſe
" corſairs, in order to keep them in awe. I had little reaſon to act with all this
" caution, when that general at the ſame time ſent to the *Byzantines* to join with
" him, and declared publickly, that, when occaſion ſhould offer, he would make
" war upon me. All this did not engage me to act with a violence proportioned
" to yours. I attempted nothing againſt you; I ſeized not either your gallies or
" your dominions, though it was in my power to have taken a part, if not the f
" whole, of both; and all this time I continued to ſolicit you, that our differences
" might be put to arbitration. Judge for yourſelves, whether equity is beſt awarded
" by reaſon or the ſword, and whether it be fit, that you or I ſhould be judges in
" our own cauſes; conſider too with yourſelves, how unreaſonable it will appear,
" that the *Athenians*, who forced the *Thaſians* and the *Maronites* to be content with
" an arbitration made on their reſpective claims to the city of *Stryma*, ſhould refuſe
" to ſubmit to the deciſion of their own differences with me in the ſame way. Your
" obſtinacy muſt appear ſtill more unreaſonable, when it is remembered, that the
" arbitration I offered would not have left you expoſed to the incertainties which

" uſually

a " uſully attend ſuch judgments. If it went againſt you, you were to loſe nothing;
" a decree in your favour would have given you my conqueſts.
" To crown all your oddities, you refuſe to hear my embaſſadors, who are im-
" powered, in the name of me and my allies, to aſſure you, that we are willing
" to compromiſe upon reaſonable terms whatever differences ſubſiſt between us and
" other *Greeks*. Could you take any better method than complying with this
" propoſition? At all events, it muſt have been beneficial to you; for I muſt either
" have acted conformable to my offers, or not: In the firſt caſe, you would have
" had the honour of protecting all the *Greeks*, who, you ſay, have taken umbrage at
" my power: In the ſecond, you would have had the greateſt advantage over me;
b " my want of faith could not have been concealed, I muſt have paſſed for a traitor
" convict throughout *Greece*. To ſay the truth, my propoſitions were perfectly
" ſuited to your people; but, alas! your demagogues could not find their accounts in
" them. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with your governnment ſay, that theſe ſort
" of people know no ſort of war ſo cruel as a peace, and never taſte ſo much of peace
" as in the midſt of war. When the ſword is drawn every *Athenian* general is tied
" down to compound with them; and muſt either pay for their crying him up, or
" for their not crying him down. Your dealers in words carry it ſtill farther: In
" order to have reputation, a man's character muſt be publicly given by them.
" This is a general buſineſs, nor is it of any great conſequence what country he is
c " of, who deſires to be recommended; the noble citizen, the illuſtrious ſtranger, a
" whole ſtring of theſe ſort of epithets are at their command; and, once beſtowed
" in the aſſembly, thoſe who are honoured with them become moſt excellent com-
" monwealth's men in the opinion of the vulgar. I could upon very reaſonable
" terms have ſilenced their invectives or even have converted them into eulogies;
" but I ſcorn to acquire your friendſhip in ſo ſcandalous a manner. I ſhould be
" aſhamed to have any thing to do with theſe mercenaries, who, becauſe they did
" not ſell me *Amphipolis*, have the impudence to ſay, I uſurp it. I am poſitive, my
" title to that city is built on reaſons too ſtrong for them with all their eloquence
" to overthrow. For, if *Amphipolis* ought to belong to its moſt ancient poſſeſſors,
d " how do I hold it unjuſtly? *Alexander*, one of my anceſtors held it firſt: witneſs
" the riches taken by him there from the *Perſians*, the firſt fruits of which he con-
" ſecrated in a ſtatue of gold, ſet up in the temple at *Delphi*. Well, if you don't
" like this reaſon, ſhall *Amphipolis* belong to its laſt maſter? I am content, for by
" this title alſo it is mine. I took it from the *Lacedæmonians*, who, after they had
" driven you out, ſettled in it a colony of their own. As I take it, all cities are
" held either by a right of ſucceſſion or a right of conqueſt. Now both theſe
" rights have I; you have neither the one or the other; and yet, becauſe you
" held the city ſome time, you are pleaſed to ſet up a claim to it, though you have
" confeſſed my right in the moſt authentic manner in the world. For in your anſwers
e " to my letters on this ſubject, you have over-and-over acknowleged me for the
" lawful ſovereign of *Amphipolis*; beſides you have recognized me for its maſter
" by your laſt treay of peace. Is it poſſible to have the poſſeſſion of a place better
" guaranteed than I have this? My anceſtors held it formerly, I have conquered it,
" you have acknowledged my right, you who never parted with any thing, to
" which you had ſo much as the colour of a title. You ſee then the grounds of
" my complaints. Becauſe you are without contradiction the aggreſſors, becauſe
" I have ſpared no pains to prevent your having any reaſon for a rupture, you
" load me with reproaches, and make it your buſineſs to blacken me all you can.
" I take the gods to witneſs the goodneſs of my cauſe, and the neceſſity I am under
f " of doing myſelf that juſtice which you have refuſed me (H)[b]".

THE

[b] Vide apud DEMOSTHEN. Orat. hanc Literam & Refutat.

(H) There are ſome few paſſages in this eloquent letter which may be illuſtrated from ancient authors. *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus* was originally a private citizen of *Salamis*, but deſcended of a noble family, and a man of great ſpirit; he perſuaded his fellow-citizens to throw off the *Perſian* yoke, which they did under his conduct, and conquered a great part of the iſland; he was afterwards ſlain by *Nicocles*; however his ſon *Evagoras* the younger pretended to the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and was ſupported by the *Athenians* againſt *Protagoras* the ſucceſſor of *Nicocles*. The *Athenians* were induced to take his part on account of the great aſſiſtance his father had given their admiral *Conon*, when he laboured to reſtore *Athens* to her former grandeur (27). As to *Dionyſius* the younger, the reader has had his hiſtory

(27) *Pauſan. in Attic. Diodor. lib.* XV. XVI.

The judicious reader will not be diſpleaſed at the extraordinary length of this letter, when he conſiders, that it is an accurate and authentic hiſtory of many curious events, and at the ſame time an artful apology written by the moſt potent prince and moſt conſummate politician of his time. Happy would it have been for us, if more ſuch letters as theſe had been preſerved; but time has ſwallowed them up, and we have only a few ſhort epiſtles, which ſerve barely to demonſtrate, that this is truly *Philip*'s from the conformity of its ſtile, as it muſt be allowed worthy of him from the conſideration of its matter. a

Meaſures taken by the Athenians.

In all probability, this epiſtle had wrought its deſired effect, if *Demoſthenes* the conſtant adverſary of *Philip* had not undertaken to open the people's eyes, and to convince them, that the king's deſign was only to ſuſpend their judgments, and to hinder their taking any vigorous reſolution, till he had ſubdued ſuch places in the country where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehenſions from that quarter [c]. It happened, that about this time the news arrived at *Athens* of *Chares*'s being excluded the ports of the allies; this occaſioned great heats in the aſſembly, the partizans of *Philip* inſiſting warmly on the contempt ſhewn towards the republic, by firſt ſoliciting ſupplies, and then refuſing to admit them. *Phocion* cleared up this; he told them in few words, that the allies had not inſulted the people of *Athens* by endeavouring to ſecure themſelves from a rapacious *Athenian*; and that, if they would retrieve their reputation, they ought to ſend back their ſuccours under the command of ſome man of honour [d]. According to the wonted flexibility of popular councils, this motion was approved, and *Phocion* himſelf named admiral and captain general. In this flow of their good humour, the *Athenians* did every thing that could be expected from them; as, on the other hand, *Phocion* ſhewed himſelf a true patriot by accepting readily this command, when he found it in his power to execute it with honour to himſelf and to the ſtate; though upon other occaſions he had oppoſed their declaring againſt *Philip*, when he judged thoſe declarations would only ſerve to irritate him and do themſelves no good. Such were the enemies of *Philip* on this ſide. The *Perſian* kings, as we have already frequently noted, were wont to regard the *Macedonian* princes, not only as their tributaries, but as their faithful allies. The fortune of *Philip*, the continual clamour of the *Athenians* againſt him, and his dethroning at his pleaſure the petty princes of *Thrace*, concurred to make the *Perſian* view him in another light. When therefore he led his troops againſt *Perinthus*, the *great king*, as he was ſtiled by the *Greeks*, ſent his letters mandatory to the governors of the maritime provinces, directing them to ſupply the place with all things in their power; in conſequence of which they filled it with troops, granted large ſubſidies in ready money, and ſent beſides great convoys of proviſions and ammunition. The *Byzantines* alſo, conceiving their own turn would be next, exerted their utmoſt force for the preſervation of *Perinthus*, ſending thither the flower of their youth with all other neceſſaries for an obſtinate defence [e]. Thus *Philip* found all this part of the world either open enemies or ſuſpicious friends. b c d e

Philip *compelled to raiſe the ſieges of* Perinthus *and* Byzantium. *Year after the flood* 2660. *Before Chriſt* 339.

These difficulties, which would certainly have made a ſtrong impreſſion on a prince of leſs firmneſs or more moderate abilities, ſerved only to ſtimulate the ambition of the *Macedonian*. As ſoon therefore as he ſaw a ſmall breach made in the wall, he proceeded to the attack, and ſtormed *Perinthus* with a vaſt effuſion of blood on both

[c] Demosthen. ubi ſupra. [d] Plutarch. in vit. Phocion. [e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.

hiſtory already; there is, however, a paſſage relating to him, which deſerves to be mentioned here. It is ſaid, that *Philip*, having an interview with this prince, could not help aſking him, how in ſo ſhort a time he had loſt the flouriſhing kingdom left him by his father? *Dionyſius* anſwered frankly, *Becauſe, Sir, my father did not leave me his fortune with his kingdom* (28). When the king of *Macedon* wrote in a high ſtrain to the *Lacedæmonians* to leave the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* free, he received this *Laconic* anſwer: Dionyſius *at* Corinth; by which they intimated, that he was no leſs a tyrant than *Dionyſius*, and no more out of fortune's power than he (29). The iſlands of *Peparethus*, *Halonneſus*, and *Sciathus*, lie in the *Ægean* ſea, where they form a triangle. *Philip*, as he tells us in the letter, would have given up *Halonneſus* to the *Athenians* as a preſent, but *Demoſthenes* engaged them to refuſe it in that light, alledging, that their acceptance would be injurious to them as a republic (30). *Æſchines*, however, told them plainly, that it was fooliſh to refuſe an iſland, and diſpute about words; that theſe ſort of proceedings would do ſervice to *Philip*, and afford him an opportunity of charging them with haughtineſs and inſincerity, as often as they upbraided him with breach of faith (31).

(28) *Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib.* xii. *c.* 60. (29) *Demet. Phaler. de Eloc. c.* 8. (30) *Orat. adv. Cteſiph.* (31) *Æſchin. de falſ. legat.*

a both sides. It is not likely, that with all these advantages the *Perinthians* would have been able to have sustained many such efforts, if the situation of the city had not proved of greater use to them, than either themselves or *Philip* foresaw. For standing as it did on the side of a hill, and their houses being built with great regularity, every street with the help of a few works was converted into a new wall, which while the besiegers battered, they were exposed to all the shot of the besieged; which, as the houses rose gradually one above another, did prodigious execution. *Philip* seeing this, and being informed by his engineer named *Polindus*, that nothing but time could overcome these difficulties, he instantly bethought himself of a method, whereby he hoped to indemnify his army for their long and great fatigue, though for the present he increased it; for marching suddenly with a great
b corps of troops, he blocked up *Byzantium*, which as it was in a manner exhausted by the succours sent to *Perinthus*, had well nigh fallen into his hands immediately, and could never have endured a siege even of a moderate length. But while *Philip* dreamt of gaining two cities at a time, he was compelled to leave them both; for *Phocion* arriving with his fleet quite changed the face of affairs. The inhabitants of the *Chersonese* declared immediately for the *Athenians*, and *Philip*, seeing all hopes of succeeding taken away, raised both his sieges, and marched off with an army excessively harrassed, and not a little dispirited [f]. *Phocion* made the best use of his absence, he retook such places as the *Macedonian* had garisoned, took many of his
c ships, and by frequent descents raised contributions throughout the maritime provinces of *Macedonia* [g].

Makes war on the Scythians *and defeats the* Triballi.

This reverse of fortune served only to aggrandize the character of *Philip*; he sent immediately to treat of a peace, and that the reputation of his arms might not suffer from his late disappointment, he turned them instantly on a *Scythian* prince who sought to take advantage of his misfortune; and having totally defeated his forces, made the *Macedonians* rich with their plunder. The *Triballi*, a fierce and barbarous nation, refused him passage through their country, unless he would share with them the spoil he had taken. *Philip*, considering rather the wound his reputation would have received by complying with such a proposition, than the worth of what
d they required, absolutely rejected their demand, and marched to give them battle. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and had well-nigh been fatal to the king; for, after receiving a wound in his thigh, his horse was killed under him, and himself trampled to the ground. This being perceived by the young *Alexander*, he flew immediately to his assistance, and having covered his father's body with his shield, slew or put to flight such of the *Barbarians* as were got about him. *Philip* being remounted gained a signal victory, and returned into *Macedon*, as he was wont, covered with laurels, and received with loud acclamations, though in himself he was much dissatisfied, and began to form new projects for depressing the *Athenians*, who, kept continually warm by the orations of *Demosthenes*, were far
e from being so ready as they had formerly been to clap up a peace [h].

Philip *succeeds in his project of entering* Greece. *Year after the flood* 2661. *Year before* Christ 338.

The effects of the *Athenian* war became daily more and more insupportable to the subjects of *Philip*; for, as the *Macedonians* were never very powerful at sea, the *Athenians* now deprived them of all their trade, by keeping continually such squadrons on their coasts, that their vessels durst not stir out of port. If *Philip*'s design had succeeded in *Thrace* and on the *Hellespont*, he would have starved *Athens*, her provisions as well as her revenues being chiefly drawn from those countries; the *Athenians* were now even with him in the same wars with this unlucky circumstance, that the king knew not how to relieve himself [i]. Yet he did not despair; he formed, on the contrary, a project of invading *Attica*, though he had no fleet to transport
f his troops, and notwithstanding that he knew well enough the *Thessalians* were not to be depended on, if he attempted to march through the *Pylæ*, and that the *Thebans* would even then be ready to oppose his march. To obviate all these difficulties, he had recourse to *Athens* itself, where, by means of his partizans, he procured *Æschines* his old friend to be sent their deputy to the *Amphictyons*; this seemed a small matter, and yet this was the hinge on which his whole project turned. By that time *Æschines* had taken his seat, a question was stirred in the council, whether the *Locrians* of *Amphissa* had not been guilty of sacrilege in plowing the fields of *Cyrrha* in

[f] Plutarch. in vit. Phocion. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [g] Demosthen. pro Ctesiph. Plut. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [h] Justin. lib. ix. c. 3. [i] Demosthen. pro Ctesiph. Plutarch. in Phocion.

in the neighbourhood of the temple at *Delphi*. Sentiments being divided, *Æschines* a
propoſed a view, which was accordingly decreed. But when the *Amphictyons* came
in order to ſee how things ſtood, the *Locrians*, either jealous of their property, or
ſpurred thereto by the ſuggeſtions of ſome who ſaw farther than themſelves, fell
upon theſe venerable perſons ſo rudely, that they compelled them to ſecure themſelves
by flight. The *Amphictyons*, conſidering this matter in council, decreed, that an army
ſhould be raiſed under the command of one of their own number to chaſtiſe the de-
linquents; but as this army was to be compoſed of troops ſent from all the ſtates
of *Greece*, the appearance at the rendezvous was ſo inconſiderable, that the *Amphi-*
ctyon ſent to command them durſt undertake nothing. The whole matter being re-
ported to the council, *Æſchines* in a long and eloquent harangue ſhewed, how much b
the welfare and even the ſafety of *Greece* depended on the reverence paid to their de-
crees; and after inveighing againſt the want of public ſpirit in ſuch as had not ſent
their quotas at the time appointed by the council, he moved, that they ſhould elect
Philip for their general, and pray him to execute their decree. The deputies from the
other ſtates, conceiving that by this expedient their reſpective conſtituents would be
freed from any farther trouble or expence, came into it at once; whereupon a decree
was immediately drawn up, purporting, that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Philip* of
Macedon in the name of *Apollo* and the *Amphictyons*, once more to require his aſſiſt-
ance, and to notify to him, that the ſtates of *Greece* had unanimouſly choſen him their
general, with full power to act as he thought fit, againſt ſuch as had oppoſed the c
authority of the *Amphictyons* [k]. Thus of a ſudden, and before any body foreſaw
it, *Philip* by this round-about method acquired all that he fought; and having an
army ready in expectation of this event, he immediately marched to execute the
commands of the *Amphictyons* in all appearance, but in truth to fulfil his own deſigns;
for having paſſed into *Greece* with his army, he meddled not with the *Locrians*, but
ſeized immediately *Elatea*, a great city in *Phocis* on the river *Cephiſus* [l]. This
amazed all *Greece*, nor was there any body who could pretend to ſay what ſtep he
would take next (H).

The Athenians *and* Thebans *reſolve to oppoſe him.*

THE *Athenians* were in the utmoſt confuſion on the news of *Philip*'s march; an
extraordinary aſſembly was called, in which the people demanded advice of *Demo-* d
ſthenes by name. That great orator with much preſence of mind exhorted them to
ſend embaſſadors throughout all *Greece*, but eſpecially to the *Thebans* to engage them
to riſe at once and oppoſe the *Macedonian* torrent before it bore down all. The people
inſtantly aſſented, and *Demoſthenes* went to *Thebes* at the head of the embaſſy [m].
Philip had ſent to the ſame city *Pytho* as his embaſſador; he was a man of great
abilities, by birth a *Byzantine*, by his merit a citizen of *Athens*, by choice the mini-
ſter of *Philip* [n]. This orator eaſily overcame the collegues of *Demoſthenes*; but
Demoſthenes himſelf who could overcome? His ſpeeches had ſuch an effect on the
Thebans,

[k] PLUTARCH, in Demoſthen. & DEMOSTHEN. in Orat. ſupr. citat. [l] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi. PLUTARCH. in Phocion. & Demoſthen. [m] DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [n] DEMOSTHEN. Orat. pro Coron.

(H) This was *Philip*'s maſter-piece; upon this occaſion he ſhewed that he was able to over-reach all the ſtateſmen in *Greece*; for it is morally certain, that if any of the *Grecian* ſtates had ſuſpected his deſign, they would never have conſented to the decree, which gave him a paſſage into the heart of their country. By ſeizing *Elatea*, he provided himſelf the fitteſt place in the world for his head-quarters, ſince it awed *Bœotia*, and opened him a paſſage into *Attica*. It is true, the *Thebans* barred his paſſage, but that was what he could not foreſee; for inaſmuch as he had done them very conſiderable ſervices, particularly in the *Phocian* war, he might better have reckoned upon them than upon any of the *Grecians*. Theſe were not the only people who were not over-grateful to the king of *Macedon*; the *Peloponneſians*, for whom he had done much, openly hiſſed his chariot at the *Olympic* games, offering him thereby the higheſt affront in the ſight of all *Greece*. When it was reported at the court of *Philip*, there wanted not ſome to declare, that ſuch inſolence ought to be chaſtiſed; but *Philip*, who was practiſed in the art of ſwallowing injuries (32), anſwered very mildly: *If the* Peloponneſians *hiſs us for doing good turns, what will they not ſay, if we ſhould do them ill ones* (33)? This calmneſs of his had its deſired effect. His enemies, while they indulged their tongues, never thought of acting to his prejudice: When therefore he ſeized *Elatea*, they ſtood amazed, inſtead of running to arms, and, as if they had been faſcinated by the charms of *Philip*, ſtood gazing on his army, expecting where it would march next. This ſight was doubtleſs as pleaſing to *Philip* as his ſubſequent victory at *Cheronæa*, ſince it was the avowed maxim of this ſagacious monarch, that an advantage gained by policy was more glorious than a conqueſt by arms, becauſe in the glory of the latter his whole army had a right to ſhare, whereas in reſpect to the former the fame reſulting therefrom belonged to himſelf alone (34).

(32) *Longin. de Sublim. c.* 25. (33) *Plutarch. in Apophthegm.* (34) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvi. *prope fin.*

a *Thebans*, that forgetting all the obligations they owed to *Philip*, they considered him no longer as their benefactor, but as one who sought to arrive at the sovereignty of *Greece*. Fired therefore with resentment, they concurred unanimously with the *Athenians*, and concerted with *Demosthenes* the measures proper to be taken in so nice a conjuncture. *Philip*, on the other hand, did not sit still, he sent his embassadors to *Athens* to treat of peace, and he is said to have engaged the priestess at *Delphi* to prophesy nothing but destruction to those who should make war against him. *Demosthenes* defeated both designs, he engaged the *Athenians* not to listen in any degree to his propositions, and encouraged them also to pay no regard to the oracle, by telling them that *Pythia philippized*. An army was immediately raised, which b marched with incredible diligence to *Eleusis*, where they were joined by the *Thebans*, who shewed a laudable zeal for the liberty of *Greece*. The confederates made the greatest appearance that had ever been seen in *Greece*, and the troops were without doubt exceedingly good, but, unfortunately, generals were wanting. *Chares*, that scandal to his country, and *Lysicles*, a man without conduct, commanded the *Athenians*; the *Thebans* were without any general of note; however, they prepared for a battle, which, all circumstances considered, could not but be decisive [o].

Philip, when he found his arts defeated, and that all his negotiations could not hindered this extraordinary junction, resolved as his last resource to have recourse to an engagement. Thus determined, he advanced to *Cheronæa*, in the neighbourhood c of which city the confederates were encamped. The next day, by that time the sun was up, both armies were in the field. The king gave the command of his left wing to his son *Alexander*, then about nineteen years of age; but he placed about him his most experienced generals to prevent any accident his extraordinary courage, unsustained by experience, might draw on him. The right he commanded in person. On the other side, the *Athenians* were on the left, the *Thebans* on the right. *Alexander* began the charge, and his troops seconded his ardor with an alacrity conformable to his wishes. The sacred band of the *Thebans*, however, made a steady and gallant resistance [p]. The *Athenians* in the mean time had the better on the left, and having pushed the enemy from their ground, *Lysicles* their general had the imprudence to d cry aloud, *Come on, my fellow soldiers, let us drive these cowards to* Macedon. On which the *Athenians* losing all order rushed on to the pursuit. *Philip*, who saw and heard this from the side of a hill, whereon his phalanx remained in excellent order, said coldly to those who were near him, *These* Athenians *don't know how to conquer* [q]. Then bearing down upon them, all in confusion as they were, he obtained an easy, though a very bloody, victory; a thousand *Athenians* being slain on the spot. At the same time, and with like effusion of blood, *Alexander* triumphed over the *Thebans*: Thus the confederates were totally overthrown, and the authority of *Philip* effectually established. *Demosthenes*, who had been so instrumental in bringing the *Athenians* and *Thebans* into the field, was there in person; but it seems he wanted e military courage, for in the beginning of the rout he threw away his shield and betook himself to flight. We are farther told, that a stake catching hold of his robe as he fled, he, not doubting but it was an enemy, cried out, *Alas! spare my life* [r]. On his return to *Athens*, he was well received, though *Lysicles* was put to death. As to *Philip*, in the first transport of his joy, he behaved very ridiculously; he caused the decree of *Demosthenes* to be sung in his presence, spoke contemptibly of the powers of *Greece*, and insulted his prisoners, till *Demades* the *Athenian* brought him to his senses, by telling him, *Heaven, O king, hath assigned thee the part of* Agamemnon, *and thou wilt needs play that of* Thersites [s] (I). It was the peculiar felicity of

And are defeated at Cheronæa.

[o] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Theopomp. apud Plut. in Demosthen. Demosthen. ubi supra.
[p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Oros. lib. iii. [q] Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. iv. Arrian. lib. vii.
[r] Plutarch. in vit. dec. Orat. [s] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

(I) We need not wonder at *Philip*'s intemperate joy on account of his victory. Heroes and kings are the greatest of men, but they are still men. *Demosthenes*, who alone preserved his courage, when *Thebes* and *Athens* were struck with terror, lost it when he came to engage those *Macedonians*, against whom he made it the business of his life to excite enemies and raise armies. *Philip*, so wise in his designs, so cool in the execution of them, could not behold this success without transports. When the news of *Philip*'s death reached *Athens*, *Demosthenes* put on a garland and appeared publicly in pomp, though his daughter was but just dead. He did that for the death of *Philip*, which *Philip* had done for the political death of *Athens*; both were mad from the same motive, and both, if either, were excusable alike (35). It is indeed alledged in favour of *Philip*, that his senses were overcome with wine; but methinks

(25) *Plutarch. in vit. Demosthen. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

of this prince, that he would hear advice, and receive thoſe things kindly which to a monarchs of a weaker brain would have ſounded like treaſon. He inſtantly ordered *Demades* to be releaſed, eſteemed him as his friend, and loaded him with benefits ever after. His converſation, *Diodorus* tells us, gave *Philip* ſo high a reliſh of the *Athenian* civility, that he diſmiſſed all his priſoners. But when they afterwards demanded their baggage, though he granted their requeſt, he could not help ſaying, *Theſe men, I believe, do not think we fought in earneſt* [t]. The reflection of *Polybius* on this act of clemency ought ever to accompany its recital, ſince it is no leſs honourable to its author, than the act itſelf was to *Philip*. *By this*, ſays that polite *Grecian*, *he gained a ſecond victory more glorious than his former; for, whereas at* Cheronæa *he triumphed only over ſuch* Athenians *as oppoſed him, he now vanquiſhed the whole city* [u]. He carried his moderation ſtill farther; for he concluded a peace with *Athens* on their own terms, and leaving a good gariſon in *Thebes* did the reſt of the *Bœotians* no manner of hurt.

The conſequences of this victory.

Thus *Philip* of *Macedon*, with an army of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, effected what *Xerxes* with his millions attempted in vain. He attained by one victory the ſovereignty of *Greece*, though it coſt the *Greeks* many to eſtabliſh its liberty. He did not indeed diſturb his countrymen with the rattling of their chains; but when there was a neceſſity, he did not ſpare to ſhew them that he was, and would be, their maſter. The *Athenians* in the mean time acted as they were wont, that is, violently and beyond all bounds of reaſon. They cried up the virtue of *Demoſthenes* to the ſtars, they inveighed loudly againſt ſuch as had any ſhare in betraying *Greece*, they interred thoſe who were ſlain at *Cheronæa* at the public expence. *Demoſthenes* publiſhed their virtues in a funeral oration, and, if we may be allowed to expreſs our ſentiments in a metaphor, they ſhewed by the ſolemnity of its interment what a high value they ſet upon their liberty [w]. The reſt of the *Greeks* did not either ſo readily perceive, or did not think it prudent ſo publicly to lament, the change which this expedition had made in their affairs; inſtead of deploring their ſervitude, they rejoiced in the lenity of their ſovereign, and ſeemed rather to regard the greatneſs of *Philip* as due to his merit, than acquired by his arts and arms.

Philip *choſen generaliſſimo of the* Greeks *againſt the* Perſians.

We are now to behold the king of *Macedon* in a new light; hitherto we have ſeen him ſtruggling with his neighbours, courting the *Athenians*, and practiſing as the times required with the other ſtates of *Greece*. He was now lord of all, and the uſe he made of his power was to convoke a general aſſembly of the *Greeks*, wherein he was recognized generaliſſimo, and with full power appointed their leader againſt the *Perſians*. Having by virtue of his authority ſettled a general peace amongſt them, and appointed the quota which each of the ſtates ſhould furniſh for the war, he diſmiſſed them, and returning into *Macedon* began to make great preparations for this new expedition; an expedition which, beſide the ancient hatred of the *Greeks* toward the barbarians, occaſioned by the injuries received from them, he coloured with a new pretence relating particularly to himſelf, *viz.* the aſſiſtance given by the *Perſian* to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* [x].

The motives which encouraged Philip *to invade* Aſia.

From the very time that *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, its inhabitants had projected a return of his viſit, not in a piratical way, by making deſcents on his ſea-coaſts, for that they did immediately after they had driven him back into *Aſia* [y]; but with a view of making an abſolute conqueſt of his dominions, or at leaſt ſo much of them

[t] Plut. in Apophtheg. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [u] Polyb. lib. v. [w] Plutarch. in Demoſthen. Demosthen. pro Ctesiph. [x] Alexand. ad Dar. ap. Arrian. lib. ii. c. 14. [y] Plut. in vit. Ariſtid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pauſan. Thucyd. lib. i. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

thinks the joy of his victory might intoxicate him ſufficiently. He had good ſenſe enough to foreſee that he ſhould fight no more battles againſt *Greeks*; that this victory would eſtabliſh the pre-eminence of *Macedon*, and leave him at liberty to purſue thoſe vaſt deſigns he had formed. But if all that has been ſaid will not wipe off the ſtain of his intemperance on this occaſion, his future conduct ought to obliterate it; he buried the *Athenians* who fell in the battle honourably, and on all occaſions afterwards acknowledged them to be the braveſt and politeſt people in *Greece*. Nay, he was wont to do juſtice to the merit of *Demoſthenes*, at whom when ſome of his courtiers were railing, *Let the man ſpeak freely*, ſaid Philip, *ſince he is not in our pay, though we would gladly give him a larger appointment than to any of our houſhold* (36). At another time, ſpeaking of the different kinds of eloquence, *Iſocrates*, ſaid he, *fences with a foil, but* Demoſthenes *with a ſword* (37). 'Tis plain, that if *Philip* had vices and follies, he had alſo many good qualities and much good ſenſe.

(36) *Lucian. in laud. Demoſthen.* (37) *Dionyſ. Halicarn. in Iſæo. Liban. in Demoſthen.*

a them as might ſuit them beſt; of this we have ſeen already, that one of the *Spartan* kings had ſome thoughts, and actually gave ear to a plan laid before him for that purpoſe [z]. One of his ſucceſſors, *Ageſilaus*, carried it ſtill farther, and with an inconſiderable army gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, *Ageſilaus* did not openly profeſs a deſign of conquering the whole empire, but that he really intended no leſs may be gathered from his affecting to ſacrifice in the ſame manner with *Agamemnon*, when he went upon his expedition, and his reply to one who called the *Perſian* emperor, as the *Greeks* were wont, *the great king*. *In what*, ſaid Ageſilaus, *is he greater than I, if he be not braver or better*. His ſacrificing ſhewed, that he meant to emulate *Agamemnon*, who did not haraſs but ſubvert *Troy*, and his
b apophthegm, that he deſired to make himſelf equal to him who was called *the great king* [a]. *Jaſon* of *Theſſaly* is thought to have been meditating the ſame thing when his thread of life was abruptly cut off through a domeſtic conſpiracy [b]. *Philip* ſeemed to have entered upon this momentous conqueſt with more probable and auſpicious hopes; he was by common conſent elected general of *Greece*, and he had ſo effectually humbled the *Grecians*, that he had reaſon to expect they would obey him; he had beſides a numerous, well-diſciplined, and victorious army, and, which might be juſtly reckoned his peculiar felicity, able and faithful miniſters, brave and experienced officers: At the head of the former ſtood *Antipater*, whoſe character might have taken up a page, if his maſter had not ſummed it up in a line; having riſen
c later than uſual one morning, he ſaid, rubbing his eyes at his levee, *I have ſlept ſoundly to day, for I knew* Antipater *was waking* [c]. This was an eulogium worthy of the prince and of his miniſter; yet *Alexander* deſcribed him better, when it was obſerved to him, that all his lieutenants except *Antipater* wore purple; true, ſaid he, *but* Antipater *is all purple within* [d]. In ſhort, he was a man of prodigious abilities, but made no diſplay of them. And, as his maſter rightly depicted him, was alike aſpiring in his thoughts, and humble in his manners. *Parmenio* was of another caſt, *Philip*, the beſt judge in *Greece*, had pronounced him *the only general he ever met with* [e]. *Parmenio* returned his maſter's compliment upon another occaſion, in a manner which ſhewed the penetration of a ſtateſman and the frankneſs of a
d ſoldier. The embaſſadors of the *Grecian* ſtates expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs, that *Philip* came not out earlier in the morning. *Be quiet, gentlemen*, ſaid Parmenio, *for while you ſlept he was waking*. *Antipater* would have thought this, but only *Parmenio* would have ſaid it, who as he conceived juſtly is remarkably famous for ſpeaking freely, which under *Philip* procured him the higheſt honours, under *Alexander* a violent death; ſuch was the ſtate of things in *Greece* and in the court of *Philip*, when he projected the conqueſt of *Aſia* [f] (K).

How

[z] Herodot. lib. vi. [a] Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophtheg. [b] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. [c] Plutarch. Apophthegm. [d] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. [e] Plutarch. Apophthegm. [f] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.

(K) We have in the text attempted to make ſome diſcovery of thoſe motives which induced *Philip* to undertake the conqueſt of the *Perſian* empire. It may not, however, be amiſs to put the reader in mind, that the *Perſians*, by their fooliſh attempt to conquer *Greece*, had firſt inſpired the *Greeks* with a thirſt of conquering them, and by their ſubſequent proceedings cheriſhed and kept up that deſire, either thro' want of foreſight, or from a fatal neceſſity. We do not mean by this any inevitable deſtiny, but ſuch a neceſſity as is the conſtant attendant on imprudence and luxury. When governors, either through want of thought, or, which is often the caſe, from a wrong turn of thought, ſuffer thoſe of whom they have the care to ſink into all the exceſſes of debauchery, they muſt not expect from theſe weak and effeminate men either generous thoughts, or gallant actions. When a people become ſlaves to their luſts, they are in the faireſt train imaginable of becoming ſlaves to their neighbours. Politicians may for a time indeed ward off the blow; but how? Why, by making uſe of mercenary troops. Thus the cowardly ſpendthrift pays a bully to fight his quarrels, and when he pays him no longer, is beaten by him himſelf. This was the fate of the *Perſians*; they hired *Greek* troops, maintained them in the exerciſe of their diſcipline, made them perfectly acquainted with their country and their manners, ſuffered them to ſee and to conſider thoſe errors in their government, which made it in ſpight of its grandeur appear contemptible; and then thoſe very *Greeks* on their return home were continually prompting their countrymen to go and pull down that empire whoſe weight ſcarce permitted it to ſtand. If the *Perſian* emperors had always encouraged feuds in *Greece*, the *Greeks* could never have turned their arms upon them; for we ſee, that till one ſtate ſubdued the reſt, an expedition into *Aſia* might be talked of, but could not be executed. Inſtead of this, the neceſſity I before-mentioned compelled the *Perſian* to compoſe the quarrels of the *Grecians*, that they might furniſh him with troops. Peace enervated the *Greeks*, the facility of recruiting their mercenaries made the *Perſians* neglect all martial diſcipline. In the mean time *Philip*, bleſſed with an excellent education, exerciſed with early troubles, endued with invincible fortitude, and as full of reſtleſs ambition, raiſed the nation he governed from an indigent and dependent ſtate to be firſt the terror of its neighbours, then the miſtreſs of *Greece*, laſt

Diſſenſions in Philip's family.
Year after the flood 2639.
Year before Chriſt 360.

How great ſoever he appeared there, how happy ſoever he might be here; in his family, he was not only uneaſy, but miſerable. His wife *Olympias* was the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, brother of *Arymbas*, king of *Epirus*, whom *Philip* raiſed to a participation in the kingdom; his ſon *Alexander*, by the favour of the ſame monarch, was raiſed to the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne to the prejudice of *Æacidas* the ſon of *Arymbas*; all which teſtifies how great a ſhare *Olympias* once had in the affection of her huſband. She was a woman of a high ſpirit, great abilities, a fine addreſs, much cunning, and has been terribly wronged, if ſhe had not more intrigues than that with *Jupiter*, to which *Alexander* ſought to aſcribe his birth [g]. The reader muſt remember, that *Philip* in his letter to the *Athenians*, ſpeaks with great heat of their ſeizing his herald, taking from him his letters, and reading them in a public aſſembly, in which if they ſhewed their diſreſpect to *Philip*, they ſhewed at the ſame time a high regard to *Olympias*, to whom they ſent a packet of letters taken at the ſame time without preſuming to open them [h]. How this lady embroiled herſelf with her huſband might be ſomewhat myſterious even in thoſe days; at preſent it is impoſſible to give a very diſtinct account of it. Whatever it was, the king was ſo extremely offended with her, that he proceeded to a repudiation, and married *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus* [i]. This conduct of his, added to ſome other ſlights, either real or ſo conceived, inſpired *Alexander* with a warm diſlike of his father; and as young princes have ſeldom prudence enough to conceal their ſentiments, he gave evident tokens of it, inſomuch, that the whole court knew and obſerved it. An accident happened which put all things into a flame. At the nuptial feaſt, *Attalus*, the young queen's uncle, was ſo unpolite as to tell the king in the hearing of his ſon, that his *Macedonians* hoped he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. *Alexander* in the heat of his reſentment cried out, *What then, raſcal, do you take me for a baſtard?* And, while he ſpoke, threw a flaggon at his head. *Attalus* returned the compliment in the ſame way, and the king, extremely provoked at this diſturbance, drew his ſword, and, forgetting that he was a cripple, haſtily made towards his ſon; but in his paſſage fell down, which gave the courtiers time to get between them. *Alexander* riſing up, and forgetting that he to whom he ſpoke was both his father and his prince, had the aſſurance to ſay in quitting the room, *The* Macedonians *are likely to conquer* Aſia, *when led out of* Europe *by a prince who cannot go from one table to another, without hazarding his neck.* He rightly conjectured, that it would not, after this, be proper for him to remain in *Macedon*, where his father *Philip* was both revered and beloved; he therefore retired with his mother into *Epirus* [k] (L).

[g] JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 6. [h] PLUT. in vit. Demet. [i] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ARRIAN. in præfat. expedit. Alex. [k] PLUT. in vit. Alex. ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 6.

laſt of all a match for *Perſia*. On this foundation ſtands the fame of *Philip*; theſe were the cauſes of his being in a condition to paſs into *Aſia*; and theſe the ſources of that weakneſs and inability to reſiſt, which afterwards appeared, in the *Perſian* adminiſtration (37).

(L) *Philip*'s greateſt fault was his proneneſs to feaſting and flattery. If we may believe a certain author, he made one of his flatterers, whoſe name was *Thraſidæus*, king in *Theſſaly*, merely becauſe he had a happy way of making his compliments. *Neoptolemus*, the *Athenian* poet, was at once his favourite and the chief manager of his affairs in that city. At this time of day a poet would be thought a very indifferent agent in politics; but it was quite otherwiſe at *Athens*. That writer knew how to manage the people ſo well, that he gave umbrage to *Demoſthenes*, who failed not to raiſe a ſpirit of perſecution againſt him, which conſtrained the poet to retire to *Macedon*, where he was extremely well received by *Philip*, and became the darling of the whole court (38). When his affairs required it, the king was patient, abſtemious, and attentive to every thing; when they allowed of relaxation, he made great entertainments, drank hard, and talked very freely with his friends. It would have been well if nothing worſe than freedom had mingled in his feaſts; but, it is ſaid, they were polluted with every kind of vice, and all the various debaucheries, which the moſt ſenſual wits could deviſe (39); yet it muſt be allowed, that, in his graver moments, *Philip* ſaw the folly of this, and reflected ſeverely enough on the inequality of his own conduct. He would often ſay, *That he was obliged to Meſſieurs the ſpeech-makers of* Athens *for pointing out his faults, and thereby giveing him an opportunity to amend them* (40). Indeed he always heard reproofs, not only with patience, but with pleaſure, and ſhewed, upon every occaſion, a ſtrong inclination to reward ſuch as put him upon doing right. Once at a public ſale of captives, a poor man, approaching the tribunal, whiſpered in his ear, *Sir, it would be more decent if you let your robe fall lower. Here*, cried *Philip*, *ſet me this man at liberty; I did not know he was my friend* (41). The regard we owe to truth obliges us to record theſe things.

(3k) *Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. in expedit. Alex. Remarques de M. Tourreil ſur les Philippiques.* (38) *Orat. pro pac. Joſeph. Antiq. l* xi. *c.* 7. (39) *Theopomp. ap. Athen. Deipnoſ. l.* vi. (40) *Plut. in Apophthegm.* (41) *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

A little after these disturbances at court, *Damaratus* the *Corinthian*, who had been *Philip*'s host, and who lived with him, not only in the strictest friendship, but with the greatest familiarity, came to make him a visit. When the first compliments were over, *Philip* asked him, If all things were quiet in *Greece*? *You have reason, Sir*, returned he, *to trouble yourself about the peace of* Greece; *you who have filled your own family with noise and dissention*[l]. The king, who, tho' he liked flattery, loved truth, received this reproof as kindly as it was meant, immediately made up the breach between himself and his son, and thereby recalled *Alexander* to court. It is not clear, whether the king of *Epirus* engaged heartily in his sister's quarrel or not. In all probability he temporized with *Philip*, who in a short time after gave him his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, with an intent, it is likely, to preserve all things in quiet during his absence. It is time now to return to public affairs. Philip *recals his son.*

As *Philip* piqued himself on bearing the character of a religious prince, he sent deputies to consult the oracle at *Delphi* as to the success of the *Persian* war. *Pythia* returned for answer a single line in verse, in *English* thus; *Prepares for the war in* Persia.

The oxe's destin'd head now wreaths inthral,
To slaughter doom'd, and quickly shall be fall.

The king, when he received this response, immediately conjectured, that it portended his leading the *Persian* king as a victim to be offered to the *Grecian* gods[m]. But when the event shewed that he was mistaken, others held that to be clearly pointed out, which had been utterly unsuspected before (M). *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, who with an excellent corps of troops were detached to open the war, had orders given them to set the *Grecian* cities at liberty; for how much soever *Philip* might be esteemed a tyrant at *Athens*, he affected to pass for a lover of liberty at home, requiring that as a just respect from others, which the *Athenians* called a slavish submission. Without question the *Greek* cities, whose inhabitants had so readily libelled him, when *Phocion* forced him to raise the sieges of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*, were now as ready to load him with panegyrics, since they were intirely at his mercy, the *Athenians* having it neither in their power nor their will to afford them now any kind of assistance; on the contrary, *Athens* herself at this time sought to sooth the victor, and began, with the rest of *Greece*, to *philippize*, as *Demosthenes* emphatically called it. Indeed *Philip* had been very kind to them, giving up the places they so much desired in *Eubœa*, and removing, as far as was consistent with his own safety, whatever might be grievous to them, or afford them apprehensions. They seemed also to be highly pleased with the expedition he was about to take, and sent their deputies to compliment him upon that occasion. The rest of the *Grecian* states did the same thing; so that *Philip* had now need of a second monitor. He had already appointed one of his pages to salute him every morning with this sober compliment, *Philip, remember thou art a mortal*; a caution, which, as we shall see, he forgot long before

[l] Plut. ubi supra. [m] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

(M) There is no subject that hath been oftener treated, and remains yet less clear, than this of oracles and their responses. Some, struck with particular instances of the correspondence between their answers and the events which followed them, have been led to confess, and that there were in them undeniable marks of supernatural assistance (42). Others, fixing their eyes on the many instances of doubtful, and even false, responses which are recorded in history, have attributed the whole to priestcraft, and have excluded the devil's having any further share in the answers of the oracles, than he may claim as the patron of fraud and the father of lies (43). We do not pretend to unravel in a note a knot twisted by so many volumes; on the contrary, we shall confine ourselves to the response mentioned in the text, and shall propose to the learned some difficulties which have occurred to us, and which, we cannot think, can be resolved by either of these systems. *Philip* had been, in a particular manner, the protector of the temple at the *Delphi*; if therefore any dæmon delighted in the worship offered to him there, why did he not give this royal friend of his a fairer caution? Or, if the oracle was a mere engine of priestcraft, and as, *Demosthenes* alledged, had by this time learned to *philippize*, how came he to give such a response, as particularly enough pointed out, not only *Philip*'s sudden death, but the very manner of it? It should seem, that a verse might easily have been contrived to have spoke the future success of *Philip*, without wearing that cloudy aspect, which was evident in the verse delivered. We shall enter no farther into this matter here; but when we come to speak expressly of the methods in use among the *Greeks* for penetrating into the mysteries of providence, we shall shew, that *Chance* was chiefly relied on in these cases, and that the clearness in some instances, the doubtfulness in others, and the falshood in many, resulted intirely from hence, and from nothing else.

(42) *Delrio, More, Beauchamp, &c.* (43) *Van Dale, Fontenelle, &c.*

before night, being in himself much addicted to pleasure, tho', when it was neces- a
sary, no one was more indefatigable in business. Amongst the rest of his cares, that of making his family easy gave him a good deal of concern. He had not only a young wife, whom he had lately married, but several concubines also, by whom he had children. *Alexander* was very jealous of these, and *Philip* no less uneasy at his jealousy; he sought, however, to sooth him; and when the prince would sometimes break out into harsh expressions, *Philip* would say, *Be patient, my son, and let my having other children engage you to act in such a manner, as that the preference I give you may appear the effect of your own merit, rather than of my choice* (N). To quiet also the relations and friends of *Olympias*, the king of *Macedon* thought it necessary to b
celebrate, in a public and splendid manner, the marriage between her brother *Alexander* and his daughter *Cleopatra*. He accordingly appointed *Ægæ* for the place wherein this solemnity should be performed, and also signified, that there, for the last time, he would regale the *Greek* embassadors, before he marched into *Asia*. The concourse on this occasion was prodigious, not only the *Macedonians*, but all the *Grecian* states, striving to outvie each other in expressions of zeal and friendship, towards *Philip* and his government. Amongst the rest the *Athenians*, always ingenious in flattery, sent him a gold crown, which, when presented by their minister, he also declared, that if any plotter of treason against *Philip* should, for the future, endeavour to shelter himself in *Athens*, he should immediately be delivered up. The king was mightily pleased with this, and no less delighted with a dramatic enter- c
tainment composed by *Neoptolemus* the *Athenian*, a famous tragic poet and highly in *Philip*'s favour. The title of this piece was *Cinyras*; and it was intended to represent the king as having already triumphed over the *Persian*, and made himself lord of *Asia*. The following lines, representing the pride of those ancient enemies of *Greece*, particularly affected *Philip*, insomuch, that he caused them to be more than once repeated.

Your tow'ring hopes above heaven's concave stray,
O'er all the globe of earth you seek to sway;
Palace to palace join, and, madly vain, d
Think that no bounds should life or lands restrain.
Alas! that lot, which ye wou'd far remove,
With hasty step, your constancy shall prove.
Secure in thought, a stroke doth now impend,
Which to extended views shall give an end;
Sudden and sure it falls, nor shall your pow'r defend *.

The correspondence between the response of the oracle and this prediction of the poet gave *Philip* an unusual confidence, and spread an air of joy and satisfaction through

* Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

(N) It may be justly said, that *Philip* was a better father than *Alexander* proved a son. As soon as the young man was capable of instruction in the sciences, *Philip* put him under the care of *Aristotle*, from whom, such was that monarch's modesty, he was contented to receive lessons in government himself. The king formed the design of educating his son thus on his very birth. Here is his letter to *Aristotle* on the occasion, alike concise and inimitable; "You are to know I have a son. I thank "the gods for it; not so much for that they have "given me one, as that he is born co-temporary "with *Aristotle*. I promise myself, from your "care, he will become worthy of succeeding us "and of ruling *Macedon* (44)." We have given some instances of his care of that young prince's person, of his concern for his reputation at the battle of *Cheronæa*, and of his desire to infuse into him noble and heroic principles. To these let us add, that tho' *Philip*, as a politician, had a great opinion of the force of gold, and was wont to say, that no city was impregnable, through the gates of which an ass laden with that metal could pass, tho' he was addicted to the retaining pensioners in every state, and also lavish of his money to domestic flatterers, yet he checked this humour as soon as he perceived it in his son. He wrote him a letter on the subject, full of excellent philosophy: "How "came you, young man, said he, to reason so "wretchedly with yourself, as to fancy those will "serve you faithfully, whom daily you corrupt "with money? Do you this, that the *Macedonians* "may hereafter take you not for their king, but "for their steward or pay-master? If you discharge "these offices well, you must make but a pitiful "prince. They are spoiled who take gifts, by be- "ing taught thereby a habit of taking (45)." Thus, as a father, he endeavoured to eradicate those vices, which he practised and boasted of as a prince. Perhaps he thought them lawful, or at least more excuseable, when done from political motives, than when springing from an idle inclination of wasting and throwing away.

(44) *Aul. Gel. l.* ix. *c.* 3.

(45) *Cicero de Offic. l.* ii.

through the greateſt part of his court. Some, it is ſaid, there were, who ſuffered themſelves to doubt of theſe omens; they thought the anſwer of the oracle equivocal; they held the compliment of the *Athenian* embaſſador portentive of ſome ſecret conſpiracy; they conceived thoſe lines, which ſo much moved the king, deſcriptive, not ſo much of the *Perſian* ſtate, as of his own. Whether theſe conjectures were made before the king's death is a little uncertain; if they were, certain it is, that they were well grounded; for a plot there was againſt the king's life, a plot as dark in its circumſtances as in its nature. We are indebted to *Diodorus* for the fulleſt account of it; and from him therefore we ſhall take it (O).

THERE were in the court of *Macedon* two young men of quality of the ſame name, Pauſanias *conſpires againſt him.*
b *viz. Pauſanias.* One of theſe was in great favour with the king, who treated him with ſuch indulgence and familiarity, that it began to be ſuſpected the king's inclination for him tranſgreſſed both the bounds of reaſon and of nature. This had reached the ear of the other *Pauſanias*, who, having frequent quarrels with the favourite, was wont, by way of reproach, to call him *either ſex*. The lad, ſtung with this terrible outrage, addreſſed himſelf to *Attalus* one of the king's friends, and whoſe niece *Cleopatra* he afterwards married, ſhewing him how he had been inſulted, and wiſhing for ſome opportunity to wipe off the ſtain. Some time after this, in a general engagement againſt the *Illyrians*, this *Pauſanias* fighting near the king, and perceiving that the enemy directed againſt him a ſhower of arrows, threw himſelf
c before his maſter, and received them into his own body, falling immediately afterwards dead upon the ſpot. The extraordinary courage of the youth, his fidelity, and the manner of his death, made him much ſpoken of. *Attalus* thought fit to inform the king of the cauſe from whence the young man grew deſperate; he alſo took it into his head to revenge him upon the other *Pauſanias*; which he did in a manner alike cruel and deteſtable. He invited him to an entertainment, and having taken care to drink him down, he expoſed him, when void of ſenſe, to the luſt of his grooms, who abuſed him according to their beaſtly appetites. *Pauſa-*
nias, who was an *Oreſtian* by birth, and had all the haughtineſs natural to his countrymen, applied himſelf frequently to the king, paſſionately demanding juſtice
d againſt *Attalus*. That monarch, always partial to his friends, and eſpecially to the uncle of his young wife, put him off with good words; and, in order to make him forget his diſgrace, made him captain of his guards. Herein he greatly miſtook the temper of *Pauſanias*, who was not to be wrought upon by ſuch methods. Inſtead of growing eaſier he became more impatient, and, from hating *Attalus*, began more grievouſly to hate the king. It happened, while he was in this ſullen diſpoſition, that converſing one day with *Hermocrates* the ſophiſt, he put to him this queſtion, *What muſt he do who would be famous? He muſt*, replied *Hermocrates*, *kill him who has done the greateſt things; for when the fame of him whom he ſlew ſhall make him often remembered, that remembrance will of courſe lead to the mention of him*
e *who ſlew him.* *Pauſanias*, after meditating ſome time longer on his own wrongs and the ſophiſt's advice, came at laſt to a reſolution of killing the king, in hopes thereby of reſtoring that reputation which *Attalus* had taken away from him; a ſtrange reſolution this! and a ſtrong teſtimony of the weakneſs of human reaſon, both in the ſage

(O) We have different accounts of the manner in which *Pauſanias* was injured. Some ſay, that *Attalus* himſelf abuſed him at a feaſt, and afterwards proſtituted him to the reſt of the gueſts (46). However it was, *Attalus* without queſtion was much to blame, and ſo alſo was *Philip*, in not doing juſtice upon the complaint of *Pauſanias*. On another occaſion he ſhewed himſelf remiſs in the ſame way, and was recalled to his duty by the quick anſwer of a poor woman. She had offered him a petition ſeveral times, and as often had been told, that he had not leiſure to hear her. At laſt, ſtung with this ill uſage, ſhe could not forbear replying, *If you have not leiſure to do juſtice, be no longer a king.* The propriety of this reproof was at that time ſo viſible to *Philip*, that he immediately heard her complaint, and redreſſed it. Happy had it been for this monarch, if the good woman's logic had made a deeper impreſſion on his heart. Certain it is, that a politician could not have made a nicer diſtinction than this, *that a denial of juſtice is an abdication of magiſtracy* (46). At other times *Philip* was more ſtrict, and would not ſacrifice his duty to his paſſions. His courtiers once preſſed him vehemently to interpoſe in favour of a man who was on the point of being condemned; and they gave this reaſon for it, *becauſe, if judgment went againſt him, all the world would decry him.* *Very well*, ſaid *Philip*, *I had rather the world ſhould decry him than me* (47). *Attalus*, it ſeems, had a better intereſt than this man; but his intereſt coſt *Philip* dear. His death, however, ought to be a leſſon to princes, and teach them, that injuſtice begets injuſtice; which therefore they ſhould be afraid to commit, becauſe it is the only means by which themſelves can ſuffer.

(46) *Plut. in Apophthegm.* (47) *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

ſage and in his diſciple! A bad reſolution is always eaſier executed than amended. a *Pauſanias*, having directed horſes to be placed for him at the gates of the city, contrived within himſelf how to diſpatch *Philip*, and afterwards how to preſerve himſelf. Theſe things buſied his mind, while the king was taken up with the ſolemnities of which we have before given an account. We come now to the accompliſhment of *Pauſanias*'s plot, and the laſt ſcene of the king's life [n].

Philip *murdered.* *Year after the flood* 2633. *Year before* Chriſt 366.

THE next day, after the open audience of the embaſſadors of *Greece*, *Philip* went in ſtate to the theatre, where certain ſhews were to be exhibited in honour of his daughter's marriage. All the ſeats were early taken up, and the ſhews began with a ſplendid proceſſion, wherein the images of the twelve ſuperior deities of *Greece* were carried, as alſo the image of *Philip*, habited in like manner, as if he now made up b the thirteenth. At this the people, who, as their humour takes them, readily make a man either a *god* or a *devil*, ſhouted aloud. Then came *Philip* alone, in a white robe, crowned, his guards at a conſiderable diſtance, that the *Greeks* might ſee he placed his ſafety not in them, but in the loyalty of the people. *Pauſanias* had fixed himſelf by the door of the theatre, and, obſerving that all things fell out as he had foreſeen they would, took his opportuniy, when the king drew near him, to draw his ſword from under his garment, and plunging it into his left-ſide, laid him dead at his feet. He then fled as faſt as his feet could carry him to the place where his horſes were, and had eſcaped, if the twig of a vine had not catched his ſhoe, and thrown him down. This gave *Attalus*, *Perdiccas*, and *Leonatus*, who pur- c ſued him, time to come up with him. *Perdiccas* threw himſelf on the aſſaſſin firſt, and wounded him with his ſword, and then the reſt quickly put an end to his life [o]. Thus fell this great prince by the hand of his own ſubject, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions, that *Olympias* and *Alexander* were not altogether ignorant of his death, being about forty-ſeven years of age, and having reigned twenty-four (P).

His character. WE ought now, according to the eſtabliſhed method of hiſtorians, to enter into the character of this monarch, whoſe actions and whoſe death we have recorded; but we

[n] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [o] ARIST. Polit. l. v. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ZONAR. Annal. Tom. x. JOSEPH. l. xi. c. 7. JUSTIN. l. ix. OROS. l. iii.

(P) The deaths of kings, eſpecially when violent, are uſually attended with myſterious circumſtances. From the account given above, it ſeems, as if *Pauſanias* had, out of a mad pique, murdered his ſovereign, without conſulting any but his paſſions, and the ſophiſt *Hermocrates* indirectly; yet, as we have hinted above, ſuſpicions have not been wanting, that tho' the arm of *Pauſanias* diſpatched *Philip*, yet it received its direction from other minds than his own. If this had been only a flying rumour, or the ſuggeſtion of a ſingle or ſuſpicious hiſtorian, it would not have deſerved a place here; but the fact is otherwiſe, and we ſhall ſhew from indubitable authorities, that *Philip* loſt his life by a conſpiracy, and not merely from the malice of *Pauſanias*. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, judged to be in truth the ſon of *Philip*, who was the boſom confident of *Alexander*, and afterwards king of *Egypt*, wrote the hiſtory of *Alexander*'s reign. From this hiſtory *Arrian* chiefly took his; and in his hiſtory we have a letter from *Alexander* to *Darius*, wherein the former, ſetting forth the cauſes of the war, hath theſe remarkable words; *My father was ſlain by traitors whom you had hired for that purpoſe, as you have publicly boaſted in your letters* (48) The fact is now clearly eſtabliſhed, that a conſpiracy there was, which wrought the death of *Philip* We can alſo name ſome of the conſpirators, *viz.* the ſons of *Æropus* the *Lynceſtæan*, *Alexander*, *Amyntas*, *Heromenes*, and *Arrabæus* (49). Of theſe *Amyntas* fled to *Darius*, and actually fought againſt *Alexander* at the battle of *Iſſus*. As to the ſuſpicion which fell on *Alexander*, it ſeems to have taken riſe from two cauſes; the firſt, his embroiling himſelf with his father on account of his mother *Olympias*, which we have heretofore mentioned. This quarrel, it ſeems, went ſo far, that ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who were deep in *Alexander*'s intereſt, were forced to quit *Macedon*, and durſt not return till after the death of *Philip*; particularly *Harpalus*, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, *Nearchus*, and *Erigyus* and *Laomedon* brothers (50); all of whom were in high favour with *Alexander* afterwards. The ſecond cauſe of ſuſpicion reſulted from *Alexander*'s behaviour after his father's death; for notwithſtanding *Amyntas* the ſon of *Æropus* fled into *Aſia*, and it was known that himſelf and his brethren were in the conſpiracy againſt the king, yet he not only pardoned *Alexander* one of the brothers, on the ſlight pretence that he was the firſt who ſaluted him king, but made him afterwards general of his horſe; which had well nigh proved fatal to him; for, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, *Alexander* conſpired againſt him too, and ſought to deprive him at once both of life and kingdom. There is one circumſtance more that deſerves mention on this ſubject; and it is this. *Alexander*, when he viſited the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, inquired of the oracle, If all his father's murderers had been puniſhed (51)? To which the oracle anſwered in the affirmative; but as every body knows there was no credit given to what paſſed at this interview, this queſtion recoils upon him who put it; the rather, becauſe if the oracle really made that anſwer, it was certainly falſe, *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus*, who was a confederate in that buſineſs, being at that time alive. There is this, however, to be ſaid for the oracle, that *Alexander* alone conſulted it, and, in juſtification of his own character, might report what anſwers he pleaſed (52).

(48) *Arrian. l.* ii. *c.* xiv. (49) *Idem. l.* i. *c.* 25. (50) *Curt. l.* iv. (51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Arrian. l.* iii. *c.* 3. *Curt. l.* iv. *Plut. in vit. Alexand.*

a we have already taken so many opportunities of illustrating the recital of events during his reign, by manifesting their motives and consequences, not from conjecture, or to gratify a partiality which too frequently grows on writers, in favour of those of whom they write, but to render the narration clear; that on this account therefore we have the less to say here, and shall content ourselves with a very short portrait of this glorious prince, of whom it may be reckoned his peculiar felicity, that he has been always most admired by the most knowing. *Philip* of *Macedon* then was in the cabinet by very much the most sagacious prince of his time. He had a perfect idea of the state of his own country, the condition of *Greece*, and the weakness of the *Persian* empire. He was secret, without affecting closeness; eloquent, b without being either ready to speak or vain of speaking; obliging in his deportment as a king, and yet never departing from the king in any act of complaisance. In the field he was in all things a complete general, an expert engineer, an indefatigable soldier. He studied war as an art, and acted as cooly in an engagement, as if he had been only attending to a praxis on the lessons he had given his soldiers. His discipline was strict, but without severity, which he affected by treating all who served under him with familiarity; whereby he convinced them of the necessity of order, which he exacted not more for his own service than for their safety. He was not so much the commander in the camp, as the father of those who were in it, the meanest of whom he treated upon all occasions with the endearing titles of com- c rade and fellow-soldier. If a private man distinguished himself, *Philip* personally praised and rewarded him; if he grew old, he provided for him; if he fell in the field, he was interred with honour, and his family taken care of. In private life there was no man more affable, chearful, or kinder to his friends than *Philip*. He was himself learned, and a a great patron and lover of learning. He esteemed wit in an enemy, and rewarded it amply in those who professed their respect for him. With these shining qualities he had some very dark ones. His ambition had no bounds; his treaties always gave way to his interest. He was the most finished dissembler of his time; he treated such as opposed his designs with great severity, when they fell into his hands. He was greatly addicted to women; and yet was suspected d of a lust too foul to name. He would drink immoderately, took delight in flattery, was surrounded with pimps, panders, buffoons, pantomines, and all that rabble of parasitical vulturs, which gnaw the bowels of the people through the folly of their prince. To sum up all, he was a great man, but had great vices (Q).

BEFORE we conclude this chapter, it will be necessary to speak of the offspring of *Philip*. By *Olympias* he had *Alexander* his successor, and *Cleopatra*, who married *And progeny.*

her

(Q) Throughout the whole of this life and reign of *Philip*, we have followed no direct guide, tho' such an one we might have had in *Theopompus*, who wrote fifty books upon this subject, all of which have been swallowed up by time. Some fragments indeed there are remaining, preserved by such authors as were happy enough to have perused his accurate work. It may seem strange, that *Plutarch*, who was so industrious in preserving the stories, and vindicating the characters, of the *Grecian* heroes, should altogether neglect *Philip*'s; but for this an excellent *French* critic has accounted thus: "I "doubt, whether *Alexander* can be compared to "*Cæsar*, notwithstanding that comparison has been "generally received, or universally maintained. Nei- "ther the unanimous agreement of the ancients "and moderns upon this subject, nor my unwill- "ingness to be singular in an opinion, can hinder "me from thinking, that this comparison is built "upon a wrong principle. I believe there will ap- "pear greater resemblance between *Philip* and *Cæ- "sar*, at least if we ground it upon their manners "and characters, rather than their successes. *Philip* "perhaps had no place in the lives of *Plutarch*, "because that historian, pre-possessed in favour of "his own nation, wanted the conqueror of *Asia* to "oppose to him of *Rome*; and foresaw very well, "that, in the eyes of the multitude, the most illu- "strious of the *Romans*, master of an empire that "laboured under its own weight, would be too "great a match for a *Macedonian*, who acted in a "narrow sphere, and whose conquests had no other "theatre than the adjacent parts of a petty king- "dom. At first glance indeed there seems a resem- "blance in every thing between *Cæsar* and *Alexan- "der*; the extent of their conquests, their valour, "activity, vigilance, and that sublimity of soul, "which made them sensible that they deserved to "command the rest of mankind, together with an "imperious passion that would let them endure no "superior; but made them look on the world as "their inheritance. But when we come to ex- "amine them at leisure, trace them from their "cradles, study their inclinations, observe their pro- "ceedings and their progresses, we shall find this "resemblance to diminish or fall to nothing (52)." However, *Plutarch* in other treatises, *Diodorus Siculus* in his most learned, comprehensive, and excellent work, *Pausanias* in his survey of *Greece*, *Polyænus* in his stratagems, with many other *Greek* writers and not a few of the *Latins*, have recorded enough to shew, that *Philip* was indeed the greatest man of his age. And with respect to his son, *Cicero* has given such a judgment, as, we believe, none of the critics will reverse. Philip *of* Macedon, says he, *in deeds and glory was surpassed by his son; but, in point of disposition and humanity, he seems to me to have surpassed him* (53).

(52) *M. Tourreil's preface to the Philip.*

(53) *Cic. de Offic. l.* i

her uncle *Alexander* king of *Epirus*. By an *Illyrian* lady, whoſe name was *Audata*, a he had a daughter named *Cyna*, who was married to *Amyntas* the lawful heir of the *Macedonian* crown, being the ſon of *Perdiccas Philip*'s elder brother. By *Nicaſipolis*, a *Theſſalian* lady, he had *Nicæa*, who became afterwards the wife of *Caſſander*. By *Cleopatra*, the niece of *Attalus*, he had a ſon named *Caranus* and a daughter *Europa*, both ſlain by *Olympias*, the laſt in her mother's arms. *Ariſtinoe* one of his miſtreſſes he gave in marriage to *Lagus*, when ſhe was big with child; which child proved a ſon, and was the famous *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. By *Philena* of *Lariſſa*, a dancer, he had *Aridæus*, who for a while was titular king of *Macedon*; but afterwards put to death by the cruel *Olympias* (R). If *Philip* had not fallen ſo ſuddenly, he would certainly have provided for the ſafety of theſe unhappy branches of his b family; whereas, by his unforeſeen death, they fell under the power of their greateſt enemies; yet did they not immediately periſh, the veneration the *Macedonians* had for *Philip* defending them. But by degrees, when the glory of *Alexander* had in ſome meaſure ſwallowed up that of his father, and again the miſeries, which the *Macedonians* endured, had withdrawn their affection from the royal houſe, they fell apace, as will be ſeen in the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory; whence the propriety of treating ſo fully of the life and actions of *Philip*, as we have done, will clearly appear.

[p] Reinuc. geneal. Alex. Mag.

(R) *Cleopatra*, the niece of *Attalus*, is by *Arrian* called *Eurydice* (54). There are alſo ſome variations, in reſpect to the reſt of the proper names, to be met with in ancient authors; but theſe, as they occur in the ſubſequent part of our work, we ſhall take notice of, without troubling the reader with a long critical detail here. However, it may not be amiſs to take notice of ſome other princes of the blood of *Macedon*. *Amyntas* was the ſon of *Perdiccas*, the ſon of *Amyntas*, *Philip*'s father. *Archælaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, were the natural ſons of the ſame *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, by his concubine *Cygnæa*. There were beſides ſeveral ſons of *Æropus*, brethren of *Pauſanias*, from whom *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* took the kingdom (55). We do not find, that *Philip*, in his life-time, either was uneaſy, or had any occaſion to be uneaſy, about theſe princes; but we ſhall ſee, that it fared otherwiſe with his ſucceſſor. The truth is, *Philip* was ſo kind to his people, and put them into ſo different a ſtate from that in which he found them, that they could not avoid loving and admiring him. Whoever would ſee this placed in the ſtrongeſt light, need only turn his eyes on a ſpeech of *Alexander*'s recorded by *Arrian*. It was otherwiſe with this ſon of his, who, great and glorious as he was, found it enough to do to keep the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* in obedience. In the very dawn of his reign he was vexed with conſpiracies, and was never out of the fear of them during his life, tho' he did not ſpare very rigorous and cruel executions; a fault with which none can charge his father, whoſe conduct was ſo full of clemency, that he was accountable for no man's death except his own.

(54) *Arrian. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (55) *Reinec. geneal. Alex. Mag.*

SECT. V.

The reign of Alexander the Great.

THE new-erected empire of *Macedon*, ſo formidable to the *Greeks* and ſo dreadful to the *Perſians*, did not change its fortune with its prince; on the contrary, it ſeemed to reap new advantages therefrom, and to derive from the vigour of *Alexander* that exalted grandeur, of which it was rendered capable thro' the policy of *Philip*. How this came to paſs, how ſo violent a ſhock went off without diſordering the government; how a prince of twenty years old became truly the father of his country; how he ſo readily took up, and ſo happily conducted the thread of his father's deſign, without weakening or breaking it; and all this in ſpite of violent and obſtinate oppoſition, leads us to the view of *Alexander*'s character at this time, on which the underſtanding of theſe paſſages intirely depends. This we ſhall draw from ſober and authentic hiſtorians, leaving whatever favours of the *wonderful* to thoſe rhetorical declaimers, who love to amaze their readers, and to illuſtrate with a pomp of words ſtories altogether incredible [a].

The natural capacity of the *Macedonian* prince was every way ſuited to ſuſtain the mighty fabric, which his father intended to raiſe thereon. It was lively, but not ſlight; ſolid, without being intractable, and tho' capable of judging by its own lights,

[a] Plut. in vit. Alex. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Arrian. expedit. Alex. l. i.

a lights, inquisitive and fond of conversation. When the *Persian* embassadors were at the court of *Philip*, *Alexander*, then a perfect boy, entertained them with much civility and politeness; but, instead of asking questions about the hanging gardens, the splendid palaces, the vast retinue of the king, or other marks of grandeur, for which the *Persian* court was famous, he inquired about the road leading into the *Upper Asia*, the forces which the great king could raise, their discipline, and the place in which the king took post when his army drew into the line of battle [b]. This admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent education. *Philip* was a lover of letters, as some think, to a fault; but this hindred not his regarding other things necessary, as well as learning, to the forming of a prince. *Alexander* had therefore
b all sorts of masters, according as his years and improvements required them. *Leonidas*, who was his mother's relation, a man of severe morals and of a very exact behaviour, was his governor; *Lysimachus* the *Acarnanian*, a man of very moderate abilities, his præceptor; and *Aristotle*, when he was grown old enough to receive his instructions, became not only his tutor in respect of literature, but his master also in respect of politics, which gave that wonderful perfection to his acquirements, which remain as unequalled as his conquests. In his exercises he distinguished the useful from the fanciful, in his diversions he declined whatever was unmanly, and in his studies despised alike whatever was trifling or pedantic. He diligently cultivated what may be stiled the art of speaking with dignity, or the rhetoric of kings,
c in which none ever exceeded him. He applied himself to metaphysics and natural philosophy; but morality especially pleased him, and the knowledge of the duties which are essential to social life. In order to understand these he studied *Homer*, *Aristotle* having corrected an edition of that poet's works for his use. This study made him the man he was; nor can any thing more truly speak his character than this short sentence, Alexander *was a* hero *formed on the principles* Homer *hath laid down*. Taking this as a key, we may easily decypher the actions of this prince, or rather trace them to their source; but we must have a care of thinking, that the sublimity of the verse, the beauty of the composition, the surprizing majesty of the poet's thoughts, captivated the mind of *Alexander*, and inclined him to doat upon
d this poem. On the contrary, his extraordinary regard for it was owing to the recommendation of *Aristotle*, who taught him the true merit of the piece. *Homer*'s poems in such hands were a complete body of divinity, morality, and politics, delivered not in dry discourses, but set forth in strong, moving, and most natural characters; and so they were afterwards considered by the learned, particularly by *Horace*, who prefers them to the labours of all the philosophers [c]. Such were the foundations of *Alexander*'s magnanimity and prudence. They were continually strengthened by the conversation of the ablest men in *Philip*'s court, and the superstructure carefully and quickly raised by a happy mixture of theory and practice. The turbulent transactions in the midst of *Philip*'s reign served as a school of war to
e *Alexander*, as the last years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy and the interests of *Greece*. Above all he was happy in the indulgence of a father, the greatest statesman and the greatest captain of his age. He it was, who cast his eyes on *Aristotle* for the tutor of *Alexander*; he it was who taught the youth to execute what the philosopher laid down; and he it was who excited the *Macedonians* to turn their eyes on this rising sun, whom, in *Philip*'s life-time, they began to stile their king, allowing his father only the title of their general. *Philip* himself carried the compliment still higher; for embracing *Alexander*, who shewed more skill than all the grooms in *Greece* in breaking *Bucephalus*. *O! my son*, said he, *look thee out some kingdom as extensive as thy abilities*; Macedonia *will be too narrow for them*.
f From a person thus accomplished all things were to be hoped; we may now therefore proceed to shew how he accomplished all things, and gave laws to *Greece*, at a time of life when modern princes are scarce held of age to govern themselves [d] (A).

[b] Plut. ubi supra. [c] Epist. lib. i. [d] Plut. ubi supra.

(A) If we were to record exactly every incident relating to the childhood and infancy of *Alexander*, it would undoubtedly swell our work excessively; we have therefore chosen as the more useful, and at the same time the concifer, method, to throw together such circumstances, as may serve to elucidate his character, and to refer the curious and inquisitive reader for further information to the life of *Alexander* written by *Plutarch*, and to the two orations of the same author, which treat of the virtue

THE first act of *Alexander*, as a king was doing justice on his father's murderers, a it may be from a double motive, of shewing affection to *Philip*'s memory, which he always honoured, and to wipe away the imputation of being concerned in it, which was not easily done, if we credit *Plutarch*. Next he turned his attention to matters of state, which in a moment were all in confusion. As soon as the neighbouring nations heard of the death of *Philip*, they conceived themselves intitled to liberty, and began to think of disclaiming the authority of *Macedon*. In *Greece* its respective states longed to throw off the yoke; and at *Athens Demosthenes*, by his example, drew the people into open testimonies of excessive joy, and into immediate negotiations against *Alexander*, whom he stiled a giddy boy, unfit for and unbecoming empire. As for the *Persians*, before the death of *Philip* they were contriving to transb fer the war to *Macedon*; but now, as if all danger had died with that monarch, they thought nothing of his successor, till his fame grew so loud they were unable to think of any else. *Attalus*, who with *Parmenio* had the joint command of the *Macedonian* army on the frontiers of *Asia*, aspired to the crown, and sought to debauch the soldiers. Thus was the morning of *Alexander*'s reign disturbed with the noise of foreign wars, and at the same time overcast with the gloom of domestic treasons [c].

IN the councils held on this distracted state of things, it was judged adviseable by *Alexander*'s best friends, that dissimulation should take place of force, and that he should cajole those whom he could not subdue. *Alexander* disliked this; he thought c vigorous measures at first would check some present, and prevent many future, inconveniencies; wherefore he betook himself to arms, and boldly looked every danger in the face [f]. First he marched southwards into *Thessaly*, with a numerous army, yet without committing any act of hostility. The princes assembling, he made a long and eloquent oration, wherein alledging their common descent from *Hercules*, the kindness between their ancestors, and the victories they had won together, he so strongly charmed them to his interests, that, as the son and successor of *Philip*, they declared him general of *Greece*. The neighbouring states he drew over in the same manner, partly by awing them with his army, partly by the charms of his eloquence; for being perfectly versed in their interests, he spoke home and warmly d to their passions. Having restored tranquility on this side, and procured the title of generalissimo of *Greece* to be conferred on him, he returned to *Macedon*. *Hecateus*, a person in whom he confided, was dispatched with recruits for the *Asiatic* army, with orders to seize *Attalus*, if it was practicable, or, if not, to dispatch him. As for that ambitious general, perceiving the presence of *Parmenio* and the fame of *Alexander* with-held the soldiery from following his purposes, he suddenly changed them, and sent to *Alexander* an epistle of *Demosthenes*, and professed himself wonderfully loyal; which professions, whether true or false, had no weight with the king, whose instructions *Heccateus* followed in putting *Attalus* to death [g]. Thus the dawn of his government began to clear, and the first rays of his glory to display a pleasant e prospect, which afterwards appeared brighter and brighter, till it overspread the noblest countries on the globe.

Alexander *invades the* Triballians *and the* Illyrians.

AT the approach of the spring, *Alexander* marched with his forces towards *Thrace*, intending to penetrate into the country of the *Triballians* and *Illyrians*, now called *Bulgaria* and *Sclavonia*. In this expedition he followed rather his own sentiments than the counsels of others, acting regularly on the principle he had laid down, that the power of *Macedon* was to be supported by the same vigorous measures by which it had been attained. In consequence of this resolution he ordered his army to assemble

[c] ARRIAN. l. i. c. 1. PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. [f] PLUT. ubi supra, [g] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

virtue and fortune of *Alexander the Great*. As to the rest of the writers, who have transmitted to us the history of *Alexander*, they are such as either have written expresly of his actions, as *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, and *Curtius*; or they speak accidentally of particular actions of his, as *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Pausanias*, and many others. We shall make use of them all, preferring, however, *Arrian*, not only on account of his great impartiality, but also because his history is collected from those of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, which, of the many accounts of *Alexander*'s expeditions once extant, were always preferred to the rest. But inasmuch as *Arrian* is sometimes very concise, and many circumstances, relating to the facts he speaks of, are preserved in other authors, we shall make use of their writings to supply what he has omitted, without pretending to set their authority on the same level with his.

a aſſemble at *Amphipolis*, from whence he marched towards the river *Neſſus*, and leaving the city of *Philippi* and mount *Orbelus* on the left, he in ten days reached mount *Hæmus*[h]. This poſt the barbarous nations, againſt whom he made war, had ſeized and fortified, in the beſt manner they were able. On the tops of the cliffs, and at the head of every paſſage, they placed their carriages and waggons, ſo as to form a ſort of parapet, with their ſhafts inwards, that when the *Macedonians* ſhould have half aſcended the rock, they might be able to puſh the heavieſt of theſe wains upon them. They reckoned the more upon this contrivance, becauſe of the cloſe order of the phalanx, which, they conceived, would be terribly expoſed, by the ſoldiers wanting room to ſtir, and thereby avoid the falling waggons. But *Alexander*, who b had ſtudied the art of war under the ableſt maſters, defeated their deſign; for, having directed his heavy armed troops to march, he gave orders, that, where the openneſs of the way would permit it, they ſhould open to the right and left, and ſuffer the falling carriages to go through; but that, in the narrow paſſes, they ſhould throw themſelves on their faces with their ſhields behind them, that the carts might run over them. His contrivance had the deſired effect, and the *Macedonians* reached the enemy's works without the loſs a man. Then the light-armed troops began the attack. The barbarians made an obſtinate reſiſtance for ſome time, till *Alexander* himſelf charged at the head of the targeteers. Then they began to break, and on the approach of the phalanx fled out-right, leaving their camp, full of women, chil- c dren, and cattle behind them. Three days after the king reached the river *Iſter*, in an iſland of which, called *Peuce*, the *Triballians*, *Thracians*, and other barbarous nations, had conveyed their wealth and women, reſolving to defend them with all their force. Some few ſhips there were, which, through the *Euxine* ſea, had come to *Byzantium*; on board of theſe *Alexander* embarked as many of his troops as he could, and endeavoured to make a deſcent with them on the iſland before-mentioned; but the river being rapid, the ſhore ſteep, and the enemy paſſing thither in great multitudes, he relinquiſhed that deſign, and landed his forces at their old camp. *Alexander* obſerving, that the *Getæ*, who inhabited on the other ſide of the river, were inclined to give him all the trouble they could, and had for that purpoſe, raiſed an d army of four thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot, determined to be before-hand with them, and by ſubduing them ſtrike a terror into all their neighbours; the ſame night therefore he cauſed a conſiderable number of boats to be got together, and having ranged from one ſide of the river to the other, he re-embarked his forces on board his ſmall fleet, which made a line a little higher. He then cauſed the tents, which, as they were made of ſkins, floated in the water, and yet afforded firm footing, to be thrown into the middle ſpace; whereby he paſſed over fifteen hundred horſe and four thouſand foot. He then marched through the ſtanding corn, the ſpears of the phalanx being reverſed, and the horſe behind them, till they arrived in the open country; and then gave the command of the left wing, conſiſt- e ing of the foot, to *Nicanor*, drawing up his horſe on the right, under his own command, with intent to give the *Getæ* battle. Theſe, tho' a brave and bold people, were ſo aſtoniſhed at his paſſing the river, without either a bridge or a fleet, that they did not ſuſtain even the firſt ſhock; but fled immediately to the next town, which they intended to defend; but when they ſaw that *Alexander* did not follow them impetuouſly, but drew his foot ſlowly along the ſide of the river, to prevent his falling into any ambuſcade, they conceived that no place would protect them againſt ſuch a general; and therefore abandoning the town, they placed all hopes of ſafety in the diſtance of their flight. *Alexander* entered the city, and having col- lected the ſpoil, delivered it to *Meleager* and *Philip*, officers of good rank in his f army, that it might be conveyed to the ſea, and then razed the place. Here he ſacrificed to *Jupiter Soter*, *i. e. the Saviour*, to *Hercules*, and to the *Iſter*, for affording him a ſafe paſſage[i].

THE next day he brought all his forces into his camp on the other ſide of the river, whither immediately embaſſadors came from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him; amongſt the reſt from *Syrmus* king of the *Triballi*, who ſaw that it was to no purpoſe to reſiſt him; as alſo from the *Celtes*, a robuſt and high-ſpirited people. The king treated them all with great civility; but, as he was always inclined to indulge his vanity, he could not help aſking the deputies from the

He makes a general peace with the barbarous nations.

[h] ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i. c. 1. & ſeq. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [i] ARRIAN. exped. Alex. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4.

the laſt mentioned nation, *What, of all things, they feared moſt?* ſuppoſing they a would have anſwered, his arms; but they very roundly told him. *That, except the falling of the clouds upon their heads, they feared nothing*; which ſo pleaſed the king, that, after ſaying the *Celtes* were a haughty people, he granted them his friendſhip, and ranked them in the number of his allies. Soon after he adjuſted his differences with the reſt of the neighbouring nations, and then prepared for his return into *Macedonia* [k].

He defeats the Taulantii and Clytus, king of Illyria.

As he paſſed through the countries of the *Agrians* and the *Peonians*, he was informed, that *Clytus*, the ſon of *Bradilis*, had revolted from him. This *Bradilis* had been king of *Illyria*; and his ſon, it ſeems, had a mind to remain no longer a dependent on the king of *Macedon*: He therefore entered into a league with *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, and into a treaty with the *Autariatæ*, to defend themſelves againſt *Alexander*, whom they looked upon as their common enemy. The king immediately reſolved to attack theſe enemies, and began to inquire of the force and ſituation of the laſt-mentioned people. *Langarus* king of the *Agrians* being near him, ſaid aloud, *Sir, trouble not yourſelf about theſe people; I, with my own ſubjects, will make an inroad into their country, and find them ſo much employment, that they ſhall be able to give no interruption to your march.* This accordingly he performed to ſo good purpoſe, that he put it abſolutely out of the power of this nation to proceed in their defection. *Alexander*, on his return to the camp, received him with great honour, and promiſed him his ſiſter *Cyna* for a wife; but that promiſe did not take place, king *Langarus* dying ſoon after. The king being come into the neighbourhood of *Pellion*, a ſtrong city into which *Clytus* had thrown himſelf with a great body of troops, reſolved to beſiege him therein; and accordingly cauſed the place to be inveſted; but *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, coming with a great army to the relief of *Clytus*, the king was obliged to raiſe his ſiege, and to give them battle, wherein, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he was victorious. Three days after *Alexander* ſurprized *Glaucias* and *Clytus* in their camp, and, after making a great ſlaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for ſhelter to the mountains [l]. b

He makes a very quick march into Greece.

IN the midſt of theſe victories, *Alexander* received advice, that all *Greece* was in commotion. This was occaſioned chiefly through the indefatigable zeal of *Demoſthenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Macedon*; and the ſeveral diſaffected ſtates were encouraged to ſhew their inclinations more openly, by a report confidently ſpread about, that *Alexander* was dead in *Illyria*. The *Thebans*, laying violent hands on *Amyntas* and *Timolaus*, eminent officers in the *Macedonian* gariſon which held their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and, without any form of proceſs, put them to death. They then diſpoſed all things for the ſiege of the citadel, and openly excited the reſt of *Greece* to throw off the yoke. The king, as ſoon as he had intelligence of this, immediately bent his march towards them, with ſuch diligence, that in ſeven days he arrived at *Pellene* in *Theſſaly*, and in ſix more entered *Bœotia*, before the *Thebans* had any intelligence of his paſſing *Thermopylæ*. When they were informed of this, they ſaid it muſt be *Antipater* with a body of *Macedonian* militia; nay, when repeated advices acquainted them, that the army was commanded by *Alexander*, they would ſtill have him dead, perſuading themſelves, that this was *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus*. The king, however, did not leave them long in their miſtake, advancing briſkly to the temple of *Iolaus*, where he made a halt, that the *Thebans* might have time to return to their ſenſes, and thereby prevent his having recourſe to extremities; for it was no-way his inclination, as indeed it was no-way his intereſt, to embroil himſelf with the *Greeks*; he therefore endeavoured, by the terror of his preſence, having with him thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, to compel his enemies to lay aſide their malice, rather than to gratify his own [m]. This ſudden march had in part the ſucceſs he wiſhed; for it prevented the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates from aiding the *Thebans*, tho' they were actually aſſembling forces for that purpoſe; and ſo affrighted the *Athenians*, that, repairing their walls and filling their magazines, they provided, not for their neighbours, but for their own defence, anſwering exactly what *Alexander* had ſaid when he entered *Bœotia*, that to this *Demoſthenes*, who called him a *child* when he was in *Illyria*, and a *youth* when he came into *Theſſaly*, he ſhould certainly appear a *man* when he approached the walls of *Athens* [n]. The *Thebans*, far from profiting by *Alexander*'s modera- c d e f

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [n] PLUT. in vit. Alex.

This Map Contains only the places which prove the extent of this Empire according to the System of the Author.

A MAP of the EXTENT of ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS

According to M.r Delisle Geographer to Lewis 14. Compared with those of other Modern Geographers. An; 1731.

NB. The dark lines show the plan of y.e Author; the light ones that of the Modern Geographers; and the double Stroke Letters show the present names of Countries, Cities &c.

Meridian at 46 deg. 30 East of Ferro Islands according to Astron: Observations

EUROPE

Danube

Crimea

Palus Meotis

Tanais Don

ASTRACAN to RUSSIA

Astracan

Volga R.

GREAT TARTARY

Scales

Stades of 4 to a Degree according to Aristotles Measure us'd in Alexander's time

500 5000 10000

Common French Leagues

25 50 75 100 125 150

ILLYRIA

Triballes

PONT. EUXIN.

BLACK SEA

Byzantium

Macedonia

Thrace

Constantinople

Hellespont

Propontis

Bithynia

Troy

Granick

Gordium

Cappadocia

ASIA MINOR

Cilicia

Issus

Antioch

Cyprus

Tapsaque

Tyre

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Alexandria

Jerusalem

Memphis

Gr.

Nile

EGYPT

LIBYA

Byzantium

Meridian at 50 deg. 30 East of Ferro according to Modern Geographers

AFRICA

Iberia

Georgia

Derbent

DAGESTAN

CHIRVAN

Trapezus Trebisond

Trapezus

Circassi Tar:

Crimea

Alexandretta Bay

Gulf of Venice

Minkislac

ARMENIA

Atropatena Aderbijan

Hyrcania

Media

GILAN

ASTRABATH

CASPIAN SEA

Aral or Sal: Sea

Jaxartes

Boundaries of the Emp: of Alexander according to Mod: Geogr:

SCYTHIA

Maracanda Samarcanda

Alexandria Maracanda

Sogdiana

Oxus

Gihan

Bactra

Aria

Bactriana

Head of Indus

Caspian Gate

Ecbatana Amadan

Arbela

Tigris

Alexandria Heir

of Aria

Paropamisades

Alexandria Candahar

Parthia

Babylon Hella

Aspadan Ispahan

Euphrates

Persia

Persepolis Chilminar

Drangiana

Arachosia

Arachota Aroucage

Indus Sinda

Hydaspes

Acesines

Hydraotes

Hyphasis

Indus R.

Ganges River

Delly

Agara Agra

Benares

Alexandria Moultan

INDIA

Persian Gulf

Red Sea

ARABIA

The Mouth of the Indus

ESTATES of MOCUL

Tropic of Cancer

OCEAN

INDIAN SEA

J.n Barlow Sculp.

a moderation, attacked his out-guards; and tho' their troops were repulsed with great disadvantage, yet they determined to hazard all rather than purchase peace by their submission. The king seeing this encamped over-against the gate leading to *Attica*, that he might be near the citadel, which they had surrounded with a double wall, in order to prevent their cutting his garison to pieces before his face. He did not, however, invest the city, or pretend to besiege it; but caused open proclamation to be made, that he was ready to receive any *Thebans* who would join with him in defence of the *common liberties of* Greece. Whereupon the *Thebans* made proclamation, that they were ready to receive any who would join themselves to *the great king* and them, to fight against the tyrant of *Greece*. This exceedingly provoked *Alex-*
b *ander*; however, if we may believe *Ptolemy*, he gave no orders for an attack: But *Perdiccas*, who lay neares the walls, perceiving some advantage, suddenly attempted them, and, being seconded by *Amyntas*, broke into the city. *Alexander*, seeing his friends engaged, was constrained to support them; and thus the *Thebans* were driven to the temple of *Hercules*. There the citizens recovered their consternation, and having desperately wounded *Perdiccas*, fell upon the *Macedonians* with such resolution, that they drove them with great slaughter out of the city; which *Alexander* perceiving, he, with a fresh body of troops, attacked the *Thebans* in flank, routed them, entered the city pell-mell with the flying garison, and, after a prodigious slaughter, took the place by storm. The *Macedonian* garison, issuing from
c the citadel, contributed not a little to this event; which, however glorious to the king, was extremely fatal to the *Thebans*, who for several hours were slain and destroyed, without regard either to sex or age. Afterwards the city was razed, excepting only the house of *Pindar*, a famous poet, out of respect to the merit of its owner, and for that he had celebrated *Alexander* the first king of *Macedon*; a circumstance which might well weigh with his successor [o]. The lands, except such as were destined to religious uses, were shared among the soldiers, and the prisoners sold for slaves; whereby four hundred and forty talents were brought into the king's treasury. The king, however, took care to colour this extraordinary severity, by procuring a decree of the *Amphictyons*, enjoining him to do what he was already in-
d clined to, under pretence, that the *Thebans*, in allying themselves with *the great king*, were become enemies to the *Greeks*; wherefore the decree was closed with an express prohibition to any *Greek*, either to conceal or protect a *Theban*: Yet it must be owned, that these generous *Thebans* fought solely for liberty, refusing quarter, and provoking the *Macedonians*, during the sack of the place, to take away their lives, esteeming them not only worthless, but burdensome, when held at the will of a master. To carry on the same shew of zeal for the freedom of *Greece*, *Alexander* ordered the cities of *Orchemenus* and *Platæa* to be rebuilt, giving special directions for adorning the latter, out of regard to the generous conduct of its inhabitants, when *Pausanias* fought in its neighbourhood that decisive battle, which de-
e stroyed the *Persian* hopes. This behaviour of *Alexander* struck all the *Greek* states with terror; the *Eleans* restored their exiles because they were his friends; the cities of *Ætolia* deprecated his wrath by a most submissive embassy; as for the *Athenians*, they were terrified to such a degree, that they made themselves ridiculous; for they sent to compliment the king on his safe return from his expedition against the barbarians, and also to assure him of their great satisfaction in his chastizing the rebellious *Thebans* [p]. *Alexander* took all in good part; only he demanded by letter, that *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperdes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Charetes*, *Charidemus*, *Ephialtes*, *Diotimus*, and *Merocles* should be delivered up to him, alledging, that they were the authors of all the mischiefs which had happened in *Greece*, since his father *Philip* had been
f elected general. The *Athenians*, however, did not comply with his request, tho' *Phocion* advised them to do it. This was owing to the art of *Demades* the orator, who having first procured a vote in favour of the persons demanded, drew up afterwards such a decree as might pacify *Alexander*; the purport of which was, that the orators should submit themselves to the laws of their country, and that the *Athenians* undertook to punish them, if they appeared to be guilty. *Demades* himself went at the head of the deputies who presented this decree to *Alexander*, and who were charged also with other requests, *viz.* that, notwithstanding the decree, they might be permitted to receive the *Theban* fugitives; and that the king would for the future regard

[o] Arrian. l. i. c. 7. Dio. Chrysot. Orat. [p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra.

regard them as his faithful allies. *Alexander*, affecting to ſhew an extraordinary eſteem for the *Athenians*, granted all their requeſts, excepting that he commanded the orator *Charidemus* to baniſh himſelf; upon which he inſtantly fled to *Darius*. He uſed *Demades* with the utmoſt civility, and commanded him to aſſure his citizens, that they had nothing to fear [q]. The reader, who remembers, that, in the hiſtory of *Athens*, we have given a different account of this matter [r], muſt not conceive, that this variation happened through careleſneſs or miſtake; we have the authority of ancient authors for both relations, and the reader, by conſidering the citations, will eaſily diſcern why we inſerted that in the *Athenian*, this in the *Macedonian*, hiſtory. All authors agree, that the king was ſorry for, and greatly regretted, the miſchiefs done at *Thebes*; inſomuch, that *Plutarch* informs us, he never afterwards denied any requeſt a *Theban* made [s]. To ſpeak the truth, there is no part of *Alexander*'s character better eſtabliſhed than this, that as he was violent in his paſſions, ſo he was ſteady in repentance (B).

Continued generaliſſimo at Corinth.

As ſoon as he had ſettled *Greece* in tranquility, he went to *Corinth*, where, in a general aſſembly of the ſtates of *Greece*, every thing relating to his dignity as generaliſſimo was exactly ſettled. Here he received the compliments, not only of the ſeveral ſtates, but alſo of the moſt eminent perſons among the *Greeks*, either for valour or wiſdom, many of whom thought it not below them to travel a conſiderable ſpace for this purpoſe [t]; but *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, who was then in *Cranium* a ſuburb of *Corinth*, did not ſo much as wait upon the king; which when it was remarked to *Alexander*

[q] Arrian. l. i. c. 10. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [r] Univers. Hist. Vol. II. p. 549. [s] Plut. ubi ſupra. [t] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(B) It is an obſervation very juſtly made, in reſpect of the ancient hiſtorians, that they ſeldom mention any great event, without introducing it by omens and prognoſtics. With reſpect to this critics are apt to judge according to their own prepoſſeſſions; if they have themſelves any opinion of theſe things, then the ancients are in the right; if not, they are in the wrong, or at leaſt disbelieve theſe ſtories tho' they recorded them; which judgment, by the way, is really more injurious to their memories than the other; for to ſay, that a man writes what he knows to be falſe, is to ſay that he is a deceiver, which is certainly the higheſt reflection that can be thrown upon an hiſtorian: Whereas ſuperſtition, which is the imputation in the other caſe, is a mere human frailty, and affects his character very little. Having premiſed this, we ſhall go on to ſpeak of theſe ominous appearances which are recorded by the ancients, as predicting the fall of *Thebes*. *Diodorus* tells us, that in the temple of *Ceres*, a ſlender ſpider's web was obſerved to ſpread itſelf as broad as a cloak, and to repreſent the rainbow in an arched circumference; upon this deputies were ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphi*, to know what it imported. The anſwer was,

This web ſtands as a ſign *from* heaven *confeſt*
To thee, Bœotia, firſt, *then to the* reſt.

The oracle, in their own country, explained it thus:

One party's loſs, the other's gain, this ſhews.

This happened about three months before *Alexander*'s march. About the time of his arrival, the *ſtatues* in the *forum* ſweated, ſo that great drops ſtood upon them. In the lake of *Oncheſtus* the roaring and bellowing of oxen was heard. The waters in *Dirce* ſeemed of a ſanguine hue; and advice came from the temple at *Delphi*, that the roof built by the *Thebans*, out of the ſpoils of the *Phocians*, was beſmeared all over with blood. Such, continues our author, as ſtudied the explanation of theſe things, gave it as their opinion, that the web portended the retreat of the *gods* from their city; its having the colour of the rain-bow, various troubles and diſſentions; the appearance of ſweat ſignified extreme miſeries; and the ſmeared roof of the temple, that the city would be ſtained with ſlaughter and bloodſhed: they therefore concluded, that the *Thebans* ought to have ſought an agreement, and not have urged all things to extremity (1). But they, it ſeems, were not to be moved; for when *Alexander* demanded only *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, who had occaſioned the murder of his officers, to be delivered up, they ſent him word, he ſhould ſend them *Antipater* and *Philotas* (2). Thus they in a manner ſought their own deſtruction. The circumſtances attending the ſack of this city, are moſt exactly recorded by *Arrian*, who, tho' in the general, a very ſuccinct writer, expatiates on this ſubject, and ſhews, that it was the moſt terrible deſtruction that any ſtate ever ſuſtained to that time; concluding his deſcription thus: "They are reported to have been fore-
"warned of this great and tremendous ſubverſion
"of their city, by ſundry prodigies from heaven,
"which they all along diſregarded, till afterwards
"the events recalling them to their remembrance,
"they were forced to own them fulfilled (3)."
This author is frequently cited as a perſon diſregarding omens, and having a ſlender opinion of all ſorts of miracles; yet this notion of him ſeems to be raſhly taken up. He does indeed mention them more ſparingly than *Diodorus* or *Plutarch*; and the reaſon is clear, becauſe he was a cloſer writer, and extremely careful of ſtraying from his ſubject; yet, on particular occaſions, he records both omens and prodigies, without any tokens, that we can perceive, of disbelief or diſreſpect; but rather the contrary, as the reader may perceive from the paſſage juſt cited. Thus much we thought ourſelves obliged to ſay in regard to truth; for as to the credibility of theſe things, we meddle not with that matter here. The facts themſelves either happened, or did not happen; if they happened, and were held ominous, an hiſtorian ought not to be blamed for recording them or their interpretations. They are ſo many points laid before us, which we may conſider as long as we will, and on which we may decide at laſt as we pleaſe.

(1) *Diodor. Sicul. bibliothec. l.* xvii. *Olymp.* cxi. 2. (2) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (3) *Arrian. l.* i. *c.* 9.

a *Alexander*, he went himself to visit the philosopher. He found him, as his manner was, lying on the ground, basking himself in the sun. When those who attended the king surrounded him, the sage raised himself a little, and looked upon *Alexander*. The king with his usual civility, asked him, if he wanted any thing? *Yes* answered *Diogenes*, *I would have you stand a little out of the way, that I may enjoy the sunshine.* Those who were about *Alexander* laughed at this saying, as the effect of a haughty and morose disposition; but the king himself said gravely, *If I was not* Alexander, *I could wish to be* Diogenes, the sense of which, as it is interpreted by *Plutarch*, was, that if he had not been capable of philosophising actively, he would have preferred speculative wisdom to the ordinary employments of life[u]. This is cer-
b tainly a very noble, if it be not the just, sense of *Alexander*'s words. Certain it is, that we ought always to consider carefully the sayings transmitted to us by the ancients, lest we should reject a diamond for a pebble, merely for want of knowing how to divest it of its coat. When the assembly at *Corinth* broke up, the king returned with his army into *Macedonia*.

His preparations for invading Asia.

At *Ægæ* he held a grand council of state and of war, in order to advise about his expedition into *Asia*. The gravest of his counsellors, among whom were *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, gave it as their opinion, that he should first marry, and have heirs to the crown, before he thought of any foreign expedition. *Alexander* disliked this, as indeed he did every motion of delay; but, however, he did not reject it with-
c out offering a reason. He said, that after *Greece* had elected him her general, and he had drawn together that veteran army, which, under his father, had made so many conquests, he should not sit down idle at home, marry, and beget children[w]. He therefore sacrificed to *Jupiter Olympius*, and revived the games which had been instituted by his predecessor *Archelaus*. He sacrificed likewise to the muses, consecrating a day to each muse; then he appointed mighty feasts, entertaining no less than a hundred of his friends at his own table, after which he distributed all the crown-lands amongst them, and even the rest of his revenues, giving one a farm, another a village, a third the customs of a port. *Perdiccas*, observing this waste of the royal revenue, in which he refused to participate, asked the king, What he
d reserved for himself? *My hopes*, answered *Alexander*. *Very well Sir*, replied *Perdiccas, you will not then take it amiss, that among those who are to share your dangers, there are some who desire to share your hopes also*[x].

An account of his troops.

These feasts once over, the army had orders to assemble, in order to their passing immediately over into *Asia*; but what their numbers were, historians by no means agree. *Arrian* says, that there were thirty thousand foot and above five thousand horse. *Diodorus Siculus* is more particluar; for he tells us, there were thirteen thousand *Macedonian* foot, seven thousand of the confederate states, and five thousand mercenaries. These were under the command of *Parmenio*. Of the *Odrysians*, *Triballians*, and *Illyrians* there were five thousand; and of the *Agrians*,
e who were armed only with darts, a thousand. It is generally thought, that our author is mistaken in his first number, and that, instead of thirteen, there were but twelve thousand *Macedonians*; because in the whole *Diodorus* says there were thirty thousand foot. It may be the *Agrians* are omitted in this total. As for the horse, he tells us there were eighteen hundred commanded by *Philotas*; as many *Thessalians* under the command of *Callas*; out of the several states of *Greece* six hundred led by *Eurygius*; and nine hundred *Thracians* and *Peonians*, who led the van, under *Cassander*. *Plutarch* tells us, that, according to a low computation, he had thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; and, according to the largest reckoning, thirty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse. As to his fund for the payment
f of the army, *Aristobulus* says, it was but seventy talents; and *Onesicritus*, who was also in this expedition, not only takes away the seventy talents, but affirms the king was two hundred in debt. As for provisions, there was sufficient for a month, and no more. *Antipater* was left behind in *Macedon*, with twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse[y]. *Justin* tells us, that, to prevent any disturbances in his absence, *Alexander* caused such of the blood royal as he suspected to be put to death[z]; in which, however, he deserves no credit, since neither *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, nor any other *Greek* or *Latin* historian mentions any such thing; on the contrary, he

is

[u] Plut. de virtut. Alex. [w] Diodor. Sicul. ubi. supra. [x] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. l. i. c. 11. [y] Diodor. Plut. Arrian. ubi supra. [z] Hist. l. xi. c. 5.

is ſaid to have checked his mother *Olympias* for having treated *Cleopatra* ill in his a abſence [a].

He paſſes the Helleſpont.

THE army aſſembled at *Amphipolis*; from thence he marched to the mouths of the *Strymon*, then croſſing mount *Pangæus*, he took the road to *Abdera*. Croſſing the river *Ebrus*, he proceeded through the country of *Pætis*, and after twenty days reached *Seſtos*, thence he came to *Eleus*, where he ſacrificed on the tomb of *Proteſilaus*, because he was the firſt among the *Greeks* who at the ſiege of *Troy* ſet foot on the *Aſiatic* ſhore; he did this, that his landing might be more propitious than that of the hero to whom he ſacrificed, who was ſlain ſoon after. The greateſt part of the army under the command of *Parmenio* embarqued at *Seſtos*, on board a fleet of a hundred and ſixty gallies of three benches of oars, beſides ſmall craft. *Alexander* himſelf ſailed b from *Eleus*, and, when he was in the middle of the *Helleſpont*, offered a bull to *Neptune*, and the *Nereids* pouring forth at the ſame time a libation from a golden cup. When he drew near the ſhoar, he launched a javelin which ſtuck in the earth, then in complete armor he leaped himſelf upon the ſtrand, and having erected altars to *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*, he ſacrificed to them, and then proceeded to *Ilium* [b].

Sacrifices at Ilium.

Strabo informs us, that at the time *Alexander* came thither *Ilium* was little better than a village, diſtinguiſhed only by a ſmall temple dedicated to *Pallas*; here the king ſacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, eſpecially to *Achilles*, whom he declared to be particularly happy in two things, in having *Patroclus* for a friend, and *Homer* to record his actions. *Hepheſtion*, as a mark of his friendſhip to *Alexander*, c crowned the tomb of *Patroclus* with flowers; after this the king ſacrificed to *Minerva*, and taking down ſome arms which had hung there from the time of the *Trojan* war, conſecrated his own in their ſtead. He ſacrificed likewiſe to the ghoſt of *Priam*, to avert his wrath on account of his own deſcent from *Achilles*. We have thought fit to mark particularly theſe ſteps, becauſe they greatly contribute to ſhew the genius and temper of this young hero. It is clear from them, that he was a zealous obſerver of the religious rites of his age, and that he had the greateſt regard to decency and order in every thing he did. Indeed, he took his rules of war from *Homer*, and ſcrupulouſly adhered not only to the maxims but to the cuſtoms mentioned by him; thus inſtead of *Calchas*, who was the augur of the *Greeks*, he had *Ariſtander* the *Telmiſſian* d for his foothſayer, without conſulting of whom he ſuffered nothing of moment to be done. *Hepheſtion* was his *Patroclus*, and many things more of this kind we might note, if the nature of this work did not require a brevity inconſiſtent with ſuch reflections [c] (C).

Alexander

[a] PLUT. de virtut. Alex. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

[b] DIODOR. ARRIAN. PLUT.

[c] DIODOR. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra.

(C) *Alexander* did not neglect the uſual application to oracles on the undertaking of his expedition. After the deſtruction of *Thebes* he went in perſon to *Delphi*, but arriving at the time that was held unlucky, the prieſteſs refuſed to do her office. *Alexander* thereupon drew her by force into the temple, and ſhe at laſt offering to ſit down on the tripod, ſaid by way of excuſe for breaking through the ancient cuſtom of the temple, *My ſon, thou art invincible.* At theſe words *Alexander* cried out, *I accept the anſwer!* (4), and ſtaid for no other. This with ſome may paſs for an act of irreligion, whereas it was far from being ſo; ſudden anſwers were always held oraculous by the *Greeks*, if they were applicable to the thing inquired of, as we ſhall elſewhere ſhew at large. While the *Olympic* games were celebrating at *Ægæ*, *Arrian* tells us, there came advice that the ſtatue of *Orpheus* on mount *Pieria* ſweated, concerning the import of which, the *Augurs* and *Soothſayers* were much divided; but *Ariſtander* of *Telmiſſus*, who, as we obſerved in the text, was the *Calchas* of *Alexander*, ſettled the king's mind by the following interpretation: *Let it not diſturb you, Sir*, ſaid he, *the ſweating of the image portends that all ſorts of poets ſhall labour and ſweat in deſcribing your great actions* (5). When *Alexander* was at *Troy* the prieſt of *Minerva* having obſerved the ſtatue of *Ariobarzanes*, the king of *Perſia*'s lieutenant, to have fallen down in the temple, with other portentous ſignals, told the king, that if he fought in *Phrygia*, he would gain a great victory, kill ſome officer of diſtinction with his own hand, and be himſelf ſlightly wounded; and on this account it was that *Alexander* took down the conſecrated armour in the temple of *Pallas*, and left there his own (6). Long before this, if we may believe ſome authors, the deſtruction of the *Perſian* empire by this very prince had been predicted. The prieſts of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, when the temple of the goddeſs there was burnt down, are reported to have given it as their ſentiment, that the conqueror of *Aſia* was that day born (7), which was true of *Alexander*, who came then into the world. It may be, theſe interpretations, and even the facts themſelves, were forged long after the *Macedonian* conqueſt; but inaſmuch as they ſerve to enlighten various paſſages in the beſt *Greek* and *Latin* authors, they ought to be recorded ſomewhere, and therefore, to avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into notes.

(4) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.* (5) *Arrian. lib. i. c. 11. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.* (6) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.* (7) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

Alexander continued his march towards the river *Granicus*, without meeting with any considerable accident, if we except only the preſervation of the city of *Lampſacus*, which, on account of its adhering to the *Perſians*, he had determined to deſtroy. *Anaximenes*, an eminent hiſtorian, well known in the court of *Philip*, and for whom *Alexander* himſelf had a great eſteem, met him on the road in order to intercede for the place of his birth. The king's indignation ran ſo high, that as ſoon as he came into his preſence, he cried out, Anaximenes, *I ſwear ſolemnly that I will not do what you deſire me.* *My requeſt then, Sir,* (ſaid the old man ſmiling) *is, that you would burn* Lampſacus. *Alexander*, charmed with his addreſs, and conſidering at the ſame time the oath that he had made, ordered the city to be ſpared [d]. In the interim, the *Perſians* had aſſembled a great army in *Phrygia*, amongſt whom was *Memnon* the *Rhodian*; he was indeed the very hopes of *Perſia* and the beſt officer *Darius* had. When it was known that the *Macedonians* were marching directly towards them, this *Memnon* gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould burn and deſtroy all the country, and tranſport a moderate army over into *Macedon*. But the *Perſians*, depending on their horſe, refuſed to comply with his advice, and therefore poſting themſelves along the river *Granicus*, they determined there to wait the arrival of *Alexander*. *Juſtin* would have us believe, that the *Perſian* army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot [e]; *Arrian* ſays, there were but twenty thouſand and the like number of horſe, which * is moſt probable; *Diodorus Siculus* makes them ten thouſand horſe and a hundred thouſand foot. All agree, that the horſe were drawn up in one line, fronting the river, and the foot behind them [f]. The river itſelf was rapid, and the bank ſteep.

He ſpares Lampſacus, *through the art of* Anaximenes.

The battle at the Granicus. *Year after the flood* 2665. *Year before Chriſt* 334.

As ſoon as *Alexander* was informed of the poſture the *Perſians* were in, he ordered his forces to be drawn up in battalia, the foot in two lines, the horſe on the right and left, and the baggage in the rear, and then moved directly towards the river. *Parmenio*, perceiving that he intended to fight, immediately addreſſed him in theſe words: "To me, my prince, it ſeems expedient, that we ſhould encamp cloſe "by the river ſide. For the enemy being far inferior to us in foot, I am per-"ſuaded their courage will not ſerve them to remain all night in their poſts; and if "they decamp, we may croſs the river by break of day. We ſhall then have "time to take all our meaſures before they can form, whereas we cannot paſs now "without great hazard. For how ſhall we lead our ſoldiers to ford a river in the "ſight of our enemies, which of itſelf is rapid, full of eddies, its banks deep and "uneven as you ſee? Beſides, will not the enemy's horſe, who are perfectly well "diſciplined, take the advantage of our heavy-armed foot, as their order muſt be "broke in climbing the oppoſite bank, to charge them in flank. If any ill accident "ſhould happen at preſent, it would not only be attended with terrible conſe-"quences, but would be alſo thought to have an ominous appearance in reſpect to "the future progreſs of the war". I agree, "*Parmenio*, returned *Alexander*, that "what you ſay is very reaſonable; but how ſhameful would it be for us, who have "ſo eaſily paſſed the *Helleſpont*, to be ſtopped by this brook. Such a conduct would "reflect on the *Macedonians* and on myſelf, as if we were not able to look any "danger in the face. The *Perſians* too would from thence take heart, and believe "themſelves our equals, if our firſt attempt ſpeak not that ſuperiority in military "boldneſs for which the arms of *Macedon* are already famous [g]". As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, the king diſtributed his orders. To *Parmenio* he conſigned the care of the left wing. The right he commanded himſelf, and under him *Philotas*. The *Perſians*, when they ſaw him advancing, for he was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his armour and by his guards, immediately brought ſome ſquadrons from the right wing to reinforce the left; ſo ſoon were they ſtruck with his preſence. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Philip* had the command of the forlorn, and entered the river firſt; *Alexander* with the whole right wing followed him, but inſtead of marching directly croſs, as the *Perſians* expected, he ſuffered his troops to ſlope according to the motion of the current, whereby they had an opportunity of forming in the water, and of charging in good order. The horſe and light-armed troops commanded by *Amyntas* and *Socrates* were very warmly received; the ſons of *Memnon*, and *Memnon* in perſon, charged them briſkly, and behaved ſo well, that moſt of them were ſlain, thoſe few who were left retired to the right wing, as it advanced, commanded by *Alexander*, who

[d] Valer. Max. lib. vii. c. 3. [e] Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [f] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. [g] Arrian. lib. i. c. 12.

* The authors, in the ſecond volume, page 155. make the *Perſian* foot, according to *Arrian*, to be two hundred thouſand.

who inſtantly threw himſelf into the thickeſt of the fight, and performed wonders there till his lance broke. *Aretes* the maſter of his horſe, when he commanded him to give him another, ſhewed him the broken ſtaff of his own with which he was fighting; *Demaratus*, however, one of the king's friends, reached him a ſpear, which as ſoon as *Alexander* graſped, he rode directly to attack *Mithridates*, ſon-in-law to *Darius*, who advanced at the head of a freſh body of horſe, and, at their firſt meeting, ſtriking him through the mouth, bore him to the ground; immediately *Rheſaces*, a *Perſian* nobleman, ſtruck the king over the head with his ſword, cut off a part of his helmet, and ſlightly wounded him; but while he gave the ſtroke, the king, bearing upon him with his lance, ſtruck him through the body, ſo that he fell down dead. Yet *Spithridates*, coming behind *Alexander*, had at the ſame inſtant ſtruck off his head, if *Clytus* had not diſabled him, while his arm was lifted up [h]. The *Macedonian* horſe began now to reach the ſhore in all parts, and the light-armed foot mixing themſelves amongſt them, the *Perſians*, who were unable to ſtand the ſhock, began firſt to break where *Alexander* charged in perſon. The king did not purſue them far, becauſe the mercenaries remained as yet firm, till being ſurrounded on all ſides, they were, except two thouſand who ſurrendered, cut to pieces to a man. Of the *Macedonians* twenty-five of the king's body-guard were ſlain, whoſe ſtatues, caſt in braſs by *Lyſippus*, the king ſent to *Dium*, there to be ſet up as a memorial of their bravery and his gratitude. Beſides theſe there fell of the horſe between ſixty and ſeventy, and of the foot thirty. Theſe were the next day interred in their arms by the king's command; he granted alſo to their children, and to their parents, the freedom of thoſe cities in which they dwelt, together with the releaſe of all taxes and duties whatſoever; as for the wounded, he viſited them in perſon, ſaw them dreſſed, and heard from every man whatever he thought fit to ſay of his own deeds. He gave directions alſo for burying the *Perſians* and *Greek* mercenaries; but for ſuch of the latter as remained priſoners, he ſent them back to *Greece* in chains, ſaying, it was fit uſage for ſuch as he found in arms againſt their country. He likewiſe ſent to *Athens* three hundred ſuits of *Perſian* armour to be conſecrated in the temple of *Minerva*, with this inſcription; Alexander *the ſon of* Philip, *and all the* Grecians, *the* Lacedæmonians *excepted, have dedicated theſe ſpoils taken from the* Barbarians *who inhabit* Aſia [i] (D).

This

[h] Plut. in vit. Alex. [i] Arrian. lib. i. c. 17. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Justin. lib. xi. c. 5.

(D) The different accounts we have of the battle of *Granicus* are in many reſpects abſolutely incompatible. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that *Alexander* commanded the left wing, or at leaſt that he charged there, though at the beginning of the paragraph he aſſigns that command to *Parmenio*. Inſtead of *Mithridates*, he calls the *Perſian Spithrobates*, with whom *Alexander* fought, and tells us, that with his javelin he ſtruck the king into the right ſhoulder-blade, from whence *Alexander* drew it, and returned it immediately (8). He alſo attributes to *Roſaces* what *Arrian* tells us of *Spithridates*, which in all probability induced *Freinſhemius* in his ſupplement to *Curtius* (9) to look on *Mithridates* and *Spithridates* as the ſame perſon, in which he has certainly rectified no miſtake in *Arrian*, but through an itch of criticizing hath fallen into one himſelf. Whoever reads *Arrian* carefully will diſcern, that *Mithridates* was dead before *Spithridates* attacked *Alexander*; that *Mithridates* was killed by *Alexander* himſelf, but *Spithridates* by *Clytus*. Beſides, when he reckons up the great officers among the *Perſians*, who fell in this battle, *Arrian* ſays expreſsly, there were *Spithridates* governor of *Lydia*, and *Mithridates* ſon-in-law to *Darius*. We have mentioned theſe facts, not ſo much on account of their importance, as to vindicate our following *Arrian* rather than any other writer on this ſubject; and we hope every impartial reader will ſee and approve our reaſon, becauſe his accounts are cleareſt and moſt conſiſtent with themſelves. *Plutarch* ſays, that the *Perſians* loſt twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe in this battle, and the *Macedonians* only thirty-four; to eternize whoſe memory, *Alexander* cauſed ſo many ſtatues of braſs to be ſet up (10). This is certainly a little incredible, but *Arrian*'s account inſerted in our text is very clear; he ſpeaks not of thirty-four, but of twenty-five, ſtatues, which were made not to repreſent all who fell in the battle, but thoſe only who fell in the king's guards, who were all perſons of diſtinction. To ſay the truth, this is wonderful enough; for it is not eaſy to comprehend how in the ſpace of ten years, which includes the whole reign of *Alexander* after this battle, *Lyſippus* could make all theſe ſtatues; but that they were made and ſet up at *Dium* is certain, ſince we know that *Q. Metellus* ſent them from thence to *Rome*. It ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Plutarch*, who at other times ſpeaks ſo favourably of *Alexander*'s conduct, charges him upon this occaſion with rage and madneſs in offering to paſs a river in the ſight and in defiance of a ſuperior enemy. *Arrian*'s account ſhews, that *Alexander* offered ſome reaſons for what he did; and though it may be alledged, that the harangues in *Greek* authors are uſually compoſed by themſelves, and therefore cannot be acknowledged as authentic evidence, we apprehend that two anſwers may be in the preſent caſe given to this objection. The firſt, that ſuppoſing the fact true, the harangue contains the ſentiment of the author, which amounts to this, that

(8) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (9) *Sup. Curt. lib.* ii. *c.* 5. (10) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

The consequences of his victory.

a THIS battle put the king in poſſeſſion of all the adjacent country, of which he began immediately to take care, as if it had been part of his hereditary dominions. *Calas* was conſtituted lieutenant of the province, from which the ſame tribute was exacted as heretofore had been paid to *Darius*. He himſelf marched towards *Sardis*, and when he was about ſeventy ſtadia diſtant from that city, he was met by *Mythrenes* governor of the gariſon in the caſtle, accompanied by the chief citizens; theſe ſurrendering the city into his hands, and *Mythrenes* the caſtle with the royal treaſures therein contained. He then proceeded to the river *Hermus* about twenty ſtadia diſtant from *Sardis*, where he encamped, and from whence he diſpatched *Amyntas* the ſon of *Andromedes* to *Sardis* to take the government of the caſtle, and b carrying *Mythrenes* with him, treated him honourably. To the *Sardians* and other *Lydians* he granted the privilege of being governed by their ancient laws. He then entered the caſtle which was gariſoned by *Perſians*, and ſeemed to him well fortified. It was ſeated on a high rock, which was every-where ſteep and ſurrounded with a triple wall. He therefore propoſed to erect a temple on the top of that eminence, and therein to dedicate an altar to *Jupiter Olympius*; but while he was yet in ſuſpenſe, which part of the caſtle was moſt commodious for that purpoſe, a dreadful tempeſt aroſe on a ſudden, huge claps of thunder were heard, and a violent ſtorm fell on that part where the royal palace of the *Lydian* kings had ſtood. Thus the god ſeemed to point out the place where the temple ſhould be erected; and it was ordered to be built accordingly. The government of this caſtle he committed into the hands c of *Pauſanias*, one of his friends, but the collection of tributes and impoſts to *Nicias*. *Aſander* the ſon of *Philotas* was conſtituted prefect of *Lydia* and the reſt of the provinces of *Spithridates*, and had ſuch a number of horſe and light-armed foot allowed him as were judged neceſſary. *Callas* and *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus* were diſpatched into the province commanded by *Memnon*, and with them a very conſiderable body of troops [k]. In the mean time the mercenaries in gariſon at *Epheſus*, ſeizing two gallies of three banks of oars, retired; with them went *Amyntas*, who, as we have elſewhere obſerved, had deſerted to *Darius*, as ſoon as *Alexander* aſcended the throne. As ſoon as the king had information of this, he went to *Epheſus* in d perſon, where he did every thing that was popular; he reſtored the democracy, and ordered the tribute which had been paid to the *Perſian* to be applied to the rebuilding of the temple of *Diana*. It is ſaid he would have been at the whole expence of that magnificent pile, if the *Epheſians* would have inſcribed his name thereupon; but this they refuſed, chuſing to keep the honour and the expence to themſelves. His favours encouraged the commons of *Epheſus* to fall upon ſome perſons of diſtinction, who had been formerly in the adminiſtration of affairs, and, notwithſtanding they had taken ſanctuary in the temple, to drag them to the market-place, where they ſtoned them; as theſe men had been guilty of very flagrant oppreſſions, *Alexander* would not interpoſe to ſave them, but immediately after their deaths, he iſe ſued out an edict, whereby he ſtrictly forbad any farther inquiry into the conduct of the former magiſtrates, rightly conceiving, that if the people were ſuffered to treat the guilty thus, envy, malice, and avarice would ſoon lead them to treat the innocent in the ſame manner. This conduct of his gained him high reputation, all degrees of people owning him for their deliverer, while at the ſame time the nobles confeſſed that he was their preſerver [l]. By another edict, he ordered the popular government to be reſtored in all the *Greek* cities, and ſent *Alcimalus* with a body of troops to ſee it executed; then with the remainder of his army he marched to beſiege *Miletus*, before which his fleet commanded by *Nicanor* had lain for ſome time, and the *Perſian* fleet was alſo in the neighbourhood of that city. The *Mile*f *ſians* themſelves were diſpoſed to ſubmit to *Alexander*, but *Memnon*, who with a conſiderable body of troops had entered the place immediately after the battle at *Granicus* reſolved to defend it. We have already obſerved, that he was a great officer, and his conduct here was equal to the reputation he had before acquired; for notwithſtanding

[k] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 18. [l] ARRINN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alexand.

that *Alexander*'s conduct was defenſible in the opinion of *Arrian*: the ſecond, that as *Arrian* tranſcribed his hiſtory from the memoirs of *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemy*, who were eye and ear-witneſſes of what they wrote, it may be well preſumed, that he had at leaſt the ſubſtance of the ſpeeches he inſerted from thoſe authors too, and if ſo, then they will be the ſtrongeſt evidence. This notion is rendered the more probable from the ſtructure of theſe orations, which are far from being rhetorical, but, on the contrary, as plain and natural as can be imagined.

withſtanding the *Macedonian* fleet blocked up the haven, the citizens were diſaffected, and *Alexander*'s veteran foot ſtormed the place almoſt as ſoon as they came before it; yet he made a vigorous reſiſtance, and after the city was taken withdrew with his gariſon into an iſland where part of the mercenaries capitulated, and were received into *Alexander*'s ſervice, the reſt with *Memnon* himſelf withdrew to *Halicarnaſſus*[m]. When the king was fully maſter of *Miletus*, he treated the citizens with much humanity, but ſold all the ſtrangers he found for ſlaves. As ſoon as he was informed that the *Perſian* fleet was withdrawn from *Mycale*, he diſmiſſed his own (E); this was a very extraordinary ſtep, and authors are pretty much at a loſs how to account for it. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that *Alexander*, being well informed of *Darius*'s deſign to march againſt him immediately with a mighty army, determined by this means to cut off from his own troops all hopes of ſafety but from their valour; he grounds this conjecture on the conduct of *Alexander* in the laſt batttle, wherein he made his forces fight with the river at their back, ſo that flight was rendered impracticable, there being the chance of war if they fought, but no chance at all if they attempted to run away[n]. *Arrian* hath aſſigned us ſome better reaſons; he ſays, in the firſt place, that *Alexander* had no money to pay them; and in the ſecond, that he was afraid to truſt his fortune in an engagement at ſea. There was a third reaſon much ſtronger than the other two; he was determined to poſſeſs himſelf of all the ſea-ports by means of his land-army, and having done this, he very rightly conjectured, that the *Perſians* would be deprived of all uſe of their fleet for want of their uſual recruits, and from their being deprived of ports where they might refit[o]. He had moreover ſome notion, that his fleet would be more wanting on the other ſide of the *Helleſpont*, ſo that for many reaſons he was determined to this meaſure, how extraordinary ſoever it might appear; for though it be true, that never any general poſſeſſed perſonal courage in a higher degree than the prince of whom we are ſpeaking, yet it is as certain, that he was a great maſter in the art of war, and did many things which had the air of raſhneſs from a ſuperior ſkill in the military art, which enabled him to penetrate farther into the connection between cauſes and events, than many who were about him, and than moſt of the authors who have tranſmitted his hiſtory to poſterity, as the reader will diſcern from the laſt note.

The ſiege of Halicarnaſſus.

ALMOST all the cities between *Miletus* and *Halicarnaſſus* ſubmitted as ſoon as the former was taken, and the reſt ſurrendered as ſoon as the king marched towards them; but for *Halicarnaſſus* itſelf, *Alexander* was ſenſible that the reduction thereof would coſt him both time and trouble: *Memnon*, whom *Darius* had declared high admiral and governor of the *Lower Aſia*, commanded there in perſon with a very numerous gariſon[p]. *Alexander* encamped therefore at the diſtance of five ſtadia from the city, ſkirmiſhing daily with the gariſon, till he had provided all things for the ſiege. While

[m] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [n] ubi ſupra. [o] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 19.
[p] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

(E) After the battle at *Granicus*, *Alexander*'s generals were a good deal perplexed as to the manner in which they ſhould adviſe him to proceed; for they ſaw plainly, that though their late victory had ſtruck the *Perſians* with great conſternation, yet in effect it had very little leſſened their power: Beſides at ſea they were ſtill maſters. What the ſentiments of *Parmenio* were on this head and what thoſe of *Alexander*, we learn from *Arrian* in the following words: The *Barbarian* fleet conſiſted of about four hundred ſhips. *Parmenio* adviſed *Alexander* to a naval engagement, aſſuring him, that the *Greeks* would be victors at ſea, becauſe a lucky omen had juſt happened, an eagle being ſeen upon the ſhore from one of the ſhips of his navy. He alſo added, that if they overcame their enemies, they would reap an immenſe advantage from ſuch an engagement during the whole war; and if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vaſt danger could enſue, becauſe the *Perſians*, by virtue of their ſhipping, already held the ſovereignty of the ſea without fighting. As for his part, he would willingly enter himſelf on board, and ſhare the danger of the fleet in his own perſon. However, *Alexander* returned him anſwer, that he was miſtaken in his conjectures, and did not interpret the omen juſtly; for it would be a point of ſmall prudence in him with ſo few ſhips to hazard an engagement againſt a fleet ſo numerous, and with ſoldiers ſo little trained up in naval diſcipline to pretend to attack the expert *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians*: Neither was he willing that the *Barbarians* ſhould try the ſkill and valour of the *Macedonians* on ſo unſtable an element: And beſides, ſhould they be beaten in a ſea-fight, an inexpreſſible damage would accrue to them from the fame their enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that if the *Greeks* were animated by the news of an overthrow at ſea, they would begin to ſtudy innovations. All which things maturely weighed, he deemed a ſea-fight altogether unſafe at that juncture: And for his part he expounded the omen in a different manner. The eagle indeed he allowed promiſed ſucceſs; but as ſhe was ſeen on the ſhore, it ſeemed rather to portend, that he ſhould become maſter of the enemies fleet by beating their armies on the continent (11).

(11) *Arrian. lib.* i. *c.* 19.

a While things were in this ſituation, ſome of the citizens of *Myndus* privately promiſed *Alexander* to put their town into his hands, provided, he would advance towards it in the night with a conſiderable body of forces; this propoſition the king very readily accepted, and drew out a conſiderable body of horſe, ſupported by a body of light-armed foot, in order to go on this expedition. At midnight therefore he approached the walls according to his promiſe; but perceiving no ſigns of a ſurrender from the citizens, and conſidering that he had neither engines nor ſcaling ladders at hand, as coming there not to beſiege a city, but to have it delivered to him; he never-theleſs ordered the *Macedonian* phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the wall, which they did, and preſently overturned one of the towers thereupon, without making a breach in the wall itſelf. But the citizens making an obſtinate de-b fence, and being aſſiſted by the *Halicarnaſſians* who ſent them ſuccours by ſea, *Alexander* was diſappointed in his expedition of taking it at the firſt aſſault; wherefore, without more ado, he drew off and returned to his ſiege of *Halicarnaſſus*: and firſt of all ordered the ditch, which the citizens had dug round their walls, of thirty cubits in breadth and fifteen in depth, to be filled up, that ſo the wooden towers, out of which they were to direct their miſſive weapons againſt the beſieged, and their engines to ſhake the walls might advance forwards. The ditch being accordingly filled up, the towers began to advance; but the beſieged iſſued forth by night with a deſign of burning both the towers and engines which were now nigh the walls; and had certainly effected their deſigns, had they not been encountered c by the *Macedonians* who were placed to guard the engines, and others who came haſtily forth at the noiſe of the ſkirmiſh; ſo that they were with ſmall loſs beat back into the city. There fell of the *Halicarnaſſians* in this conflict one hundred and ſeventy, among whom was *Neoptolemus* the brother of *Arrhabæus* and ſon of *Amyntas*, one of thoſe who had formerly fled to *Darius*. Of the *Macedonians* ſixteen were ſlain, and near three hundred wounded; for that ſally being made in the night, they were the leſs able to guard their bodies and avoid the darts and arrows of their enemies [q]. We have in *Arrian* a very exact journal of this ſiege, wherein the greateſt vigour was ſhewn on the part of the aſſailants, and the moſt obſtinate reſolution diſd covered by the defendants; a moſt conſummate experience in the affairs of war in both; for as the king's troops frequently attempted to ſcale the walls, continued conſtantly to batter them with engines, and in ſome places proceeded by ſap, ſo the gariſon ſallied often, ſometimes burnt the beſiegers engines, at others levelled their works, yet were in all their attempts expoſed to great danger, there happening a vaſt effuſion of blood on both ſides [r]. At laſt *Orontobates* and *Memnon*, and the reſt of the *Perſian* commanders, conſidering that they could not now hold the town long, becauſe part of their walls was already beat down, and part ſhaken and ready to fall, and many of the defendants either cut off in the ſeveral encounters which had happened, or wounded and rendered unſerviceable; and having weighed the matter e deliberately, about the ſecond watch of the night, ſet fire to the wooden tower which they had built to guard them from the ſhocks of the enemies engines, and to the arſenal where their artillery was lodged, as alſo to ſome houſes near the wall, which laſt blazed out with much fury, becauſe the wind ſetting that way, many flakes of fire were driven from the tower and arſenal thither. Hereupon ſome of the townſmen betook themſelves to a caſtle in an iſland, and others to another caſtle called *Salmais*. Which when *Alexander* was informed of by ſome deſerters, and when he beheld the raging flames, though it was near midnight, he nevertheleſs detached a body of *Macedonians* thither, with orders to ſlay thoſe who ſet fire to the city, but to ſpare whomſoever they found in their habitations. As ſoon as it was day-light, *Alexander*, f viewing the caſtles which the *Perſians* and their mercenary troops had ſeized, reſolved not to lay ſiege to them, as well becauſe the reducing them, conſidering their ſituation, would take up too much time, as becauſe they would not be of any great importance after he had reduced the city; wherefore taking care to inter thoſe who fell in the laſt conflict by night, he commanded his engineers to convey the artillery to *Tralles*, which city he laid level with the ground, and marching thence into *Phrygia* left a body of three thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, under the command of *Ptolemy*, to keep the country of *Caria* in obedience [s].

[q] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 21. [r] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [s] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 24.

Ada made governess of Caria

AT the time *Alexander* entered this country, there was a lady whose name was *Ada*, who claimed the title of queen of *Caria* thus: She was the daughter of *Hecatomnus*, and the sister of *Hidrieus*, and, according to the *Carian* laws, his wife too; on his death she succeeded him in the kingdom, but was quickly dispossessed of it by *Pexodorus*, whose son-in-law *Orontobates* succeeded him by the favour of *Darius*. *Ada* all this time held the city of *Alinda*, which was the strongest in those parts; the keys of which as soon as he entered the province she delivered to *Alexander*, and, as a farther mark of her respect, adopted him her son. The king, charmed by her obliging behaviour, and struck with that greatness of mind she manifested on this sudden turn of affairs, received the honour she did him very kindly, and, after having demolished *Halicarnassus*, he made her governess general of all *Caria* [t]. While his forces remained in *Caria*, *Ada* had often sent him presents of the best things the country afforded; and now when he was about to depart, she sent him several cooks and confectioners to serve in his kitchen; but the king sent them back with this compliment, that his governor *Leonidas* long ago provided him better cooks than they, viz. *Long morning marches to give him a stomach to his dinner, and slender dinners, which were sure to leave appetite enough for supper*. This conduct of *Alexander* towards the queen of *Caria* was of great use to him; for it induced many of the princes of the *Lesser Asia* to revolt from the *Persian*, and put themselves under his protection. *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* was in the number of these; he was the ancestor of that famous king of the same name, who gave the *Romans* so much trouble, and was descended from the royal house of *Persia*; and coming to *Alexander*'s camp to pay his compliments to him, he acquired such a love for him, that he accompanied him in his *Persian* expedition [u].

The slaughter of the Marmarians.

Diodorus Siculus affirms, that the last action of the campaign was against the *Marmarians*, an inconsiderable people inhabiting on the borders of *Lycia*; their city was seated among rocks, and thence held by them to be impregnable. These people, either for the sake of booty, or from their warm attachment to the *Persians*, fell upon the rear of *Alexander*'s army, cut a great number of *Macedonians* to pieces, and took a great part of the baggage; this exceedingly provoked the king, who immediately caused the place to be invested, and as it had no fortifications but those of nature, he stormed it two whole days together. The old men then among the besieged would have persuaded them to surrender, but they declaring resolutely that they would never submit, their elders advised them to put all the superannuated men, women, and children to death, then to force a passage through the enemies camp. This advice the young men embraced, when every one going home made a great feast, and after eating and drinking plentifully with his wife and children, shut the door of his house, and then set it on fire. As soon as the flames began to mount, they to the number of six hundred sallied out, forced the *Macedonian* guard, and made their escape to the mountains [w].

The new-married men sent home.

WHEN the winter began to come in, *Alexander* made choice of *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus*, *Cœnus* the son of *Polemocrates*, and *Meleager* the son of *Neoptolemus* to lead home to *Macedon* all the new-married soldiers in his army, that they might spend the winter with their wives, an act very extraordinary in its nature, and for which there was no precedent among the *Greeks*; but, inasmuch as it is exactly conformable to the law of *Moses*, some learned men have been tempted to believe, that *Aristotle*, who was well versed in the *Hebrew* learning, advised him thereto; however it was, *Arrian* tells us expressly, that no action of his life endeared him more to the *Macedonians* than this. He likewise sent *Parmenio* and some other general officers to raise recruits, some into *Europe*, and some into *Asia* [x] (F).

THINGS

[t] Id. ibid. [u] FLOR. lib. iii. c. 5. [w] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. [x] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 25. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(F) The words of the law of *Moses* relating to this matter are these: *When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business; he shall be free at home for one year, and shall chear up his wife which he hath taken* (12). To this passage it might be objected, that *Moses* forbids the enlisting of new-married men, whereas *Alexander* dismissed those who actually served in his army; yet the truth is, that *Alexander* exactly fulfilled the law; for, in another place, it is enjoined, the principal officers of the *Hebrew* army, when in the field to enquire amongst other things; *What man there is that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her; let him go home and return to his*

(12) *Deut.* xxiv. 5.

A conspiracy discovered

a THINGS being in this situation, and the king busy in providing for the next campaign, a very extraordinary piece of treason was discovered. *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*, whom the king had made general of the *Thessalian* horse, held a correspondence with *Amyntas*, who was in the service with *Darius*. *Asisines* a *Persian* was pitched on by the latter to carry letters to this *Alexander*, promising him a thousand talents of silver and the kingdom of *Macedonia*, if he would undertake to murder the king; this *Asisines Parmenio* apprehended upon some suspicion or other, and being examined, he confessed the whole business; whereupon the king sent instructions to *Parmenio* to apprehend *Alexander*, before he should be able to debauch the troops under his command, and thereby cause a defection, which on account of the man's great quality
b might be very dangerous. This commission was very happily executed, and the king thereby delivered from a conspiracy which had given him no small disquiet[z] (G).

Alexander *proceeds in the conquest of the adjacent provinces.*

Year after the flood, 2666. *Year before* Christ 333.

As soon as the season permitted, *Alexander* quitted the province of *Phaselus* where he now was, and having sent part of his army through the mountainous country to *Perga* by a short but difficult road, he led the rest by the sea-shore, taking his rout by a certain promontory, where the way is altogether impassable, except when the north winds blow. At the time of the king's march the south wind had held for a long time, but of a sudden it changed, and blew from the north so violently, that, as he and his followers declared, they by divine assistance obtained a safe and easy
c passage. This is *Arrian*'s account, not only in substance, but in his own words, of a march held by many to be miraculous, and even compared to that of the children of *Israel* thro' the *Red-Sea*, while, on the other hand, it is the opinion of many, there is nothing extraordinary in it at all[a] (H). In this march he was met by deputies from the *Aspendians*, who desired him to spare putting a garison into their city, because they were content to be his faithful subjects, to which he readily assented, upon condition they paid him fifty talents, and sent him the same number of horses which they were wont to furnish to *Darius*; terms to which they also readily agreed; but while the king was employed in reducing other places in the neighbourhood, the *Aspendians* fortified their city, and refused to comply with the treaty which their deputies
d had made. Upon which the king marched immediately that way with his army. The

[z] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 26. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. [a] ARRIAN. PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

his house, lest he die in battle, and another man take her (13). We are well assured, that *Aristotle* was acquainted with, and highly esteemed, the law of the *Jews*; we know too, that what *Philip* expected from him was not to instruct his son in scanning of verses or solving grammatical niceties; but that he might become a worthy successor of himself, and an able king of *Macedon*. To this end, that truly wise man put a correct edition of *Homer* into the hands of his pupil, and doubtless acquainted him with whatsoever else he had collected in relation to the science of government from books or in his travels (14). This supposition therefore, that the practice of *Alexander* was founded on the *Mosaic* law, is very probable. To say the truth, the best laws in *Greece* were but copies of the *Mosaic* law, as some learned men in the last century have very fully shewn, and of which any impartial person may be easily convinced, if he will compare those laws, in their original languages, and consider how nearly the *Greek* approaches to an elegant translation of the *Hebrew*, necessary allowances being made for the difference in manners.

(G) We are told by *Diodorus*, that it was by a letter from his mother *Olympias* the king was informed of the conspiracy of *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*; however, *Arrian*, besides the information of *Parmenio*, informs us of another odd circumstance, which concurred to make this matter more observable. While the king, who then lay before *Halicarnassus*, was fast asleep about noon, a swallow came chattering about him, hovering over his head, and resting sometimes on one, sometimes on the other, side of the bed. He being exceedingly fatigued was not easily awaked; but when her incessant chattering roused him from sleep, he put her away gently with his hand; notwithstanding which she was so far from endeavouring to escape, that she perched upon his head, and ceased not her noise till the king was thoroughly awake. This prodigy being deemed of too great moment to be disregarded, he immediately consulted with *Aristander* the *Telmissean* soothsayer, who assured him, that a conspiracy was formed against his life by one of his domestics, but that it would be brought to light, because the swallow was a domestic bird and most exceedingly loquacious (15).

(H) There seems to be no just reason for believing any thing supernatural in relation to *Alexander*'s passage by the sea-side. In his letters he spoke of it himself in terms the most plain and simple, affirming nothing more than that he marched from *Phaselis* through the streights called *the ladders* (16). There is, however, a passage in *Strabo* which seems to set this matter in a clear light, and to prove very fully, that there was in this passage no miracle at all. "Near the city of *Phaselis* between *Lycia* and "*Pamphylia* there is a passage, coasting along by the "sea, through which *Alexander* marched his army. "This passage is very narrow, and lies between "the mountain *Chimax*, which overlooks the *Pam*"*phylian* sea, and the shore. It is dry at low wa"ter, so that travellers pass through it with safety; "but when the sea is high, it is all covered over. "It was then in the winter season, and *Alexander*, "who depended much upon his good fortune, was "resolved to set out without staying till the floods "were abated, so that his men were forced to "march up to the middle in water (17)".

(13) *Deut.* xx. 7. (14) *Joseph. cont. Ap. lib.* i. *ap. Plut. in vit. Alex.* (15) *Arrian lib.* i. *c.* 26. (16) *Epist. Alex.* (17) *Strab. Geogr. lib.*

The city of *Aspendus* is seated chiefly upon a high and steep rock, the foot of which a
is washed by the river *Eurymedon*; but round the rock upon the plain are abundance
of houses surrounded with a slight wall. As soon as *Alexander* approached, the inha-
bitants of the lower town, distrusting their safety there, fled, and betook themselves to
the higher town or castle; which when he perceived, he entered the lower town with
his army, and encamped within the walls. The besieged seeing *Alexander*'s force,
and themselves hemmed in on every side contrary to their expectations, sent mes-
sengers to intreat him to accept of the former conditions. *Alexander*, considering the
strength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long siege, was
willing to agree with them, though not upon the former terms; but insisted now, that
their principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages; that the number of b
horses which they had before promised should be punctually delivered, and the
number of talents doubled; and moreover, that they should be under the command
of such a garison as he should place over them, and pay an annual tribute to the
Macedonians; and lastly, that the cause concerning the field, which they were said to
have wrested unjustly out of their neighbours hands, should be referred to arbitration.
This affair being finished, the king prosecuted his march to *Telmissus*, a very strong
city, seated on the top of a high mountain, having another as high over-against it,
and a narrow craggy road between these two. This pass the *Telmisseans* had seized,
and, if they had defended it as they ought, might in all probability have compelled
the king to look for another road. But *Alexander*, rightly judging that the terror c
of an attack would oblige them to withdraw, encamped his forces at the very en-
trance of the passage, at the close of the evening, and in the morning, as he had
rightly conjectured, it was perceived, that the *Telmisseans* were retired into their
city, the siege of which on account of its strong situation the king declined for the
present, and continued his march through *Phrygia*, intending to reassemble all his
troops at *Gordium*, whither he sent his orders to *Parmenio* to march, as he did also to
Ptolemy and his collegues, who with the new-married men and recruits were now
returned from *Macedonia*[b]. On his march he met with deputies from *Athens*, who
in very submissive terms besought him to dismiss such of their citizens, as he had
taken fighting in the service of the *Persians*; but from this the king desired to be d
excused till the war was over, and then told them he would be content to hear what
they could say in favour of their citizens[c].

Darius *puts* Charidemus *to death.*

Darius was all this time fighting for *Alexander* at home; for upon the death of
Memnon his admiral, who had begun with great success to reduce the *Greek* islands
again under his obedience, and was on the very point of invading *Euboea*, he was
quite at a stand, not knowing whom to employ in his stead; and being also irre-
solute as to the choice of a general who should command the land-forces he had
raised. There happened to be at this time of his court and council one *Charidemus*
an *Athenian*, an officer of great merit, and had served long and with much reputa-
tion under *Philip* of *Macedon*; this man, being heartily zealous for the *Persian* in- e
terest, and seeing it no less in danger from their own feeble councils than from the
Macedonian arms, took upon him in few words to set the king and his ministers right.
While you, Sir, said he to *Darius*, are safe, the empire can never be at stake; let
me exhort you therefore never to expose your person, but to make choice of some
able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more
than sufficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon
this enterprize; and if you will honour me with this command, I will be ac-
countable for the success of what I advise. *Darius*, who was a wise and brave man,
readily acceded to *Charidemus*'s proposal; but the *Persian* lords who were present, f
through envy, inveighed bitterly against it; whereupon the *Athenian* was so far
transported with passion, that he told them they were cowards, who would neither
serve their master themselves, nor suffer him to be served by others. This moved
them to charge him with treachery, and to alledge that he sought the command
merely to put all things into the hands of the *Macedonians*; which made such an im-
pression on *Darius*, that he ordered him to be instantly bound and delivered over
to execution. Those who had pushed the king upon this barbarous and unjust act
took care not to let the thing cool, but hurried the *Athenian* to instant death; to which
as he went, he said aloud, Darius *will very soon repent his cruelty towards me, when by*
the

[b] Arrian. lib. i. c. 28. [c] Arrian. ubi supra. Curt. lib. iii. c. 2.

a *the loſs of his kingdom he ſhall find with how much injuſtice he has taken away my life*[d]. Indeed *Darius* repented in a few days, but, as our author rightly obſerves, powerful as he was, he could not recal from death him whom a haſty word had ſent from the land of the living. He was forced therefore to take the counſel of his own ſubjects, and purſuant to their advice determined to march againſt *Alexander* with an army, which, as one of his predeceſſors emphatically ſaid, had in it many men and few ſoldiers.

Alexander *unties the* Gordian *knot.*

When *Alexander* arrived at *Gordium*, and found himſelf under a neceſſity of remaining there ſome time, till the ſeveral corps of his army could unite, he diſcovered an earneſt deſire of ſeeing *Gordius*'s chariot, and the famous knot in the harneſs, b of which ſuch ſtrange ſtories had been publiſhed to the world. This *Gordius*, as the tale went, was a man of ſlender fortune among the ancient *Phrygians*, who had a ſmall piece of land and two yoke of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon; and that on a certain day, while he was ploughing, an eagle alighted on the yoke, and there reſted till the evening. He, terrified at the ſight, haſted to conſult the *Telmiſſian* augurs in that caſe (for the art of divination was common to all that people, even to the women and children, ſo that it was in a manner hereditary); and when he arrived at a certain village in that country, he met a virgin going to a fountain, who foretold what ſhould happen to him, and ordered him, as ſhe was of the *Telmiſſian* progeny, to return to his field, and then offer ſac crifice to *Jupiter*. *Gordius*, on the other hand, intreated her to accompany him thither, to teach him after what manner ſacrifice ſhould be performed. He, thus inſtructed by the virgin, took her to wife, and ſhe bore him a ſon named *Midas*, who when he arrived at manhood was both beautiful and valiant. The *Phrygians* were at that time haraſſed with a cruel ſedition, and going to conſult the oracle were told, that a chariot ſhould bring them a king who ſhould quell their ſedition. Whilſt they were yet buſy in offering their conjectures about this anſwer, *Midas* arrived with his father and mother, and appeared ſuddenly in his chariot before the council. They hereupon interpreting the anſwer to relate to him, as the man whom the god had told them ſhould come thither in a chariot, made him their king. Their ſeditions he ap- d peaſed, and conſecrated his father's chariot to *Jupiter* the king, by hanging it up in his palace as an offering of thanks for the eagle, the bird of *Jupiter*, ſent to his father, by which he received the kingdom. This was alſo reported concerning the chariot, that whoſoever could untie the knot whereby it hung, ſhould obtain the ſovereignty over all *Aſia*. The cord in which this knot was tied was compoſed of the inner rind of the corneil tree, and no eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. *Alexander*, when he could find no poſſible way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, leſt it ſhould cauſe ſome fears to ariſe in the hearts of his ſoldiers, is ſaid by ſome to have cut the cords with his ſword, and affirmed that the knot was untied. But *Ariſtobulus* aſſures us, that he wreſted a wooden pin out of e the beam of the waggon, which, being driven in acroſs the beam, held it up, and ſo took the yoke from it[e]. *Arrian*, from whom we have taken this relation, leaves his reader at liberty to receive which ſtory he pleaſes. *Curtius*, on the contrary, declares poſitively, that the king cut the knot through with his ſword, ſaying, as he ſtruck, *It matters not how it is undone*. But what is the authority of *Curtius* compared to that of *Ariſtobulus*, who was an eye-witneſs of the thing, and who declares as expreſsly that the king did not cut it? to which ſentiment alſo *Plutarch* adheres. However it was, *Arrian* informs us, that a great tempeſt of thunder, lightening, and rain happening in the ſucceeding night, it was held declarative of the true ſolution of this knot, and that *Alexander* would become lord of *Aſia*[f].

His vigilance in entering Cilicia.

f On *Alexander*'s arrival at *Ancyra* a city of *Galatia*, the province of *Paphlagonia* ſubmitted to him, which he thereupon added to the government of *Calas*, proceeding inſtantly to reduce *Cappadocia* as far as the river *Halys*, and then marched on to poſſeſs himſelf of *Cilicia*. This province was bounded on the weſt by *Pamphylia*, on the eaſt by *Syria*, on the ſouth by the bay of *Iſſus*, and on the north by *Cappadocia*. In it were three famous ſtreights or paſſes: The firſt at its entrance called *the gate*: The ſecond called *the ſtreights of Amanus*: The third near the bay of *Iſſus*. It was the firſt of theſe which *Alexander* ſought to ſurprize by a quick march, and which, when he came to the camp of *Cyrus*, a place ſo called, becauſe *Cyrus*

[d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi. ſupra. Curt. lib. iii. c. 5. [e] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 30. [f] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

Cyrus the younger had once taken poſt there with his army, he had the mortification to hear had been ſeized by the *Perſian*, who had ſent a conſiderable body of troops to defend it; this did not hinder the king from purſuing his deſign, and marching in the firſt watch of the night with his horſe and light-armed foot to the very mouth of the paſs, in order to attack it as ſoon as day broke. But the enemy ſpared him the trouble, for long before day, forgetting the importance of the place, they abandoned it, and ſought their ſafety in flight; ſo that *Alexander* immediately took poſſeſſion of it, and the next day marched all his army through into *Cilicia* without ſo much as a ſkirmiſh [g]. a

His ſharp ſickneſs, and wonderful recovery.

As ſoon as he entered the province, he received advice, that *Arſames*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Tarſus*, was about to abandon it, and that the inhabitants were very apprehenſive he would plunder it before he withdrew. To prevent this, the king marched inceſſantly, and arrived juſt time enough to preſerve the place; but his ſaving it had well-nigh coſt him his life; for either through the exceſſive fatigue of marching, as ſome ſay, or, as others relate, by his plunging when very hot into the river *Cydnus*, which as it runs through thick ſhades hath its waters exceedingly cold, he fell into ſuch a diſtemper as threatened his immediate diſſolution. His army in a moment loſt its ſpirits; his generals, who were wont to adviſe him, knew not what to do themſelves; nay, his phyſicians were ſo affrighted, that the terror of his death hindered them from taking proper methods for preſerving his life [h]. *Philip* the *Acarnanian* alone preſerved temper enough to examine the nature of the king's diſeaſe, the ſtrongeſt ſymptom of which was a continual waking, which he promiſed by the help of a draught to take off, and by compoſing his ſpirits to put him in a way of recovery. But while *Philip* was employed in preparing his medicine, the king received a letter from *Parmenio*, in which he was adviſed to be cautious of taking any thing from *Philip*, *Darius* having ſuborned him to take away his life. Having peruſed the letter, the king put it under his head; and when *Philip* brought him the potion, he took it out, and reached it to the phyſician, drinking the mixture with a ſteady and ſmiling look, while *Philip* read the letter. The compoſure of the man's countenance, and the anſwer he gave to the letter, by exhorting the king to quiet his thoughts, and to diſpoſe himſelf to reſt, aſſuring him that he would recover his health, if he purſued his directions, convinced *Alexander* of the falſhood of the accuſation. When, acording to *Philip*'s promiſe, the king began to recover his health, he not only teſtified an extraordinary gratitude towards the author of his cure, but alſo aſſured all who were about him that he had the juſteſt ſenſe imaginable of their loyalty and affection to his perſon, notwithſtanding any ſuggeſtions he might have received to their prejudice. b c d

He paſſes by Darius.

IMMEDIATELY on his recovery, he diſpatched *Parmenio* to ſeize the ſecond ſtreights, while he himſelf reduced ſuch places in the neighbourhood as had not beſought his protection. Being encamped at *Soli*, he received advice, that *Ptolemy* and *Aſander* had beat the generals of *Darius*, and made great conqueſts on the *Helleſpont*; this was very grateful intelligence, and *Alexander* cauſed very magnificent feaſts and ſhews to be made in his camp on that account. A little after he was informed, that *Darius* was advanced through *Syria* within two days journey of the ſtreights, upon which the king immediately marched towards him, and that with ſuch expedition, that going through the defiles, he encamped near the city of *Myriandrus*. In the mean time *Darius*, led by his ill fate in the ſhape of his flatterers, had paſſed the ſtreights of *Amanus*, and came down to *Iſſus*, where he put moſt of the *Macedonians* he found to the ſword [i]. e

Darius *returns to meet him.*

Alexander was ſo much ſurprized, when he firſt received the news that *Darius* was behind him, that he could ſcarce believe it to be true; but when he was thoroughly ſatisfied of the fact, and that *Darius* had again paſſed the river *Pinarus*, he called a council of war, wherein, without aſking any body advice, he only told them, that he hoped they would remember their former actions, and that they, who were always conquerors, were about to fight people who were always beaten. He further obſerved, that *Darius* ſeemed to be infatuated, ſince he had with ſuch expedition quitted an open and champaign country, where his numbers might have acted with advantage, to fight in a place incloſed, where the *Macedonian* phalanx might well be drawn f

[g] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 9.
[h] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 10.
[i] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 6. CURT. lib. iii. c. 16.

a drawn up, and where his multitudes could only incommode him. To theſe he added many other reflections on the ancient glory of the *Greeks*, and as ancient the infamy of the *Barbarians*. When he had finiſhed his oration, thoſe who were preſent ſhook hands, and, commending the king's magnanimity, promiſed that they would do their duty. *Alexander* then made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for repaſſing the mountains, poſted guards where he found them neceſſary, and then commanded his troops to refreſh themſelves, and to take their reſt till morning [k].

Diſpoſitions of both armies.

At break of day he began to repaſs the mountains, obliging his forces to move in cloſe order where the road was narrow, and to extend themſelves as they had more room; the right wing keeping always cloſe to the mountain, and the left to b the ſea-ſhore. On the right there was a battalion of heavy-armed troops, beſides the targeteers under the command of *Nicanor* the ſon of *Parmenio*. Next theſe extending to the phalanx were the corps of *Cænus* and *Perdiccas*. And on the left the reſpective bodies commanded by *Amyntas*, *Ptolemy*, and *Meleager*. The foot appointed to ſupport them was commanded by *Craterus*: But the whole left wing was committed to *Parmenio*, with ſtrict orders not to decline from the ſea-ſhore, leſt the *Perſians* ſhould ſurround them. *Darius* ordered twenty thouſand foot and thirty thouſand horſe to paſs once again the river *Pinarus*, finding that he already wanted room to draw up the reſt. His firſt line conſiſted of thirty thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, having on their right and left ſixty-thouſand heavy-armed troops, being the c utmoſt the ground would allow. On the left towards the mountain he poſted twenty thouſand men, which from the hollow ſituation of the place were brought quite behind *Alexander*'s right wing. The reſt of his troops were formed into cloſe and uſeleſs lines behind the *Greek* mercenaries, to the number in all of ſix hundred thouſand men. When this was done, he ſuddenly recalled the horſe who had paſſed the river, ſending part of them to take poſt on his right againſt the *Macedonians* commanded by *Parmenio*, and the reſt he ordered to the left towards the mountain, but finding them unſerviceable there he ſent the greateſt part of them to the right: And then took upon himſelf, according to the cuſtom of the *Perſian* kings, the command of the main body. As ſoon as *Alexander* perceived, that the weight of the *Perſian* d horſe was diſpoſed againſt his left wing, he diſpatched with as much ſecrecy as he could the *Theſſalian* cavalry thither, and ſupplied their places on the right by ſome brigades of horſe from the van and light-armed troops. He alſo made ſuch diſpoſitions, that, notwithſtanding the mighty advantage of the hollow mountain, the *Perſians* could not ſurround him. But as theſe precautions had much weakened the centre of his army, he ordered thoſe advance poſts on the enemy's left, of which he was moſt apprehenſive, to be attacked at the very beginning of the fight; and when they were eaſily driven from them, he recalled as many troops as were neceſſary to ſtrengthen his centre [l].

Battle of Iſſus. *Year after the flood* 2667. *Before Chriſt* 332.

When all things were in order, *Alexander* gave ſtrict orders that his army ſhould e march very ſlowly. As for *Darius*, he kept his troops fixed in their poſts, and in ſome places threw up ramparts, whence the *Macedonians* rightly obſerved, that he thought himſelf already a priſoner. *Alexander* at the head of the right wing engaged firſt, and without any difficulty broke and defeated the left wing of *Darius*. But endeavouring to paſs the river after them, his troops in ſome meaſure loſing their order, the *Greek* mercenaries fell upon them in flank, and made them fight, not only for victory, but for their lives. *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Seleucus*, and a hundred and twenty *Macedonians* of ſome rank were killed upon the ſpot. But the foot next to *Alexander*'s right wing, coming in ſeaſonably to its relief, fell upon the mercenaries in flank, amongſt whom a miſerable carnage was made; they being in a manner ſurf rounded by the horſe and light-armed troops, which at firſt purſued the left wing, and the foot that had now paſſed the river. The *Perſian* horſe on the right ſtill fought gallantly; but when they were thoroughly informed of the rout of their left wing, the deſtruction of the *Greek* mercenaries, and that *Darius* himſelf was fled; they began to break and betake themſelves to flight too. The *Theſſalian* cavalry purſued them cloſe at the heels; the narrow craggy roads incommoded them exceedingly, ſo that vaſt numbers of them periſhed. As for *Darius*, he fled ſoon after the left wing was broken in a chariot with a few of his favourites; as far as the country was plain and open he eſcaped well enough; but when the roads became rocky and narrow,

[k] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 6. Curt. lib. iii. c. 16.

[l] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 8, 9.

row, he quitted it, and mounting a horſe rode all the night; his chariot, in which a was his ſhield, his cloak, and his bow, fell into the hands of *Alexander*, who carried them back to his camp. The loſs of the *Perſians* did not fall much ſhort of a hundred thouſand men, and *Ptolemy* in his relation reports, that when *Alexander*'s troops were in full purſuit of *Darius*, they filled up the ditches as oft as they were obſtructed by them with heaps of dead bodies, and ſo without farther difficulty paſſed on (I). The tent of *Darius* had been very early taken, and in it his mother, his wife, two daughters, and a little ſon; there fell at the ſame time into the hands of the *Macedonians* the wives of the moſt conſiderable *Perſian* noblemen; as for thoſe of inferior officers, they had been with the heavy baggage and treaſure conveyed to *Damaſcus*, which precaution, however, did not preſerve them; for a little after all fell b into the power of *Parmenio*, ſent by *Alexander* for that purpoſe. In the evening of the day of action, when the king returned to the camp and went to refreſh himſelf in the tent of *Darius*, he was extremely ſurprized to hear the loud cries and groanings of many women ſo near him; whereupon demanding of ſome who were near him, who theſe women were and what the occaſion of their ſorrow, he was informed, that they were the mother, the wife, the daughters of *Darius*, and the moſt conſiderable ladies of *Perſia* who waited upon them; that the reaſon of their lamentation was the report of an eunuch, that he had ſeen in the hands of a ſoldier the cloak of *Darius*, whence he concluded that the king was ſlain. *Alexander* is ſaid upon this occaſion to have ſhed tears. However it was, he ſent *Leonatus*, a perſon of the c firſt rank amongſt his officers, to free the women from their fears, by aſſuring them, that *Darius* made his eſcape; and at the ſame time to comfort them with promiſes of honourable treatment, a permiſſion to wear royal apparel, and to be called and ſerved as if they were ſtill queens. The next day he went himſelf with *Hepheſtion* to

(I) In reſpect to the battle of *Iſſus*, *Diodorus* informs us, that *Alexander* looked every-where about for *Darius*, and, as ſoon as he diſcovered him, with his handful of guards attacked him and the flower of the *Perſian* army which was about him; being as deſirous of obtaining this victory by his perſonal valour, as of ſubduing the *Perſian* empire by the courage of his ſoldiers. But when *Oxathres* the brother of *Darius* ſaw *Alexander*'s deſign, and how fiercely he ſought to accompliſh it, he threw himſelf with the horſe who were about him between his brother's chariot and the enemy, where an obſtinate fight was maintained, till the dead bodies roſe like an intrenchment about the chariot of *Darius*. Many of the *Perſian* nobility were ſlain, and *Alexander* himſelf was wounded in the thigh. At the laſt, the horſes in the chariot of *Darius* ſtarted, and became ſo unruly, that the king himſelf was forced to take the reins; the enemy, however, preſſing ſo hard upon him, that he was conſtrained to call for another chariot, and mounted it in great danger. This was the beginning of the rout, which ſoon after became general. According to this author the *Perſians* loſt an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; the *Macedonians* three hundred foot and a hundred and fifty horſe. After the battle, he tells us, that *Alexander* returned to *Darius*'s tent, and there bathed, and was lodged with all the luxury and magnificence of a *Perſian* prince. He gives us alſo the ſtory of *Alexander*'s viſit to *Siſygambis* with this addition, that the king called to him the little ſon of *Darius* and kiſſed him. The boy coming readily and ſhewing no ſort of terror, the king turning to *Hepheſtion* ſaid, *This boy of ſix years old hath a noble countenance, a high ſpirit, and is more worthy of eſteem than his father.* He then promiſed, that he would take the ſame care of the child as if he were his own; and aſſured the young ladies, that he would be no leſs careful in providing matches for them, than *Darius* himſelf would have been (18). *Plutarch* aſſures us, on the authority of one *Chares*, that *Darius* himſelf wounded *Alexander* in the thigh; yet *Plutarch* obſerves, that *Alexander* in his letter to *Antipater*, though he mentions his wound in his thigh, ſays nothing of his having received it from *Darius*. On his return to the camp after the purſuit, he entered *Darius*'s tent, and immediately cried out, *Come, let us cleanſe and refreſh ourſelves in* Darius's *bath*. *No*, cried one of his attendants, *call it rather* Alexander's; *for the goods of the vanquiſhed belong to the victor by the law of arms.* After bathing, participating of a fine entertainment, and being conducted into the magnificent bed-chamber of the *Perſian* king, *Alexander* could not help ſaying with an air of tranſport, *This is to be a prince indeed*. As to the reſpect ſhewn to the ladies, *Plutarch*'s account is only a little warmer and more exalted than that of *Arrian* and *Diodorus* (19). *Juſtin* informs us, that the *Perſian* army conſiſted of four hundred thouſand foot and a hundred thouſand horſe. He ſays, that the battle was hard fought, that both the kings were wounded, and that the *Perſians* ſtill fought gallantly when their king fled, but that they were afterwards ſpeedily and totally routed; he is very particular as to their loſs, which he ſays amounted to ſixty-one thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand taken priſoners. Of the *Macedonians*, he ſays, there fell no more than a hundred and thirty foot and a hundred and fifty horſe (20). *Curtius*, not mentioning the armies paſſing by each other, makes the whole of his relation very confuſed. Indeed it is ſo laboured, that it appears rather an exerciſe of rhetoric than a candid narration, and the cloſe of it, which is what we have moſt do with, exceeds all the reſt. He agrees, that of the *Perſians* there fell a hundred thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. Of *Alexander*'s army five hundred and four he ſays were wounded, thirty-two foot killed, and a hundred and fifty horſe. That we may not ſuſpect any error in tranſcribers, his own obſervation nails down the fact: *Tantulo impendio ingens victoria ſtetit*, ſo ſmall was the coſt of ſo great a victory (21).

(18) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (19) *Plut. in vit. Alex* (20) *Juſtin. lib.* xi. *c.* 9. (21) *Curt. lib.* iii. *c.* 20—29.

to their tent, that he might farther conſole the illuſtrious captives. Their garb being much alike, *Siſygambis* the mother of *Darius* fell down at the feet of *Hepheſtion*, being ſomewhat taller, ſuppoſing him to be the king. But when ſome of the attendants ſignified to her, by motions of their heads and hands, that ſhe was miſtaken, ſhe immediately went and paid her devoirs to the king himſelf. He ſeeing her in ſome confuſion, took her by the hand and raiſed her up, ſaying, *Do not be uneaſy, mother, you were not in the wrong, for he too is* Alexander [l]. This paſſage is found in *Arrian*, who confeſſes, that he met with it in the works of moſt hiſtorians of thoſe times; yet he ſeems diffident of the truth of it, and contents himſelf with ſaying what ought to be always ſaid when it is mentioned; *That there is ſo much worth and beauty in the action as ought to incline us to wiſh it true at leaſt, if not to believe it.* Other hiſtorians have not been ſo nice; they found the ſtory good, inſerted it therefore in their writings, and, taking occaſion from thence to extol the virtue and clemency of *Alexander*, have never troubled their readers with any ſuſpicions as to the certainty of the fact. But we in this, as in the foregoing relation of the battle, have ſtuck cloſe to *Arrian*, from whom indeed there is no ſtirring without danger of falling, not only into incertainties, but into incredibilities; as the reader will perceive from a ſhort ſpecimen of inconſiſtencies, extracted from other writers and digeſted in the foregoing note.

Alexander made the beſt uſe of this ſignal victory, encouraging the provinces and petty princes in the neighbourhood to come and ſubmit themſelves voluntarily, treating all that did ſo, not as new and conquered, but as old and hereditary ſubjects, neither burthening them with ſoldiers, nor oppreſſing them with tribute. *Menon*, an ancient officer of his, he appointed governor of *Cœlo-Syria*, and aſſigned him ſuch a body of horſe, as he judged neceſſary for the ſafety of the province. The *Perſian* had all this time a great fleet at ſea, to which moſt of the little princes on the maritime coaſts had been forced to join all the ſhips they could furniſh, rather out of fear, than any inclination they had to concern themſelves in the preſent diſpute about the dominion of *Aſia*, which, however it ended, they knew would leave them where it found them, tributaries and dependents. *Strato* the ſon of *Geroſtratus*, king of *Arados* and the neighbouring iſles, took this opportunity of making peace for his father's ſubjects, who were in the utmoſt danger; their king with all their naval force being ſailed to join the *Perſian* fleet. *Strato* prevented *Alexander*'s march towards the dominions he held on the continent, by going of his own accord to his head-quarters, where preſenting him with a crown of gold, he ſubmitted himſelf and all his dominions to his pleaſure; whereby *Alexander* reaped all that he ſought, viz. *glory* and *power*, and *Strato* loſt nothing, but on the contrary avoided the *Macedonian*'s entering his territories in a hoſtile manner [m] (K).

The conduct of Alexander *in reducing* Cœlo-ſyria.

AMONG

[l] ARRIAN. lib. iii. 10, 11, 12. [m] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 13.

(K) We have omitted in our text a very remarkable paſſage in *Alexander*'s life, which is atteſted by many credible authors, amongſt others by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, though it is not mentioned by *Arrian* at all. The reaſon, however, of our omitting it was, we knew not how or where certainly to place it. The ſtory is beſt told by *Curtius*, and therefore from him we ſhall take it. He ſays, that *Strato* king of *Sidon*, being cordially attached to *Darius*'s intereſt, *Alexander*, when he was in the neighbourhood of the city, gave his favourite *Hepheſtion* leave to beſtow the kingdom upon whom he would. *Hepheſtion* having lodged with two brothers, and being extreamly taken with their kindneſs towards him, offered them the kingdom; but they alledging, that by the laws of their country it was hereditary, refuſed it on account of their not being of the royal blood. *Hepheſtion*, charmed with ſo noble a diſintereſtedneſs, deſired them to name him to whom it of right belonged. The brethren readily told him, that there was one *Abdalominus* of the blood-royal, who was ſo poor that he kept a little kitchen-garden, and wrought in it for a ſubſiſtance, in the ſuburbs; to him by the direction of *Hepheſtion* they carried the royal robes and crown; they found him weeding, and having told him their errand, made him waſh and clean himſelf, and array him as a king. He was then conducted to *Alexander*, about whom there were many who could not help inveighing againſt the raiſing ſo mean a man to a throne. *Alexander* looked on him a little, and then turning to thoſe who were near him, ſaid, *His perſon does not at all diſgrace his birth: I would be glad to know how he bore his poverty. I would to God*, cried the new king, *I may bear my proſperity as well; theſe hands have miniſtred to my neceſſities, and as I had nothing, ſo I wanted nothing.* *Alexander* was ſo well pleaſed with this anſwer, that he gave him the palace, furniture, and private eſtate of *Strato*; nay, and added part of the adjacent country to his kingdom (22). *Diodorus*, inſtead of *Sidon*, lays the ſcene at *Tyre* after the reduction of that place; but in this he muſt be miſtaken, for the name of the firſt king of *Tyre* was not *Strato*, neither was he abſent when the city was taken; but on the contrary was himſelf taken in it, and, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, was

(22) *Curt. lib.* iv. *c.* 4.

Embaſſadors ſent from Darius, to intreat the diſcharge of his mother, wife, and children.

AMONG other places belonging to *Geroſtratus* was *Marathus*, a city on the continent, very conſiderable in reſpect of its extent, its wealth, and beauty; thither for the ſake of better accommodation, *Alexander* marched, and remained there a conſiderable time, while he debated in his council on the propereſt means for eſtabliſhing the tranquility of his new-acquired dominions, and for carrying on the war againſt *Darius*. As for that prince, after he had a little recovered his aſtoniſhment, he collected, as well as he could, the ſcattered remains of his army, and retired with them as ſpeedily as poſſible beyond the river *Euphrates*: From thence he wrote to *Alexander* at *Marathus*, and ſent alſo embaſſadors to intreat him to ſet at liberty his mother, his wife, and children. In his letter he expoſtulated pretty warmly on the injuſtice of the war commenced againſt him; he alledged, that neither he nor any of his predeceſſors had ever injured the *Macedonians*; that *Philip* had invaded them without any declaration of war; and that himſelf had proſecuted that invaſion without ſignifying what grievances he had ſuſtained, or what ſatisfaction he expected; that as to the end of the war providence would determine; but that in the interim, he who was ſtill a king requeſted of *Alexander* as a king alſo, that he would reſtore to him his mother, wife, and children; and alſo name plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. *Alexander* ſent back the embaſſadors, and with them *Therſippus*, charged with a letter to *Darius*, which ran in theſe words: "Your anceſtors, entering *Macedonia* and the reſt "of *Greece*, injured us without having received the leaſt provocation. I, as the "general of the *Greeks* have invaded *Aſia*, to vindicate them againſt their ancient ene- "mies the *Perſians*, provoked by their repeated outrages. You alſo afforded aid to the "*Perinthians*, who had groſsly injured my father, and *Ochus* ſent likewiſe an army "into *Thrace*, which is part of our dominions. My father was ſlain by traitors "ſuborned by you, as you have openly publiſhed in your letters; ſo *Arſes* being "diſpatched by *Bagoas* through your contrivance, in open defiance of the *Perſian* laws, "you have aſſumed the royal dignity. You have likewiſe entered into negotiations "in *Greece* with a view to my prejudice, remitting money to the *Lacedæmonians* "and other *Greeks*, received only by the former, and rejected by all the reſt, in order "to corrupt my allies, and to diſſolve the grand alliance into which we have entered. "I therefore have made war upon thee, becauſe by ſuch a variety of methods thou "haſt proved thyſelf my enemy. Having alſo beaten thy lieutenants heretofore, "and thyſelf lately with all thy army, I hold through the goodneſs of heaven this "country. Such of your ſoldiers as have fled to me remain with me, and ſerve "under me, not through conſtraint, but of their own free will. Come there- "fore to me, as to the lord of *Aſia*. If thou art afraid that I ſhould do any thing "harſh towards thee, ſend ſome of thy friends to me who may take my oath. "When thou art come, thy mother, thy wife, thy children, and whatever elſe "you pleaſe, aſk, they ſhall be thine. As to the reſt, when you write to me again, "remember, that you write to the king of *Aſia*; treat me no more as your equal; "but as to the lord of all you have. Signify what it is you want. If you do other- "wiſe, I ſhall conceive myſelf injured: If you diſpute my right, prepare to do it "in another general engagement; but do not fly, ſince it is to no purpoſe, for "where-ever you go, I am determined to follow you [n]". It is certain this letter is in a very high ſtrain, and one may almoſt pronounce that it is genuine by comparing the ſpirit it breathes, with that which at all times animated the words and actions of *Alexander*.

Parmenio, according to the inſtructions he had received, poſſeſſed himſelf entirely of the treaſure, equipage, baggage, and whatever elſe *Darius* had left at *Damaſcus* under

[n] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 14. DIODOR. lib. xvii. CURT. lib. iv. c. 2

was alſo left king of *Tyre* by *Alexander*. *Diodorus* calls alſo the new king *Ballonimus*. He ſays too, that he was expreſsly recommended to the king by *Hepheſtion*, as a perſon of his own knowledge (23). *Plutarch* is wholly ſilent in his life of *Alexander* on this ſubject, but elſewhere he tells us the ſtory. He tranſports us, however, to *Paphos*, where, he ſays, the former king being deprived for tyranny, *Alynomus*, a poor man, who had no poſſeſſion but his garden, was by *Alexander* raiſed to the kingdom, becauſe he was of the royal blood (24). But againſt this there is a material objection, which is, that *Alexander* never was at *Paphos*. As *Curtius* has told the ſtory, it is well enough, eſpecially as it is ſupported by *Juſtin* (25), yet not ſo well as to deſerve a place in the body of the hiſtory, ſince it is impoſſible to ſet this ſtory abſolutely free from all objections.

(23) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (24) *Orat. de Fort. Alex.* (25) *Juſtin. Hiſt. lib.* xi. c. 10.

a under the command of *Cophenes*; all which, by the expreſs direction of the king, he carried back to the ſame city, and there took an exact account of them. Amongſt other priſoners were the *Greek* embaſſadors ſent from *Sparta*, *Athens*, and *Thebes*, to negotiate with the king the raiſing of a commotion, which might oblige *Alexander* to return home. Theſe by command of the king were ſent to him as traitors; as for the two *Theban* embaſſadors, *Alexander* ſaid, as he had left them no city in *Greece*, they had ſome reaſon for what they did, and therefore *Iſmenes* being of a noble family, and *Dionyſodorus* having been victor in the *Olympic* games, he, partly out of compaſſion to their country, and partly out of reſpect to themſelves, freely ſet them at liberty. When he knew, that the *Athenian* embaſſador was *Iphicrates*, the b ſon of *Iphicrates* the famous general, he ſaid his family were under too many obligations to his father for his ſon to ſuffer any thing from his hands, and therefore not only diſmiſſed him, but treated him with great kindneſs. As for *Euthycles* the *Lacedæmonian*, he would hear nothing either in favour of him or his country, but ordered him to remain in cuſtody; but afterwards, when affairs were better ſettled, he let him too go at large. Thus *Alexander* wiſely kept terms with all the *Grecian* ſtates, though at the ſame time he prudently pretended pity and perſonal reſpect, that it might not be at all ſuſpected his moderation was tinctured with fear; though, as we ſhall hereafter hear from his own mouth, he had but a very indifferent opinion of the affection of the *Greeks*, and therefore as he truſted them little, ſo he was by no c means forward to provoke them [o].

Alexander uſes the Greek *embaſſadors to* Darius *with much moderation.*

Tyre was in the number of thoſe places, which, within a ſhort ſpace after the battle of *Iſſus*, ſent deputies to ſubmit themſelves to the conqueror; the king whoſe name was *Azelmicus* was abſent in the *Perſian* fleet; but his ſon was of the number of the deputies, and *Alexander* received him as favourably as he had done thoſe who came from *Byblus* on the ſame errand. It is poſſible, the king intended to honour *Tyre* farther, for he acquainted the citizens that he would come and ſacrifice to the *Tyrian Hercules*, the patron of their city, to whom they had erected a moſt magnificent temple. But theſe people, like moſt other trading nations, were too ſuſpicious to think of admitting ſo enterprizing a prince with his troops within their walls. They d therefore ſent their deputies to him again, to inform him, that they were ready to do whatever he ſhould command them; but as to his coming and ſacrificing in their city, they could not conſent to that, but were poſitively determined not to admit ſo much as one *Macedonian* within their gates. *Alexander* immediately diſmiſſed their deputies in great diſpleaſure. He then aſſembled a council of war, wherein he inſiſted ſtrongly on the diſaffected ſtate of *Greece*, the power of the *Perſians* at ſea, and the folly of carrying on the war in diſtant provinces, while *Tyre* was left unreduced behind them; he alſo remarked, that, if this city was once ſubdued, the ſovereignty of the ſea would be immediately transferred to them, becauſe it would fix their poſſeſſion of the coaſts; and as the *Perſian* fleet was compoſed chiefly of tributary ſquadrons, thoſe tributa- e ries would fight the battles, not of their late, but of their preſent, maſters. Theſe reaſons having perſuaded the council to concur with them, the ſiege was immediately reſolved on. It may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Alexander*, now in the current of his victories, an abſolute prince, and impetuous in his temper, ſhould condeſcend to explain himſelf ſo much at large, as to the nature and importance of his deſigns. But we are to conſider, that his army was compoſed of veteran troops, commanded by old and experienced officers; that their valour did not conſiſt in a ſhort extravagant fury but in a cool and determined reſolution; in order to engage which, there was a neceſſity that the king ſhould ſhew them not only what he would have them do, but why he conceived it fit to be done. Nor did his authority ſuffer at f all thereby; for as the *Macedonians* always held themſelves ſubjects and not ſlaves, ſo when once they were acquainted with the nature and expedience of the ſervice required from them, they were indefatigable, and never refuſed to ſhare any danger, in the execution of an undertaking they had once reſolved on [p].

The Tyrians *refuſe to admit* Alexander.

THIS city was built on an iſland ſurrounded with prodigious walls, the ſea as yet was open, and the *Tyrians* themſelves had a conſiderable fleet, whereas *Alexander* had none at all. The firſt thing he projected was an artificial iſthmus, that might unite the city to the ſhore, to which end he cauſed the ſea to be ſounded, and found

Which induces the ſiege of Tyre.

the

[o] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 15. CURT. lib. iv. c. 35. [p] DIODOR. lib. xvii. CURT. lib. iv. c. 7. ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 16.

the greateſt depth three fathoms; this encouraged him exceedingly, and he was ſtill a
the farther emboldened when he perceived that the bottom was a ſtiff clay, which
ſerved inſtead of mortar, and bound whatever was ſunk into it more effectually than
could have been done by art. The ruins of old *Tyre* furniſhed materials for the mole,
which under the inſpection of *Alexander* was carried on with amazing vigour, till
ſuch time as it approached pretty near the city; for then the *Tyrians* not only vexed
the workmen with all ſorts of miſſive weapons, but alſo ſent armed barks on each
ſide of the mole to haraſs them, ſo that *Alexander* was forced to build two large wooden
towers covered with raw hides, whereby they were defended from fire, as the work-
men were by them from the inſults of the enemy. The *Tyrians* for the deſtruction of
theſe towers contrived a fire-ſhip, and on the yards thereof, inſtead of ſails, they placed b
rows of buckets filled with ſulphureous matter, the inſide of the hulk was at the bot-
tom filled with dry twigs; over them were laid all ſorts of combuſtible matter,
the ſtern they filled with rubbiſh, that ſinking in the water it might raiſe the head
the higher. Things thus prepared, as ſoon as they had a favourable wind they
towed the hulk to ſea, and ran her upon the mole directly between the towers, and
then ſet it on fire; at ſuch time as the maſts began to burn, the weight with which their
yards were charged broke them, whereby all the buckets fell into the fire, and greatly
increaſed its fury, ſo that not only the towers, but all the materials that were on the
mole, were totally conſumed. *Alexander* was not at all diſcouraged; on the contrary,
he laid the foundation of a new mole broader than the former, and conſequently c
capable of holding more towers; ordered new engines to be made, and began to
concert meaſures for procuring a fleet, without which he ſaw clearly that all his en-
deavours would be in vain [r].

The tributary princes join Alexander's fleet with their ſquadrons.

It happened very happily for *Alexander*, that the moderation of his former con-
duct fully provided him for his preſent and future deſigns, for *Geroſtratus* king of
Arados, *Enylus* king of *Byblus*, moſt of the *Cyprian* princes, as alſo the *Sidonian*
ſquadron, in all an hundred and twenty ſail arrived at *Sidon*, and offered him their
ſervice; the ill fate of the *Perſians* at *Iſſus* having diſcharged them their ſervice, and
Alexander's generous behaviour towards their ſubjects having attached them to his.
To the ſame city came *Cleander* with a ſupply of four thouſand freſh troops from d
Greece, and ſoon after a fleet from thence, ſo that after a ſhort excurſion into the
neighbourhood of *Antilibanus*, he came again before *Tyre*, with a new army and a fleet
of upwards of two hundred ſail. *Andromachus*, captain of the *Cyprian* navy, had the
command on the left ſide, and *Alexander* himſelf commanded the blockade on the
other. The citizens ſtill made a deſperate defence, and omitted nothing, which either
art could deviſe, or valour execute, for the preſerving of the place. At laſt ſeeing
themſelves reduced to ſuch great ſtreights, they reſolved to attack the *Cyprian* ſqua-
dron poſted at the mouth of the haven, which looks towards *Sidon*, and having be-
fore that time ſpread ſails acroſs the mouth of the haven, that their ſhips, filled
with ſoldiers, might not be diſcovered by the enemy; about noon (at which time e
the *Macedonian* ſoldiers were uſually buſied about their private affairs, and *Alexander*
had retired from his fleet to his pavilion on the other ſide of the city) with five choice
Quinqueremes, as many *Quadriremes*, and ſeven *Triremes*, filled with expert rowers
and reſolute ſoldiers, well armed for fight and inured to the ſea, rowed out ſlowly
and ſilently one by one againſt the enemy. But when they advanced within ſight of
the *Cyprians*, encouraging each other with a great ſhout and claſhing of their oars,
they attacked their fleet. But it happened that day, that *Alexander* having retired as
uſual to his pavilion, tarried there but a ſhort time, and returned to his fleet. The
Tyrians aſſaulted the enemies ſhips all on a ſudden, when ſome were entirely empty,
and others by reaſon of the noiſe and violence of the attack were ſurprized, un- f
prepared for reſiſtance, *Pnytagoras*'s *Quinquereme* was ſunk at the firſt onſet with
another commanded by *Androcles* the *Amathuſian* and *Paſicrates* the *Thurian*: Others
were forced on ſhore and beat to pieces. *Alexander*, hearing of this excurſion of the
Tyrian Triremes, immediately ordered as many ſhips as he could ſpare and were well
armed, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby hinder the reſt of the *Tyrian*
fleet from coming forth. He then with the *Quinqueremes*, which he had ready, and
five *Triremes* well prepared, ſailing round the city, haſted to attack the *Tyrians*.
The beſieged ſeeing this from the wall, and perceiving *Alexander* himſelf there,
endeavoured

[r] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 19.

a endeavoured by loud cries to recal their men who were on board; and when their cries, by reaſon of the tumult, could not be heard, they made ſeveral ſignals for them to return, becauſe the enemy was at hand. But finding too late that *Alexander* was upon them, they turned their ſails and haſted to the haven, yet few of them could ſave themſelves by flight; for *Alexander*'s ſhips falling in ſuddenly among them, rendered ſome unfit for ſailing, and one *Quinquereme* and a *Quadrireme* were taken at the very entrance of the port. The ſlaughter of the *Tyrians* was not great, becauſe, as ſoon as they perceived it impoſſible to ſave their ſhips, they eſcaped into the harbour by ſwimming. The *Macedonians*, now knowing that the *Tyrian* fleet would be unſerviceable, moved their engines up to the walls. Thoſe which advanced
b on the ſide towards the rampart did no execution by reaſon of the firmneſs of the wall there; others moved ſome hulks with engines to that quarter of the city which looks toward *Sidon*. But when they found their endeavours there fruitleſs, ſailing along the whole ſouth part of the wall towards *Egypt*, they tried to batter it every-where: And there indeed by the violence of their attacks, it was at firſt ſhaken, and afterwards beat down, and demoliſhed. Whereupon they immediately mounted the breach by the help of their ladders, and began to ſtorm the place: But the *Tyrians*, without any great difficulty, repulſed them. Three days after this there happening a ſtark calm, *Alexander* reſolved to make uſe of that opportunity to ſtorm the city; to this end he gave all the neceſſary directions. Firſt he ordered a line
c of hulks, on board of which his battering engines were placed, to be towed as cloſe as poſſible to the walls, and there brought to an anchor; the engines were immediately brought to play upon the walls, and in a very ſhort ſpace made a tolerable breach. Then the firſt line of hulks weighed and ſtood to ſea, or rather were towed off, and a ſecond line having ſcaling ladders on board took their place; a detachment of light-armed troops under the command of *Admetus* was aſſigned for the attack on one ſide, another corps of auxiliary foot conducted by *Cœnus* was to attack on the other ſide. *Alexander* himſelf at the head of a greater force was preſent, ready to ſuſtain both. As the king took all this pains that the aſſault might be performed with vigour, ſo he was no leſs careful to provide that the
d enemy might not make as vigorous a defence; with this view he gave orders for ſeveral falſe attacks, and alſo commanded that a ſquadron of armed veſſels ſhould ſail continually round the city, threatening now one part of it, then another, and actually attacking any part where they found it feaſible, which ſo well anſwered his end, that the *Tyrians*, every-where diſtracted, divided their forces, and knew not where to make their utmoſt efforts. However, they fought very gallantly againſt *Admetus* and his *Macedonians*, who firſt mounted the walls; that valiant officer being killed, as ſoon almoſt as he had ſet foot on the wall, by a ſpear; but *Alexander*, with freſh forces coming to the ſupport of thoſe who had firſt taken poſt on the wall, quickly drove the *Tyrians* from thence, and purſued them to the royal palace. In
e the interim *Alexander*'s fleet broke into the haven on one ſide, and began to burn and ſink the ſhips that were there: On the other, the *Cyprians* forced the haven, which they had hitherto blocked up, and, fluſhed with ſucceſs, attacked and entered the city on that ſide. The *Tyrians*, ſeeing it would be to no purpoſe longer to defend their walls, retired in a body to a ſtrong part of the palace, which they hoped yet to hold out; but *Alexander* following them, fell upon them there with ſuch fury, that they were unable to reſiſt, ſo that, after great effuſion of blood, they betook themſelves to flight, and ſought a ſhelter in different parts of the city. A great ſlaughter alſo happened at the haven, where *Cœnus* and his forces entered the city; for the *Macedonians* were vehemently enraged at the citizens, partly for holding out
f the place ſo long, and partly becauſe they having ſeized ſome of their men ſailing from *Sidon*, firſt hoiſted them up aloft upon their walls in ſight of their friends, and afterwards ſtabbed them and threw their bodies into the ſea. About eight thouſand *Tyrians* were ſlain. Of the *Macedonians*, beſides *Admetus*, who firſt entered the breach and took poſſeſſion of the wall, about twenty targeteers fell in that aſſault, and during the whole ſiege about four hundred. They who had fled to the temple of *Hercules* (being ſome of the chief *Tyrian* nobility, beſides king *Azelmicus*, and ſome *Carthaginian* prieſts, who according to ancient cuſtom were ſent to their mother city to offer ſacrifice to *Hercules*) had the benefit of a free pardon. The reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, including ſtrangers, were ſold for ſlaves. *Alexander* after this offered ſacrifice to *Hercules*, at which his whole army aſſiſted; the navy alſo

alſo performed a part in the ſolemnity. He moreover appointed *Gymnic* ſports a in *Hercules*'s temple, which was then finely illuminated. The engine wherewith the wall was demoliſhed he placed there, as an eternal monument of his victory. And the *Tyrian* ſhip conſecrated to *Hercules*, which he had taken in a ſea-fight, he cauſed to be hung up there [a] (L).

Alexander reſettles Tyre.

THE uſage the *Tyrians* received was certainly very ſevere, and ſeemed very little reconcileable either to the politeneſs of a *Grecian* prince, or to that grandeur of ſoul which *Alexander* affected upon other occaſions. However, as he was a prince of great parts and learning, he knew how to find out very plauſible excuſes for the worſt things he did; and in regard to the fact before us, beſides the cruelties which they had done to the *Macedonians*, which were revenged by the execution of ſuch mul- b titudes, he alledged, that the ſelling them for ſlaves was an act of natural juſtice, the anceſtors of theſe *Tyrians* being no other than ſlaves, who, entering among themſelves into a conſpiracy, ſlew all their maſters in one night, then took their wives and became lords of the city, excepting only one *Strato*, who was preſerved by the fidelity of his ſlave; his family *Alexander* alſo preſerved, though *Azelmicus* king of *Tyre* was deſcended therefrom. To him therefore, as if his quarrel had been with the people, he left the ſovereignty without diminution, and took great pains by draughts from other places to reſtore the city, and reſettle its principality. Thus *Alexander* gratified his reſentment againſt the *Tyrians*, by deſtroying their city, and ſelling them for ſlaves; and when he had ſo done, he raiſed a high reputation of c clemency by his generoſity towards the king, and the care he took of rebuilding the city [b].

He rejects the propoſitions made by Darius

WHILE he was employed in this long ſiege, embaſſadors came again from *Darius* with theſe propoſals: That he would pay ten thouſand talents of ſilver for the ranſom of his mother, wife, and children; that he would reſign to him all the countries between the *Helleſpont* and the river *Euphrates*; that he would conſent to the marriage of his daughter, and, forgetting all that was paſt, would acknowledge him for

[a] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 24. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi. c. 10. CURT. lib. iv. [b] JUSTIN. lib. xviii. c. 3.

(L) The taking of *Tyre* was foreſhewn by a multitude of omens, if any credit is to be given to the hiſtorians who have recorded them; we have reſerved them for a note, that they might not preplex the hiſtory; we ſhall mention only ſuch as are moſt remarkable, that we may not tire the reader; and we ſhall leave him to make what judgment of them he pleaſes, without pretending to regulate his ſentiments by our own. *Arrian* aſſures us, that the very night after *Alexander* had taken the reſolution of beſieging the place, he had a dream or viſion, wherein he ſeemed to be ſcaling the walls of *Tyre*, in which he was aſſiſted by *Hercules*, who gave him his hand to raiſe him up. *Ariſtander* explained this to be an infallible ſign of the taking the city, but he declared, that it was a ſign likewiſe the ſiege would prove an *Herculean* labour (26). *Plutarch* ſays, that there is a well in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, which the inhabitants ſhewed, affirming, that *Alexander* ſlept near it when the place was firſt beſieged, and that ſleeping there he dreamed, that a ſatyr came and mocked him; that he ran after him a long time in vain; but that, at laſt and with much ado, he got hold of him. The diviners gave him an eaſy and elegant explanation of this viſion; for dividing the *Greek* word *Satyros*; they ſhewed its ſignification to be, *Thine is Tyre* (27). In the city a man ſaw in a dream *Apollo* flying away; when he reported this before the people, they would have ſtoned him, ſuppoſing that he did it to intimidate them; on which the poor man was forced to fly to the temple of *Hercules*, but the magiſtrates having better conſidered it, fixed one end of a gold chain to the ſtatue of *Apollo*, and the other to the altar of *Hercules*. A ſtrange expedient this, and a pregnant inſtance of epidemic madneſs and ſuperſtition; however, when *Alexander* took the place, he ſet *Apollo* at liberty, and ordered him to be ſtiled *Philalexandrus*, that is, *a lover of Alexander* (28). *Diodorus* is very particular in the account he gives of all the methods practiſed by *Alexander*'s engineers, and thoſe of the town. It is too long to tranſcribe, but may be read by thoſe who are ſkilled in ſuch matters to very good purpoſe, as well as *Arrian*'s accurate detail of the ſame ſiege; for it is certain, that the *Tyrians* did as much to defend themſelves, as the wit or courage of man at that time would allow; neither was it altogether in vain, ſince it coſt *Alexander* ſeveral months, and put all the force he had to the utmoſt ſtretch before they were reduced. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Ariſtander*, having, from the intrails of a ſacrifice offered at the beginning of the ſeventh month, predicted, that it would be taken therein, the ſoldiers, when the general ſtorm was protracted to the very laſt day of that month, began to deride him; but *Alexander*, to ſave the prophet's credit, ordered it to be called the twenty-eighth day of the month, inſtead of the thirtieth, which, however, was needleſs, for the place was taken the ſame day (29). *Curtius*'s account of the ſiege ſwells with miraculous mounts, and wonderful triumphs over the ſea. He exhauſts whole provinces for timber, and makes free with mount *Libanus*, though *Alexander* never went near it (30). It is certain, that *Alexander* did great things here, but *Nebuchadnezzar* had done as much before when he took the ſame place (31).

(26) *Arrian. lib.* ii. (27) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (28) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.* (29) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (30) *Curt. lib.* iv. (31) *Ezech.* xxi. 11.

for his friend and confederate. When theſe terms came to be explained to the *Ma-*
a *cedonian* council, *Parmenio*, who always ſpoke very freely, delivered it as his ſen-
timents, that when the ends of the war were gained, it was unreaſonable to abide its
hazard; adding, *If I was* Alexander, *I would accept theſe conditions*. To which the
king replied, *So would I, if I was* Parmenio. However, in his own name, he an-
ſwered the embaſſadors, *That he did not want* Darius's *money: That he would not accept*
of a part of his empire except the whole: That he would take from him by force his
country, his palaces, and treaſure: That he would marry his daughter, if he pleaſed,
without his conſent; *but if* Darius *had a mind to try his humanity, he might come to*
him if he thought fit. This anſwer, how much ſoever it may have of the hero, had
certainly not much of the politician. Had he accepted theſe propoſitions, he would
b have become the peaceable poſſeſſor of an extenſive, rich, and powerful empire,
and might have retained his hereditary kingdom of *Macedonia* and his authority
over the *Greeks*, and in that condition have tranſmitted it to his poſterity. But his
boundleſs ambition hurried him on to a wild purſuit of conqueſts without end, as
if all the nations of the earth had been created to pay him obedience, or to be made
examples of his vengeance. *Parmenio* ſpoke the language of *Philip*, who could cer-
tainly have taken his advice on the ſame occaſion, or rather would not have needed
it[u].

Tyre thus ſubdued, *Alexander*, notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon of the year, *He marches to*
reſolved to make an expedition into *Syria*, and in his way thither propoſed to chaſtiſe Jeruſalem, *and*
c the *Jews*, who had highly offended him during the ſiege of *Tyre*; for when he ſent *treats the high-*
to demand of them proviſions for the ſubſiſtance of his ſoldiers, they anſwered, *prieſt reſpect-*
fully.
that they were the ſubjects of *Darius*, bound by oath not to ſupply his enemies.
When theſe people knew of the king's march towards them, they were under the
greateſt terror, and, as their laſt reſource, had recourſe to ſolemn acts of devotion, to
prayers, proceſſions, and particular faſts, till at length God was pleaſed to anſwer
their petitions, by commanding *Jaddua* the *High-Prieſt* in a viſion to array himſelf
in his pontifical habit, to direct the prieſts to put on their proper garments, and,
with the people clothed in white, to advance in ſlow and ſolemn order to meet the
Grecian prince. *Jaddua* and the reſt did as they were commanded, and iſſuing out of
d the gates of *Jeruſalem*, advanced as far as *Sapha*, an eminence at a ſmall diſtance
from the city, from whence as ſoon as they diſcerned *Alexander*'s approach, they
went to meet him. The king, when the high-prieſt drew near, haſted towards
him, bowed himſelf before him, and ſaluted him with religious veneration. This
ſcene, which amazed the *Macedonians*, ſtruck the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, not only
with ſurprize, but with ſorrow and diſcontent, for out of mere hatred to the *Jews* they
had taken part in this expedition. *Parmenio* being near him took the liberty of
aſking the king, Why he adored the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt? To whom the king
readily anſwered, He did not adore the prieſt, but God, whoſe miniſter he was.
e For when he was at *Dium* in *Macedonia*, and much troubled in his mind about the
preparations neceſſary for his paſſing into *Aſia*, he had a dream, wherein he ſaw
this very perſon in his pontifical habit, who commanded him to lay aſide his doubts
and fears, and paſs himſelf boldly into *Aſia*, for that God would be his guide and give
him the empire of the *Perſians*. On ſeeing therefore this perſon, he was convinced,
that what he did was by the expeſs aſſiſtance of the deity, who he alſo doubted not
would protect him in all his future expeditions; wherefore, in gratitude for former
victories and to teſtify his truſt in the divine power, he had humbled himſelf before
the prieſt. He afterwards accompanied *Jaddua* to *Jeruſalem*, which he entered in a
friendly manner, and offered ſacrifices in the temple; the high-prieſt ſhewed him
f alſo the prophecies of *Daniel*, wherein the deſtruction of the *Perſian* empire by him-
ſelf is ſet forth, not in dark obſcure terms, in equivocal or unintelligible verſes,
but graphically, as if the prophet had ſeen the whole tranſaction, and every cir-
cumſtance attending it; whence it came to paſs that the king went away extremely
well ſatisfied, and at his departure aſked, if there was nothing in which he might gratify
himſelf or his people. *Jaddua* then told him, that, according to the *Moſaic* law,
they neither ſowed nor ploughed on the ſeventh year, therefore would eſteem it a
high favour, if the king would be pleaſed to remit their tribute in that year. To
this requeſt the king readily yielded, and having confirmed them in the enjoyment

cf

[u] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 25. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. iv.

of all their privileges, particularly that of living under and according to their own laws, he then departed. In his march, the *Samaritans*, who, on the refusal of the *Jews*, had furnished him with provisions before *Tyre*, applied themselves to him, in hopes of receiving from him still greater matters than the *Jews* had done; but though *Alexander* received them civilly, and afforded a patient hearing of their request, yet he dismissed them with an unavailing answer, *viz.* That he had now many great affairs upon his hand, but that, when he should return from his *Egyptian* expedition, he would examine into, and, provided they were reasonable, comply with, their demands. Having thus removed all difficulties so far, he advanced towards *Gaza*, the only place in this part of the world, which was still held for *Darius*[w].

Gaza besieged, and after two months taken.

Gaza was a very large and strong city, seated about five miles from the sea-shore on a high hill, surrounded with strong walls. One *Batis* or *Betis*, an eunuch, had the government thereof committed to him by *Darius*, who, foreseeing what would come to pass, took care to provide all things necessary for a long and obstinate defence, causing all the fortifications to be repaired, magazines to be well furnished, and fearing his garison might be too small, he hired certain *Arabian* troops to serve in the place. All this did he, knowing of what importance *Gaza* was to his master, standing as it did in the entrance to *Egypt*, and being at the same a bridle to *Palestine*. When *Alexander* summoned him, *Betis* returned a resolute answer, that he would defend it as long as he was able. Many of the king's council looking on the place as impregnable, dissuaded him from meddling with it; but he was not easily diverted from any thing he had once resolved on; *Gaza* therefore was instantly invested, and where he thought the walls were weakest, he caused a mount to be thrown up, and from thence brought his engines to play upon the city. At the beginning of this siege a very extraordinary accident happened: The king being about to sacrifice and having a crown of gold on his head, a bird of prey hovering some time over him, let fall at last a stone from between his claws upon his head, and soon after flying to the engines was there taken, his feet being entangled in the nets, which covered the ropes wherewith they were wrought. Upon this *Aristander* was immediately consulted, and his answer was, that the city would certainly be taken; but at the same time he cautioned the king not to be so adventurous as he was wont, because some great danger was threatened to himself. The king accepted this advice very kindly, and did not expose himself for some time; but one day, when the *Arabians* made a furious sally and set fire to his engines, and had well-nigh driven the troops from the mount, he forgot the caution he had received, and advancing with a body of targeteers regained the post which had been lost, and drove the enemy into the place. But in the heat of the engagement he was wounded by an arrow, which piercing his shield and breast-plate lodged in his shoulder. Far from being concerned at this accident, he expressed no small satisfaction therein, for one part of the prediction being fulfilled, he questioned not but the other would come to pass. As soon as the great engines he had made use of at *Tyre* arrived by sea, he carried his works quite round the city, and battered the wall in several places at once. In the mean time, where the battering engines were not at work, he employed miners, who working secretly under the foundation of the walls, they suddenly fell down, to the great surprize of the citizens. When through these several methods a breach was practicable, three several attacks were made by the *Macedonians* with great resolution, in which notwithstanding they were repulsed with great effusion of blood. In the fourth the citizens had not such fortune, for the place was taken by storm, and they valiantly fighting were slain to a man[x]. *Arrian* says nothing of *Betis* the governor, neither doth *Diodorus*. *Plutarch* also is silent, and so is *Justin*[y]; but *Curtius* tells us a very strange story, and has had the good luck to be believed. He says that he was brought to the king half dead with wounds, to whom *Alexander* addressed himself in these words: *Thou shalt not*, Betis, *die, as thou fancyest, in an honourable way, but shalt feel in captivity all the torments that can be devised for thee.* To which the valiant eunuch gave no reply, but looked on the conqueror with a contemptuous smile. *What*, said Alexander, *dost thou neither speak, kneel, nor intreat? I will find a way to vanquish thy silence, and force thee at least to groan.* Having said this, he in a rage commanded his heels to be bored, and putting cords through them, bound him to his

[w] JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. lib. xi. [x] ARRIAN. lib. ii. cap. ult. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi.

his chariot, dragging him round the city till he died, boasting that in this he imi-
a tated *Achilles*, who dragged the body of *Hector* in the same manner[a]. *Arrian* in-
deed tells us, that he sold the wives and children of the citizens for slaves; which is
consistent enough with his practice upon other occasions; and one would think, that
if *Bætis* had been put to death in this manner, it could not have escaped the know-
ledge of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, from whose memoirs *Arrian* collected his history.
These obstacles removed and a garison left in *Gaza*, there was nothing now to hin-
der his so earnestly desired expedition into *Egypt* (M).

The state of Egypt at that time.

As soon as his soldiers had refreshed themselves, and he had received a body of recruits from *Greece*, *Alexander* marched from *Gaza*, and, in the space of seven days,
b reached *Pelusium*. Here he found no resistance; for *Mazaces* the *Persian* governor was able to make none[b]. He was dispirited with the continual misfortunes which had befallen his master's arms; he had a very indifferent army, and, which was still worse, he had the hearts of the most numerous nation in the world against him. It will afford much help to the subsequent narration, and yet take up very little room, to set this matter in a proper light. Most of the provinces of the *Persian* empire shewed a great deal of loyalty to *Darius*; but *Egypt*, as it had never been faithful to any of his predecessors, so it was now very impatient of throwing off his yoke, without regarding what other yoke it put on. The chief reason of this was the great diversity between the religion of the *Persians* and that of the *Egyptians*.
c Not only *Cambyses*, who was a tyrant, but *Ochus*, who was a voluptuous prince, had slain their consecrated *Apis*, and profaned the most sacred rites of their religion. The *Persian* governors and their under-officers ran all into the same humour; and thus the whole body of the people were exasperated in the highest degree against the government they should have defended, from principles, which, of all others, make men the most furious, *viz.* those of religion. The *Egyptians* had but a little before shewn the excess of their rancour, by joining with *Amyntas*, who, with four thousand mercenaries, fled hither from the battle of *Issus*, and thought to have set up for himself; in which the *Egyptians* furthered him all they could[c]. *Mazaces* therefore, reflecting on all these things and terrified perhaps with the examples of
d *Tyre* and *Gaza*, determined to admit *Alexander* peaceably. The king having entered so easily, sailed up the *Nile*, after leaving a garison in *Pelusium*, and when he was come to a convenient height, he landed, and leaving the river on his right hand, marched through the deserts to *Heliopolis*, then, crossing the river, he came to *Memphis*, where he offered pompous sacrifices, not only to the *Grecian* gods, but also to the *Egyptian Apis*. He likewise celebrated magnificent games, whereat assisted the most famous champions in *Greece*. From *Memphis* he sailed down the river to the sea; having passed round the city *Canopus*, he fixed on the place where the village of *Scandria* or *Alexandretta* now stands, as a convenient situation for a fine port and magnificent city. *Alexander* himself directed where every public structure should
e be erected. He also fixed the number of temples, the deities to whom they should be dedicated, and assigned particularly a large and eminent site for a temple to the *Egyptian Isis*. There was nothing now wanting but to trace, according to the custom

[a] Curt. l. iv. c. 26. [b] Diodor. l. xvii. Curt. ubi supra. [c] Arrian. l. iii. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. l. iv. c. 27.

(M) If *Darius* had always chosen such governors as this *Bætis*, *Alexander*, with all the power of *Greece*, would not have triumphed so easily; for tho' this siege lasted but two months, yet it cost him such a number of men, that he sent *Amyntas* into *Macedonia* for recruits, and took pains to increase his army while it was in *Egypt*. *Curtius* has a very strange story in his account of this siege, and is singular in it; for there is not a word mentioned of any such thing elsewhere, if we except one legendary writer, whose credit is scarce on a par with his own. The story is this; An *Arabian* soldier, pretending to desert, came to *Alexander* and fell at his feet. The king put out his hand to raise him up, ordering that he should be kindly received; but as he arose, he, with a sword that was concealed under his shield, struck at the king's throat. *Alexander* avoided the blow by a gentle inclination of his body, and immediately after cut off the villain's head with his own sword (32). It was *Neoptolemus*, a near relation of *Alexander* by the mother's side, who first mounted the walls of *Gaza*. *Plutarch* does not tell us any thing of the number of the slain. *Curtius* says, there fell of the citizens ten thousand. Another author reduces this to six thousand (33). As to the *Macedonians*, we know nothing of their loss at all; and indeed, whenevet we have any accounts of their losses, they are set so very low, that it is difficult to give credit to them; especially when, as in the present case, there are concurring circumstances, which amount to a proof, that their losses must have been very great.

(32) *Curt. l.* iv. (33) *Hegesias Magnes.*

cuſtom of thoſe times, the walls of the city; for doing this they had no materials at hand, this project of building a city being ſudden; however, a workman adviſed the king to collect what meal there was among the ſoldiers, and to ſift it in lines upon the ground, whereby the circuit of the walls would be well enough marked out. *Alexander* followed this advice, which anſwered very well; and *Ariſtander* having conſidered it attentively, told the king, that it was an omen of the new city's abounding with all the neceſſaries of life [c]. Some ſay, that the bounds were no ſooner marked out, than great numbers of birds came and pecked up the meal, and then flew away; which when the reſt of the *ſoothſayers* held for an ill omen, *Ariſtander* alone held it to be a good one, affirming its meaning to be, that the city built in that place ſhould become ſo populous as to ſend out colonies, as they had ſeen birds feed and riſe from it [d]. He was certainly an excellent ſervant to his maſter; for he was never at a loſs either for expedients or expoſitions, and perhaps digreſſed as little from the rules of his art as any of his cotemporaries. Certain it is, that *Alexander* paid great deference to his deciſions; for that prince affected all things which tended to render him popular. At this time he was eſpecially careful to gain the affections of the *Egyptians*, which he did to ſuch a degree, that they were ready to adore him; for till proſperity rendered his pride too powerful for his reaſon, never any prince acted ſo ſteadily on the maxims of philoſophic policy as he. We never find him graſping treaſure, in order to gratify either a covetous or extravagant diſpoſition. The richeſt ſpoils he gave to his friends; the moſt curious he ſent home to his mother and the *Macedonian* ladies; little he reſerved to himſelf. In point of women he was irreproachable, and for thoſe vices which ſo foully tarniſh the virtue of the *Greeks*, they ſerved only as a foil to him; ſo ſignal was his abhorrence of them. As to government, he was truly a friend to liberty, reſtored it where-ever he came, and ſhewed it as a wonder to thoſe who had no idea of it before. It is true, that with all this he required ſubmiſſion to himſelf; but it was a ſubmiſſion no way inconſiſtent with liberty, but that civil reſpect which is always due to a great captain in war, and a juſt and temperate ruler in peace. The reader may expect ſome reaſon for inſerting this character here; and we ſhall give it in few words: *Alexander* had been hitherto what we repreſent him; we are now going to ſhew him in quite another light, intoxicated with vanity, and fooliſhly ſeeking to cover the foibles which diſgraced him as a man, by pretending to be more than man, as painters uſe flowing robes and magnificent drapery to conceal defects of ſhape. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that, from this period, he did nothing that was virtuous or praiſe-worthy; all that we mean is, that as hitherto he had acted with ſuch prudence as to commit very few, and thoſe trivial miſtakes, ſo henceforward he loſt that moderation and magnanimity, which had made him ſo much loved and revered, and by attempting to exchange reſpect for adoration, and to extort a blind ſubmiſſion inſtead of a chearful and a rational obedience, he, in a great meaſure, extinguiſhed the luſtre of his former glory, and that authority derived therefrom, owing that affection and regard which the *Macedonians* ſtill retained for him, to the memory of his former conduct, and to thoſe intervals of humanity, in which he laid aſide the ridiculous notion of his being allied to the divinity. But it is time to proceed to the ſource of theſe diſorders (N).

AT

[c] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 1, 2. [d] CURT. l. iv. c. 32. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

(N) We follow the authority of *Arrian* in placing *Alexander*'s directing the building of the city honoured with his name before he went to viſit the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*; *Diodorus* and other authors placing it afterwards, alledging that it ſo happened. The laſt-mentioned hiſtorian ſays, that it was ſeated very commodiouſly by the haven of *Pharos*; that the ſtreets were wiſely contrived, ſo as to admit the cooling breezes, which mightily refreſhed the air. In point of ſtrength, he ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, ſo as to have the ſea cloſe on one ſide, and a great lake on the other, and a narrow paſs at each end. Its form reſembled that of a ſoldier's coat. One large beautiful ſtreet paſſed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after-times ſo rich and famous, that our author tells us, in his time there were on its rolls three hundred thouſand freemen. *Plutarch* affirms, that he was directed to the choice of this ſituation by *Horus* in a viſion; and, according to his account of the matter, a more pleaſant, or more convenient place, could not have been choſen (34). *Alexander* himſelf was a prince of great taſte; he looked upon works of this kind as the nobleſt monuments, and therefore ſpared neither pains nor coſt in completing them. The architect he employed here was the celebrated *Dinocrates*, who had raiſed himſelf an immortal reputation by rebuilding the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*; to him he conſigned the care of this work, which did the higheſt honour in ſucceeding times to its founder and his architect (35).

(34) *Diodor. ubi ſupra.* (35) *Plin. l. c.* 10. *Ammian. Marcel. l.* xxii. *c.* 16. *Strab. l.* xvii. *p.* 590.

At this time *Alexander* formed his extraordinary design of visiting the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. As to the motives which induced him thereto, *Arrian* tells us, that they were chiefly founded in imitation of *Perseus* and *Hercules*, the former of whom had consulted that oracle, when he was dispatched against the *Gorgons*; and the latter twice, *viz.* when he went into *Lybia* against *Antæus*, and when he passed into *Egypt* against *Busiris*. Now, as these heroes, *viz. Perseus* and *Hercules*, gave themselves out to be the sons of the *Grecian Jupiter*, so the *Macedonian* prince had a mind to take for his father *Jupiter Hammon*[a]. *Maximus Tyrius* informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the *Nile*[f]. *Diodorus* tells us in few words, that he went to consult the oracle[g]. *Plutarch* is as concise[h]. *Justin* assigns a very singular reason; he says there had been always great jealousies about *Alexander*'s birth; b that *Philip* was never thoroughly convinced of his being his son; that a little before his death, he had openly declared, that he was satisfied he was not; that *Olympias* herself had confessed as much, pretending, that she conceived him by a monstrous dragon. To silence all these reports, to clear up his mother's character, and to get himself the reputation of being the son of a god, were his motives, if we may believe this author[i]. Whatever they were, certain it is, that he hazarded himself and his troops in the highest degree, there being two dangers in this march; which, with the example of *Cambyses*, who lost the greatest part of his army in it, might have terrified any body but *Alexander*. The first was the want of water, which, in c the sandy deserts surrounded the temple, is no-where found; the other, the uncertainty of the road from the fluctuation of the sands, which, changing their situation every moment, leave the traveller neither track to march in, nor mark to march by. From these impending mischiefs, all authors agree, that *Alexander* was miraculously delivered, for when the water brought on the camels backs was spent, there fell a prodigious shower of rain, wherewith they filled all their vessels; and when their guides could no longer distinguish the road, they were directed by supernatural harbingers; tho' as to them authors do not agree. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* affirmed they were two monstrous dragons, which went with a mighty noise before them, *Alexander* giving strict orders to his officers to follow these leaders. But *Aristobulus*, d with whom the current of historians go, asserts, that they were led by crows, who, as often as they deviated from the way, by their croaking and fluttering before them, set them right. These are certainly strange stories, yet there is all imaginable authority for them, which made so strong an impression on *Arrian*, that he gives us his judgment of the matter in these words: *I am fully convinced, that* Alexander *was conducted by some divine power, from the testimony of all who speak of his journey, notwithstanding the diversity of sentiments among these authors hath greatly obscured the truth of this story*[k].

Alexander *visits the temple of* Jupiter Hammon.

This arduous march once over, *Alexander* arrived at the temple of *Hammon*, *Where he con-* seated in the midst of a barren thirsty waste, in a narrow spot of ground, the utmost *sults the ora-* e extent of which exceeds not forty furlongs, curiously planted with olive-trees and *cle.* palm-trees, and watered with dews, which fall no-where else in all that country. A fountain also has its rise here, different in it natures and properties from all the fountains upon earth; for at mid-day it is cool to the taste, but to the touch intensely cold; towards evening it begins to be warm, which warmth increases by degrees from thence till midnight; after midnight it waxes cool by little and little; in the morning it is chilly, at noon excessive cold; and it receives all those various alterations regularly every day. This country naturally produces a kind of fossile salt, which being put into little boxes of palm-tree, some of the priests of *Hammon* carry into *Egypt*, and bestow on the king, or some great men, as a present. It is dug out f of the earth in large oblong pieces, some above three fingers in length, transparent like chrystal. This kind of salt the *Egyptians* and other nations, who are curious in their worship, use in their sacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from sea-water. *Arrian* tells us, that *Alexander* himself consulted the oracle, and was well satisfied with its answer; but as to what he consulted it upon, or what the answer was that he received, that author is silent. *Strabo* concurs with him, asserting, that the king entered in his royal robes, consulted the oracle, and received its answer, none being let into the secret. *Diodorus* distinguishes three things which passed at this meeting[l]. *First*, the *salutation* of the *priest*, whereby *Alexander* was acknowledged

[a] Arrian. l. iii. c. 3. [f] Serm. xxv. [g] Diodor. l. xvii. [h] In vit. Alex. [i] Justin. l. xi. c. 11. [k] Arrian. l. iii. c. 3. Diodor. l. xvii. Curt. l. iv. [l] Arrian. l. iii. c. 4.

ledged for the son of *Jupiter Hammon*. The *second*, a promise to the king, that he a should subdue the whole world. The *third*, an assurance that he had fully punished the murderers of *Philip* [m]. *Plutarch*'s account corresponds pretty well with this, and he tells us besides, that *Alexander*, highly pleased with what had passed, made mighty presents to the priests. He likewise acquaints us, that some were of opinion *Alexander*'s title to divinity was founded in a blunder of the high-priest, who being desirous to salute him in *Greek* with these words, *my son*, instead of *paidion*, pronounced *paidios*, which the *Greek* flatterers understood *pai dios*, i. e. *son of* Jupiter. The same author adds, that *Alexander*, in a letter to his mother *Olympias*, told her, he had received some secret answer from the *god*, which he would reveal to her at his b return [n]. But *Olympias*, who was a woman of spirit and sense, was so little pleased with the king's propagating these vain stories, that she sent to desire him to forbear embroiling her with *Juno*. As to *Alexander*'s return there is also a good deal of uncertainty, *Aristobulus* affirming, he came back the same way he went; and *Ptolemy* asserting, that he returned a nearer, which brought him directly to *Memphis*.

He settles the government of Egypt.

Alexander, on his return to *Memphis*, received there embassadors with congratulations from most of the states of *Greece*, as also recruits both of horse and foot; all which was very acceptable to him, as he testified by his kind reception of every body, by his making great feasts, and exhibiting pompous shews. These solemnities over, he began to think of settling the province, and of returning to the pro- c secution of the war. As he intended the *Egyptians* should live under their own laws, he made choice of *Doloaspis* and *Petisis*, eminent *Egyptians*, to be joint presidents of the province; but *Petisis* desiring to be excused from such a burden, *Doloaspis* was made sole president. Into all the places of strength, however, he put garrisons, and those garisons were under the command of such officers as he thought he could confide in. Thus *Memphis* was committed to the care of *Pantaleon*, *Pelusium* to *Polemon*; the troops were under *Lycidas*, that is, the foreign troops; for as to the rest, they were commanded by *Peucestas* and *Balacrus*. The fleet had for its admiral another *Polemon*. Thus he established several independent commanders in *Egypt*; a policy imitated by the *Romans*: For considering the nature of the people, d the situation of the strong places, and the vast consequence of the province, it was thought too great a charge to be committed to a single person, or to be trusted in the hands of men of high quality, it being always held a mark of superior policy to prevent insurrections, rather than be obliged, with the hazard of war, to quell them. *Alexander*, as we have shewn, was not only aware of this, but in his conduct set an example to others. These regulations took up a good deal of time; so that the winter was spun out before all things were compleated; and then *Alexander* made the necessary dispositions for marching with his army into *Phœnicia*, that he might open the campaign in good time [o].

Samaritans *punished.*

Tyre was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the forces, and thither e *Alexander* with all convenient speed shaped his march. In the way he received an account of a very unhappy accident which gave him much concern. *Andromachus*, a great favourite of his and a deserving man, had been appointed superintendant of *Syria* and *Palestine*. This officer, going to *Samaria* to collect the tribute, was not only opposed in the execution of his office, but a mighty tumult suddenly arising, the people set fire to the house wherein he lodged, and burnt him and his retinue. To avenge so horrid a fact, the king ordered a strict inquisition to be made after the murderers, directing, that all who were any ways concerned should, without mercy, be put to death; but this was not all, he established a colony of *Macedonians* in their city, and gave part of its territories to the *Jews*. Such of the *Samaritans* as escaped this slaughter repaired to *Sechem*, which has been ever since, and f still is, their capital. The ground of this quarrel in all probability was *Alexander*'s slighting their request at the time he so highly favoured the *Jews*; a thing which sunk deep into their breasts, and, if possible, heightened that implacable aversion they had conceived against the *Jews*. From this fact of theirs *Alexander* took such a distaste to this people, that he dismissed eight thousand of them who had served in his troops ever since the siege of *Tyre*, sending them as far as the *Upper Egypt*, where he commanded they should have certain lands divided amongst them [p].

WHEN

[m] DIODOR. l. xvii. [n] In vit. Alex. [o] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 5. [p] JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. xi.

Statira *the wife of* Darius *dies.*

a When he arrived at *Tyre*, he there met with *Athenian* embaſſadors, who came to renew the requeſt formerly made him, to pardon ſuch of their citizens as he had found ſerving the enemy. The king, being deſirous to oblige ſo famous a ſtate, yielded to their requeſt, and ſent alſo a fleet to the coaſt of *Greece*, to prevent the effects of ſome commotions which had lately happened in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe, with ſome private affairs, once ſettled, he directed his march to *Thapſacus*, a city on the *Euphrates*. There he found a broken bridge, which *Darius* had made uſe of in his flight after the battle of *Iſſus*; as alſo a great body of horſe, under the command of *Mazæus*, who had orders to obſtruct his paſſage; but ſo it was, that, either from a notion of policy, or through downright cowardice, *Mazæus*, having burnt b the country, ſlighted the poſt and retired; whereupon the king, having repaired the broken bridge, paſſed the *Euphrates*, marching on to ſeek *Darius*. A little before that the wife of the laſt-mentioned prince paid her laſt debt to nature in child-bed. *Alexander* cauſed her to be buried at a prodigious expence, tho' he had been ſo cautious of injuring either her reputation or his own, as not only to forbear ſeeing her, but alſo forbid the commending her beauty in his preſence. *Tyræus*, an eunuch who attended on her perſon, eſcaped ſoon after, and carried *Darius* the tidings of his queen *Statira*'s death. He was extremely moved at the news, and no leſs ſo at the recital of the honours paid her by *Alexander* when living, and the mighty reſpect ſhewn her at her death; which, on account of the youth of *Alexander*, he attributed in his mind to ſome ſiniſter cauſe; but when the eunuch, with moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, had convinced him, that there was not the leaſt colour for his ſuſpicions, he, in a great tranſport of mind, prayed to God to reſtore the kingdom of *Perſia* to its ancient glory, that he might thereby be enabled to teſtify his gratitude to *Alexander*; or, if its fatal period was come, he prayed, that this generous victor might ſit next on the throne of *Cyrus* [q]. After paſſing the *Euphrates*, the *Macedonians* marched through *Meſopotamia*, having the river on their left, and by a round-about road, which they took to avoid defilees and for the eaſier procuring of proviſion, arrived at length at *Babylon*. On the road *Alexander* was informed, that *Darius*, with all his army, lay encamped on the river *Tigris*, in order to diſ- d pute his paſſage. The current of this river is ſo rapid, that nothing can be imagined more difficult than attempting to paſs it with an army, even without an enemy in view. If *Darius* had therefore really drawn his troops down to the banks of this river, we may be confident that *Alexander* never could have paſſed it; but he had committed the care of defending it to *Mazæus*, who, it ſeems, did not love fighting; for he burnt the forage here too, and then withdrew; however, *Alexander* paſſed it, tho' not without great difficulty, many of his ſoldiers being borne off their feet, and carried down with the ſtream; ſo that at laſt he commanded them to march in cloſe order, ſo that they reſiſted the water like a wall; notwithſtanding which expedient a great deal of time was ſpent in getting them over, and they were ſo much fatigued with the paſſage, that he was forced to let them reſt a whole day. If therefore, as we ſaid before, *Darius*, or any general of his, with a competent body of troops, had been poſſeſſed of the oppoſite ſhore, how is it poſſible they ſhould have got over at all [r]? But theſe precautions being wanting, and *Alexander* once on the other ſide, there remained nothing now but a battle to decide the iſſue of the war, and to determine who ſhould be lord of *Aſia*.

An eclipſe of the moon aſtoniſhes the Macedonians.

As the king continued his march directly towards the enemy, an accident happened that cauſed ſome confuſion in the army. This was no more than an eclipſe of the moon. If we were to believe *Curtius*, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the *Macedonians* were on the very point of breaking out into rebellion, taking this for an evident ſign that heaven was againſt them; but it is ſo much that author's cuſtom to exaggerate, and the account he gives us of this eclipſe ſhews him to have written after ſuch indifferent memoirs, that we may very well juſtify our preferring *Arrian*'s account; which as it is more moderate, ſo it is alſo much more probable. He ſays, the king cauſed ſacrifices to be offered to the ſun, moon, and earth, as the authors of eclipſes; and that *Ariſtander* having inſpected the intrails, had declared, that all things would be fortunate to the *Macedonians*; that a battle would happen within the month, and that they would carry the victory [s]. *Curtius* ſays, that the king called for *Egyptian* aſtronomers, who, concealing the cauſes of eclipſes from the vulgar, of which

[q] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [r] Arrian. l. iii. c. 7. Diodor. ubi ſupra.
[s] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

which cauſes, by the way, *Curtius* himſelf knew very little or nothing, told the ſoldiers, that the *Macedonians* were under the government of the *ſun*, the *Perſians* of the *moon*; and therefore, that a diminution of light in the latter ſhewed, that thoſe who were under her dominion ſhould ſhortly be deſtroyed. This is certainly improbable; for nothing is more notorius, than that the *Perſians* were held to be under the dominion of the *ſun*, and not of the *moon*; beſides, there can be no reaſon ſhewn, why the king ſhould have recourſe to the *Egyptian* ſages, and not to *Ariſtander*. On the whole therefore we may juſtly conclude, that having, by a proper compliance with their notions, re-ſettled the minds of his ſoldiers, and filled them with the hopes of victory, *Alexander* made them continue their march, that they might fight while they remained full of this perſuaſion. a b

The armies meet.

It is unneceſſary to detain the reader here with a long account of the ſtrength of the *Perſian* army; we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that it is hardly poſſible to gueſs at its real ſtrength. *Arrian* himſelf ſeems to have been miſled, if his text is not corrupted in this paſſage, wherein he tells us, that *Darius* had forty thouſand horſe and a million of foot. *Diodorus* ſays, there were two hundred thouſand horſe, and eight hundred thouſand foot. *Plutarch*, that the horſe and foot made up together a million. *Juſtin* gives us exactly half of *Diodorus*'s number. With this vaſt army he remained encamped near the village *Guagamela*. *Alexander* choſe a ſtrong camp within about fifteen miles of the ſame place, where he left his baggage, with his ſick and wounded ſoldiers, and with the reſt marched on till he was within ſight of the enemy [u]. Then a council of war was called, wherein it was debated, whether it would be more adviſeable to fight that evening, or to encamp where they were that night. Moſt of the members of that council were for the firſt. *Parmenio* almoſt alone for the ſecond; but when the king had heard his reaſons, he gave orders that the troops ſhould encamp. *Alexander* then, with a choſen party of horſe, went and viewed the field of battle, examining every part thereof with the greateſt diligence; and, when he had done this, he returned to the camp, where, in a ſecond council, he gave the neceſſary directions for the engagement, encouraged all who were preſent to do their duty, and, above all, exhorted them to be extremely careful in preſerving order; after which he diſmiſſed them to their reſt. When all things were quiet, *Parmenio* came again to the king's pavilion, and earneſtly intreated him to attack the enemy in the dark, aſſuring him, that it would be the beſt way to prevent his ſoldiers from being diſcouraged by the diſparity between themſelves and the *Perſian* troops. To which *Alexander* calmly replied, *I will never ſteal a victory*; which has been by ſome cried down as a puerile expreſſion; by others as unreaſonably extolled as a mark of *Alexander*'s grandeur of mind; whereas it was in truth no more than the wiſe reſolution of a conſummate general, who ſuffered not himſelf to be dazzled by appearances, penetrating all things to the bottom, and choſe, without heſitation, that meaſure which was beſt. The reader will eaſily diſcern this, if he will be pleaſed to conſider on what the two kings relied. *Darius* plainly placed his hopes in numbers; for this reaſon he choſe a plain country, every mole-hill of which, in compariſon, he cauſed to be demoliſhed. *Alexander* depended on the valour and military ſkill of his veteran troops. In the dark then numbers would ſtill have been numbers, valour would have ſignified little, and military ſkill would have been loſt; beſides, a hundred acccidents might have ſnatched a victory from *Alexander*, conſidering the diſproportion between his army and that of *Darius*; whereas we can ſcarce figure to ourſelves an accident which would have been favourable to him. More than all this, *Darius* was now of opinion, that his laſt defeat was wholly owing to the diſadvantage of the ground; had he been beaten again in the night, he would have imputed that to the darkneſs, and ſtill have entertained hopes; whereas *Alexander* ſought to convince the *Perſians*, that their fighting was to no purpoſe: He anſwered therefore wiſely, and like a great captain, as he really was, *I will not ſteal a victory*; an expreſſion which ought not to ſurprize us as ſublime; but ought to convince us, that he who ſpoke it was a ſoldier, and knew well what he ſaid and did [x]. c d e f

The battle of Guagamela. *Year after the flood* 2668. *Year before* Chriſt 331.

The vaſt army of *Darius* continued all night under arms, which muſt have fatigued them very much, and have given great opportunity for their fear to work upon them. Their king, it ſeems, was apprehenſive that *Alexander* would attack

[t] Curt. l. iv. [u] Arrian. l. iii. c. 8. [x] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Plut. &c.

a him in the night, which was the reaſon that he kept his troops upon ſo hard a duty. They were drawn up in very exact order, as appeared by many memoirs of their diſpoſition, which, after the battle was over, were found in their camp, and which doubtleſs had been diſtributed to their principal officers, to prevent confuſion and miſtakes. *Darius* himſelf was in the main body, ſurrounded by his relations, ſome choice troops of horſe, certain chariots and elephants, and round all theſe were poſted the *Greek* mercenaries, on whoſe courage and ſkill he chiefly depended. When *Alexander* marched to the engagement, his right wing was compoſed of his royal brigade of horſe, comanded by *Clytus*, of ſeveral other corps of cavalry, beſides a large body of auxiliary horſe, commanded by *Philotas* the ſon of *Par-*
b *menio*. The *firſt* line of the phalanx, which joined theſe, was commanded by *Nicanor* the ſon of *Parmenio*. The *next* by *Cœnus* the ſon of *Polemocrates*. The *third* corps was under *Perdiccas*. The *fourth* was commanded by *Meleager*. The *fifth* by *Polyſphercon*. The *laſt* was the battalion of *Amyntas*, commanded by his brother *Simmias*, *Amyntas* being gone into *Macedonia* to raiſe recruits. On the *left* were the troops commanded by *Craterus*, conſiſting of ſeveral battalions of foot; a *body* of auxiliary horſe commanded by *Erigyus*; the *Theſſalian* horſe under the command of *Philip*. The whole *wing* was commanded by *Parmenio*. This was the diſpoſition of the middle line of the army; for before both *wings* and the *centre* there were light armed troops for *forlorns*, and behind each diviſion of the army there was a corps
c of reſerve. To the battalions of foot that compoſed theſe, *Alexander* gave orders, that they ſhould bear their ſpears ſo as to face about immediately in caſe the enemy ſhould ſurround any part of his army. He likewiſe ordered, that they ſhould open when-ever the armed chariots were driven upon them, ſo as to give them a clear paſſage; which diſpoſitions and directions proved of the higheſt conſequence. The forces brought at preſent into the field are computed by *Arrian* at ſeven thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot. *Alexander*'s right wing charged firſt upon the *Scythian* horſe, who, as they were well armed and very robuſt men, behaved at the beginning very well, making a vigorous reſiſtance; and that this might anſwer the more ef-
d fectually, the chariots placed upon the left wing bore down upon the *Macedonians*. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire deſtruction; but *Alexander*'s light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and ſtones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horſes, ſo that few reached the *Macedonian* line; which opening, as *Alexander* had directed, they only paſſed through, and were then either taken or diſabled by his bodies of reſerve. The horſe continued ſtill engaged, and before any thing deciſive happened there, the *Perſian* foot near their left wing began to move, in hopes of falling on the flank of the *Macedonian* right wing, or of pene-
e trating ſo far as to divide it from its centre. *Alexander* perceiving this, ſent *Aretas* with a corps of troops to charge them, and thereby compel them to keep their poſts. In the mean time he remained where he was, and proſecuting his firſt deſign broke their left wing, and purſued it till it was fully routed. He then charged the *Perſian* foot in flank, and they being intimidated made but a feeble reſiſtance. *Darius*, perceiving this gave up all for loſt and fled himſelf. Then the *Macedonians*, following their victorious monarch, made a vigorous purſuit. The battalion commanded by *Simmias* only did not ſtir, that officer being informed, that not only the left wing was in great danger, but that a great body of *Perſian* and *Indian* horſe, taking the advantage of the king's abſence, had penetrated through the centre, and were fallen in upon the *Macedonian* baggage. This misfortune was quickly followed by another; the barbarian priſoners mutinied thereupon, and fell on the *Macedo-*
f *nians* in their camp; but the corps of reſerve facing about, and being ſupported by *Simmias*'s battalion, the *Perſians*, after a ſmart engagement, were routed, and great numbers ſlain. *Parmenio*, on the left wing, in the mean time was almoſt inveloped, the cavalry in the *Perſian* right being both excellent and very numerous; in all probability the *Macedonians*, notwithſtanding their courage and military ſkill, would have been overborne at laſt and totally deſtroyed, if *Alexander*, on the firſt intelligence of this misfortune, had not immediately returned from the purſuit, and charged the enemy in flank and rear; yet did they not then fly, but facing about continued to defend themſelves againſt *Alexander*, and preſſed hard upon *Parmenio* at the ſame time. *Hepheſtion*, *Cœnus*, and *Menidæs* were wounded in this conflict, which was very long and bloody, but ended at laſt in the total defeat of the *Perſians*; whereupon *Alexander* continued the purſuit of *Darius* about ten miles, and

then

then paſſing the river *Lycus*, encamped them, that they might take ſome repoſe. *Parmenio* in the mean time and the troops under his command ſecured the enemy's tents, baggage, elephants and camels. Such was the end of this battle, which decided the fate of *Aſia* [u].

The loſs ſuſtained in this battle.

ACCORDING to *Arrian*, the *Perſians* loſt here three hundred thouſand men, and the field of battle, and much more than that number taken priſoners [w]; but how this ſhould be done by an army ſhort of fifty thouſand men, is not eaſy to be conceived, and therefore, not without reaſon, ſome corruption hath been ſuſpected in the number. *Diodorus* is more moderate; for he ſays there were only ninety thouſand killed. Priſoners, to be ſure, there were at leaſt as many as *Alexander*'s army knew what to do with. With reſpect to the loſs of the *Macedonians*, *Arrian* puts it at one hundred horſemen and a thouſand horſes; which is ſurely beyond all bounds of belief, if we conſider how hardly this battle was fought, and that the *Perſians* were once maſters of the *Macedonian* camp. About midnight *Alexander* obliged his ſoldiers to continue the purſuit, in hopes of overtaking *Darius*; but tho' he failed in this, yet at *Arbela* he took all the heavy baggage and all the rich equipage of that monarch. This great victory, as *Arrian* obſerves, was obtained within the ſpace of time fixed by *Ariſtander*, which gave him great reputation [x] (O).

Ale-

[u] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 13, 14, 15. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. CURT. l. iv. c. 46, & ſeq. [w] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [x] Idem ibid.

(O) *Diodorus*, in his account of the battle of *Arbela*, (for ſo moſt hiſtorians call it, tho' it was fought near *Guagamela*) differs in ſome circumſtances from *Arrian* in the account he gives us of the order of battle; but if we conſider, that *Arrian* wrote from the memoirs of eye-witneſſes and perſons of great quality, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that in theſe particulars he muſt have been well informed. In other reſpects it is fit that we ſhould ſet down what *Diodorus* hath recorded. By him then we find, that ſucceſs which for a time attended the *Perſian* troops, intirely aſcribed to the conduct and valour of *Darius*. It unfortunately happened, that *Alexander*, attacking his guards, threw a dart at *Darius*, which, tho' it miſſed him, ſtruck the charioteer who ſat at his feet dead; and he tumbling forwards, ſome of the guards raiſed a loud cry, whence thoſe behind them conjectured, that the king was ſlain, and thereupon fled without looking behind them, which created ſuch a confuſion, that *Darius* found himſelf obliged to follow their example. The duſt raiſed by the flight of ſo vaſt a multitude, gave *Darius* room and leiſure to retire to a place of ſafety; for he knowing well that the *Macedonians* could not perceive what rout he took, turned off immediately with the troops under his command, and, marching with convenient ſpeed, took poſt in ſome villages that were directly behind the *Macedonian* army; from whence he ſafely departed, while *Alexander* by forced marches endeavoured to overtake him, on a vain preſumption that he fled ſtraight forwards. According to this author, the *Perſians* loſt ninety thouſand, and the *Macedonians* five hundred, men; however, he owns, that a great number of the latter were wounded (36). *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, and many other authors agree, that the evening before the battle, when *Alexander* had given the neceſſary directions, he went to bed, and ſlept ſo ſoundly, that *Parmenio* and the reſt of the generals were forced to do many things in the morning according to their own ſentiments, becauſe they did not care to awake him. At laſt *Parmenio* was conſtrained to go to his bed-ſide, where he called him ſeveral times before he anſwered. At length he roſe, and dreſſed himſelf with great ſerenity; while he was doing this, *Parmenio* could not help ſaying, *I wonder, Sir, conſidering you are to fight the moſt important of all your battles, that you could ſleep as ſoundly as if you were already victorious. Why, ſo I am, my good friend,* returned the king, *ſince I ſhall no more be obliged to follow* Darius *hither and thither, through a country already deſtroyed by the length of the war* (37). We have another inſtance in *Plutarch* of the wonderful coolneſs and penetration of this great prince. When *Parmenio* perceived that the *Macedonian* camp was in danger, he ſent to recal the king from his purſuit. When *Alexander* heard the meſſage, *Parmenio*, ſaid he, *is certainly beſide himſelf; if I am victorious over theſe enemies, we ſhall have their baggage and our own too; whereas if I loſe this advantage, we ſhall have nothing to fight for but our lives.* But when *Parmenio* ſent again to inform him, that himſelf and the troops under his command were in the utmoſt danger, the king came immediately to his relief; but, ſays our author, ſuſpicions began to ariſe, that either the vigour of *Parmenio* was diminiſhed by his age, or that out of envy he ſought to diminiſh his maſter's greatneſs (38). The truth ſeems to be, that *Parmenio* had too much concern for him. *Philip* of *Macedon* confeſſed him the only general he knew; and we find nothing recorded of him in hiſtory, which doth not ſpeak him a moſt conſummate, tho' at the ſame time a very cautious, commander. If the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of *Perſians* would have been able to keep the field, and would have been quickly joined by moſt of thoſe who fled before. Such a multitude, encouraged by a taſte of ſucceſs, would have quickly ſwallowed up the *Greeks*, and recovered all they had conquered. *Alexander*, who fancied himſelf the ſon of a god, had his head full of nothing but victory where-ever he appeared; but to *Parmenio*, who was a mere man, conduct ſeemed as neceſſary as courage, and the preſervation of half the army eſſential to the whole. It is true, we are not, properly ſpeaking, bound to enter into the characters of thoſe whoſe hiſtory we write, yet ſometimes it is neceſſary; for what is hiſtory without truth? Or to what end do we read, but to be acquainted with things as they were? There were in the court of *Alexander* many who hated *Parmenio* and his family; of theſe ſome wrote, and from the memoirs of theſe writers *Plutarch* had his informations: We do not therefore pre-

Diſtin-

(36) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. *in Alexand.* (37) *Plutarch. in Alex. Juſtin. Hiſt. l.* xi. *c.* 13. (38) *Plut.*

Alexander enters Babylon.

a *Alexander* receiving certain intelligence, that *Darius* was retired into *Media*, thought it at that time unneceſſary, and indeed impracticable, to follow him. He determined to march directly to *Babylon*, which accordingly he did. *Mazæus* commanded there in chief, the ſame perſon who had been intruſted to defend the paſſages of the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. He acted here juſt as he had done there; that is, at the ſight of *Alexander*'s army, he put the place into his hands[y]. The *Babylonians* were very glad of this revolution, and therefore, with great joy, came out to meet *Alexander*, with preſents of great value. This joy of theirs proceeded from their exceſſive hatred of the *Perſians*, as again that exceſſive hatred took birth from their principles of religion; for the *Perſians* being *deiſts* had pulled down all
b their temples, and in every other reſpect curbed that propenſity to idolatry, which was ſo extravagantly warm in this nation. *Alexander*, on the other hand, anſwered all their expectations; for he immediately commanded, that every one of their temples ſhould be rebuilt, particularly the famous temple of *Belus*. He ſent alſo for their prieſts, converſed with them, and left to their care the decree he had made in favour of their religion[z]. He offered ſacrifices himſelf to *Belus*, left *Mazæus* in poſſeſſion of the government; but removed *Bagophanes*, who had put the citadel and the royal treaſures into his hands, yet he entertained him in his court, and treated him with marks of confidence and eſteem[a]. As he was a prince of great learning, he enquired after the aſtronomical memoirs of the obſervations which were ſaid to
c have been made in that city for a long tract of time, and he cauſed the beſt account that could be got of them to be tranſmitted to his tutor *Ariſtotle*; ſo deſirous he was that the republic of letters ſhould reap ſome advantage from his labours and victories[b]. On the whole, however, his ſtay at *Babylon* did him no good; for he and his officers began there firſt to taſte of luxury, and to fall in love with that magnificence and delicacy which had enervated and deſtroyed the *Perſians*[c].

The conduct of Antipater *in* Greece.

It is now time for us to turn our eyes a little towards *Greece*; for tho' the main hopes of the *Macedonians* followed their royal leader thro' the great continent of *Aſia*, yet were they not aſleep as to their intereſts in *Europe*, where ſeveral attempts were made to leſſen their power. While *Memnon* lived, the *Perſians* were not only lords
d of the ſea in name, but in reality ſo. He retook many of the iſlands which had fallen under the power of *Alexander*; he ſent ſhips of war to cruize on the coaſts of *Macedonia*; and, if he had lived, he would have made a deſcent on *Eubœa*, where queſtionleſs he would have been joined by a great number of the *Greeks*. After his death, things were in a languiſhing condition till the battle of *Iſſus*, when new efforts were made to ſtir up troubles in *Greece*. Thoſe, however, were rendered abortive by *Antipater*, who kept ſuch a fleet at ſea and made ſuch diſpoſitions of his land-forces, as rendered it not ſafe for any of the *Greek* ſtates to declare againſt his
e maſter[d]. However, when advice arrived of this laſt victory, theſe ſmothered diſſentions broke out into an open flame. The *Greeks* in general began to be afraid that if they made no attempt before the *Perſian* empire was abſolutely deſtroyed, all they could do afterwards would be to no purpoſe. As ſoon therefore as they had news

[y] Arrian. Diodor. Curt. ubi ſupra. [z] Diodor. ubi ſupra. [a] Arrian. l. iii. c. 16. [b] Porphyr. ap. Simplic. l. ii. de cælo. [c] Diodor. ubi ſupra. [d] Arrian. l. ii. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Demoſt.

blame him for tranſmitting what he read to poſterity; but we take the liberty of doing the ſame thing: And becauſe *Arrian*, who copied *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemy*, ſays nothing of *Parmenio*'s envy, we report the ſuggeſtion as doubtful, that a character, which ſeems to have the faireſt title to honour, may not, at this diſtance of time, be ſullied by inſinuations once thought too idle to deſerve mention. *Ariſtander*, during the battle, rode by his maſter's ſide, covered with a white mantle, and with a crown of gold upon his head. He it was, who, in a great meaſure, contributed to fix the victory, by ſhewing the *Macedonians* an eagle hovering over the king's head. After the battle, the king ſacrificed in a magnificent manner, and ſent preſents of the ſpoils to all the *Grecian* ſtates (39). *Juſtin* ſays, that few battles had been ſo bloody as this; that *Darius*, when he ſaw that the battle was loſt, endeavoured to throw himſelf into the thickeſt of the fight, that there he might be ſlain; but, againſt his will, was forced to fly by thoſe who were about him. Being perſuaded by theſe to break down the bridge on the river over which he paſſed, that it might prevent the enemy's paſſage, he anſwered, *I will never purchaſe ſafety to myſelf, at the expence of ſo many thouſands of my ſubjects, as muſt by this means be loſt; or take from them that paſſage which has preſerved me* (40). Indeed all authors agree, that *Darius* behaved very honourably in this action; and we ſhall ſee hereafter, that he loved his ſubjects ſo well, as to be ſatisfied with dying by their hands, rather than to owe his ſafety to the fidelity of ſtrangers.

(39) *Idem Ibid.* (40) *Juſtin, Hiſt. l.* xi. *c.* 14.

news that *Memnon* governor of *Thrace* had rebelled, and that *Antipater* was making a great preparations to march againſt him, they took arms, *Agis* king of *Lacedæmon* being declared their general. *Antipater* being informed of this, immediately drew together an army, and, having compoſed matters in *Thrace*, marched into *Greece*. It was not long before the armies met; that of *Agis* conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; *Antipater* had about forty thouſand men; for when he came with a well-diſciplined army out of *Macedonia*, many of the *Greeks* joined him out of fear, who would otherwiſe have been neuters, or have fought againſt him. The engagement that enſued was very obſtinate and bloody; but at laſt *Agis* was killed, and the army he commanded routed, with the loſs of five thouſand three hundred men. *Antipater* himſelf loſt three thouſand five hundred; but it put an b end to the war, for the *Greeks* ſeeing the fatal iſſue of this buſineſs, and that the *Athenians* ſided with the conqueror, they were conſtrained to forget their reſentments, and to implore mercy [c]. Such was the ſtate of *Greece*.

Alexander *takes poſſeſſion of* Suſa.

AFTER thirty days ſtay at *Babylon*, *Alexander* continued his march to *Suſa*, which had been already rendered into the hands of *Philoxenes*. Here the king received the treaſures of *Darius*, amounting to fifty thouſand talents, or upwards of nine millions ſterling, as alſo curioſities and furniture of an immenſe value [f]. It was delivered up to him by *Abulites*, to whoſe care *Darius* had committed it; yet it is ſaid, that what the *Perſian* did was by order of his maſter, who was in hopes, that while *Alexander* was employed in taking great cities and heaping up riches, he c would not march ſo ſpeedily as hitherto he had done, but afford him time to collect a freſh army [g]. Among other things that were found in the treaſury of *Suſa*, were the brazen ſtatues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, which *Xerxes* had carried away when he plundered *Athens*. Theſe *Alexander* very carefully ſent back, and having taken a view of the fair palace and other things of note at *Suſa*, he began to think of quitting the province. *Abulites* he left in poſſeſſion of his command as governor of *Suſa*; but the care of the citadel he commited to *Mazæus*. The command of the forces he left for the defence of the province he gave to *Archelaus*. *Menetes* he conſtituted preſident of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cilicia*, to whom, at his departure, he gave three thouſand talents of ſilver, with orders to ſend over as much of it as d ſhould be neceſſary to *Antipater*, that he might the better preſerve the peace of *Greece*, and carry on his deſigns there. About this time arrived the recruits under the command of *Amyntas*. They conſiſted of five hundred horſe and ſix thouſand foot, all *Macedonians*; ſix hundred *Thracian* horſe, and three thouſand five hundred *Trallian* foot; about a thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot from *Peloponneſus*; in all about two thouſand horſe, and thirteen thouſand five hundred foot. Theſe he incorporated into his veteran army, without forming any new corps. He dealt alſo very kindly by them all, taking care to let them have pay in advance, procureing for them good quarters, and being preſent himſelf at the reviews, and as often as they were exerciſed [h] (P).

AT

[c] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [f] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [g] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [h] CURT. l. v.

(P) Authors vary a little as to the money which *Alexander* ſeized at *Suſa*. *Arrian* ſays it was fifty thouſand talents (41); with him *Curtius* agrees (42). *Diodorus Siculus* ſays there were forty thouſand talents in bullion, and nine thouſand coined; ſo that he comes within a thouſand talents of the ſum (43). *Plutarch* tells us there were but forty thouſand talents; yet his account riſes higher than any other hiſtorians, which ſeems not to have been well obſerved; for theſe forty thouſand talents, he ſays, were in coined gold, and diſtinguiſhes it from the reſt of the treaſure, of which he does not give us the particulars; only he ſays, there was purple to the value of five thouſand talents, which was freſh and lively, tho' it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years. He ſays too, on the authority of *Dinon*, that veſſels filled with water from the *Nile* and the *Danube*, were ſet in this treaſury, as monuments of the mighty extent of the *Perſian* empire (44). *Juſtin* ſays expreſsly there were but forty thouſand talents; which agrees well enough with *Diodorus*, whoſe ſteps he is obſerved to follow; yet this author hath a very curious paſſage, which, for the ſake of brevity, probably *Juſtin* omitted (45). *Alexander*, as he informs us, coming in perſon to take an account of theſe treaſures, ſat down on the royal throne, which, it ſeems, was ſo high, that his feet did not come near the foot-ſtool. One of his pages obſerving this, took up *Darius*'s table, and placed it upon the foot-ſtool, for which *Alexander*, who now ſat at eaſe, commended him; but one of the eunuchs of the old court, fixing his eyes on the table, fell a weeping. *Tell me, friend*, ſaid *Alexander*, *what it is you ſee here that moves you to grieve ſo much? O king*, anſwered the eunuch, *I was once* Darius's *ſervant, as I am now thine. As I loved and honoured*

(41) *Arrian. l.* iii. *c.* 16. (42) *Curt. l.* v. *c.* 2. (43) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. (44) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (45) *Juſtin. l.* xi. *c.* 15.

He reduces the Uxians.

[a] At last he thought of prosecuting the war; and so moving from *Susa* he passed the *Pasitigris*, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. Those who inhabited the plain country submitted without giving him any trouble; but the mountaineers were foolish enough to send a deputation, to inform him they expected a sum of money by way of tribute for passing through their country, pretending, that the *Persian* monarchs had always paid it them. *Alexander* answered coldly, That they would do well to come to the passage to receive it. [i]. As soon as they were gone, he dispatched *Craterus* to seize the tops of the mountains, while he, in the mean time, with a body of horse and light-armed troops, entered the country by night, through private and troublesome roads; so that he was in the midst of the *Uxian* [b] villages before the inhabitants knew any thing of the matter. These he plundered and burnt, and continuing his march seized the pass, whither numbers of people were crowded, in hopes of receiving the money. They pretended at first to make some defence; but before they could form themselves into any order, *Craterus* with his soldiers appeared over their heads, and began to push them in clusters over the precipices. They then fell into confusion, and fled into holes and caverns; however, *Sisygambis* interposing and sending to intreat *Alexander* to pardon them, he readily acquiesced on the following terms, *viz.* that they provided for the army a hundred horses of war, five hundred baggage horses, and thirty thousand head of cattle [k].

Alexander's respect towards the family of Darius.

[c] As we have mentioned the mother of *Darius*, we will take this opportunity of speaking of *Alexander*'s conduct towards her, and of her behaviour towards him. From the time she was taken at the battle of *Issus*, *Alexander* afforded her not only the title, but the obedience due to a mother, left the children of *Darius* under her care, and omitted nothing which might contribute to lessen, or even to obliterate, her misfortunes. In the late engagement, it is said, that when the *Persian* horse broke into *Alexander*'s camp, they came to the tent where she was, and would have persuaded her to make her escape; but she constantly refused, saying, *That she would not quit* Alexander *with his fortune* [l]. The king, when he purposed to pursue the war, left her at *Susa*, having assigned her and her grand-children a tutor, [d] that he might have the pleasure of conversing with them without an interpreter; and hence it was that she sent to intreat him to pity and spare the *Uxians*, who, through rashness and folly, had incurred his displeasure. And we have seen what deference *Alexander* paid to her mediation [m] (Q).

After

[i] Arian. l. iii. c. 17. Diodor. ubi supra. [k] Arrian. ubi supra. [l] Diodor. ubi supra.
[m] Arrian. ubi. supra.

honoured my master while I served him; so I cannot even now behold, without extreme disquiet, that table at which he sat, placed under thy feet. Alexander, moved at the blunt honesty of the man, commended him, and ordered it to be taken away. But *Philotas* interposed; *As this table, Sir,* said he, *was not placed here by your command, there is nothing of insolence in the use you have put it to. To me it appears to be a thing ordained by providence, to shew the mutability of empire.* The king then ordered it to remain where it was (46). This *Philotas* was the son of *Parmenio*; and we shall hear quickly of his being tortured and put to death, on a suspicion that he bore no good-will to the glory of his master.

(Q) There is nothing in the life of *Alexander* which hath afforded the rhetoricians, who have made his actions their theme, so happy an opportunity of exerting their genii, as his tenderness to the family of *Darius*. *Plutarch* and *Curtius* are particularly fond of these passages, and have taken all possible care to set them out to the best advantage. The last-mentioned author hath inserted in his work a very extraordinary relation of an interview between *Alexander* and *Sisygambis* at *Susa*. We were afraid of swelling the text too much, otherwise it had been inserted there; yet considering the manner in which it is told, perhaps it will appear with great propriety in a note, by way of appendix. *Alexander* having received from *Macedon* several pieces of purple and other rich vestures, he ordered them to be sent to *Sisygambis*, together with the person who had wrought them, with a compliment, as he intended it, that if the fabricature of these garments pleased her, she might let her grand-children be taught how to make them for their diversion; but working in wool being then held in *Persia* a very mean and dishonourable thing, *Sisygambis* shed tears when she heard the message. The person who carried it returned therefore in haste to *Alexander*, and acquainted him, that *Sisygambis* was much displeased; whereupon the king went instantly unto her apartment, in order to console her, and o remove any misconstruction she might have put on his message. "Dear mother, said he, "the robe, in which you see me arrayed, was not "only presented me by my sisters, but is also the "work of their hands; be convinced, madam, from "thence, that I meant not to offend you, but as I "was led into an error through the custom of my "country, impute what is amiss to my ignorance, "and not to any fault in my will. Hitherto I have "made it my study never to transgress any of your "customs. As soon as I was informed, that it "was held disrepectful in *Persia* for a son to sit

(46) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

He forces a passage to Persepolis, *and destroys it.*

AFTER chastising the *Uxians*, *Alexander* ordered *Parmenio* to march with the *Thessalian* horse, the royal brigade, the mercenary foot, with the carriages and baggage, through the ordinary open road against the enemy. In the mean time, he with the *Macedonian* foot, and the light-armed troops, and a body of horse and archers, marched over the mountains to the *Persian* streights. These he found effectually fortified with a strong wall, flanked with towers, and *Ariobarzanes*, with an army of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, posted behind to dispute his passage. The king, trusting to his usual fortune, immediately stormed the wall; but after a long and bloody conflict, in which he lost abundance of men, he was forced to sound a retreat, having been able to effect nothing [n]. He then began to inquire for some other way, and having met with a man who had been formerly a prisoner, his father a *Lycian* his mother a *Persian*, so that he spoke both tongues; this man told him, that having long kept sheep on these mountains, he could lead him to another pass, but that in truth it was difficult enough too. *Alexander* thereupon left *Craterus* in his camp, with orders, that as soon as he perceived that himself had passed the other streights, and was about to attack the *Persian* camp, he should scale the wall [o]. Then following his *Lycian* guide, he marched that night a hundred furlongs, and by an intricate road arrived at last at the streights; and though he met with a river in his way, yet he passed it, and advanced so speedily, that by day-break he surprized the first guards, whom he cut all to pieces, as he did most of those in the second post, whereby *Ariobarzanes* received no intelligence of his passage, till *Alexander* attacked him in his camp. *Craterus*, as soon as he heard the trumpet sound, attacked the wall; this so distracted the *Persians*, that they would have fled, but it was impossible. *Ptolemy* seized the wall with three thousand foot. *Alexander* charged them before, *Craterus* behind, when they fled to the wall, *Ptolemy* drove them back. Thus distressed, they knew not what to do, and the far greater part of them were put to the sword. *Ariobarzanes* himself with a few horse escaped into the mountains. *Alexander* then returning in haste to the river, strengthened the slight bridge he had thrown over it, and passed over all his army; then by long marches he sought to reach the capital of *Persia*; at *Pasargadæ* he seized the treasures of *Cyrus*, and appointed *Phrasaortes* governor of *Persia*. *Diodorus* and other historians tell us, that when he was near *Persepolis*, he met eight hundred *Grecians*, all of whom had their bodies grievously mangled, and that they with one voice cried out, on the barbarous treatment they had met with from the *Persians*, among whom they were prisoners. In compassion to which miserable tale, the king generously relieved them, promised to send them safe back to *Greece*, and vowed destruction against *Persepolis*. *Arrian* and *Plutarch* have not a word of this tale; without doubt they had heard it, and their not inserting it seems to carry in it a strong indication of its being fabulous. In all probability, it was calculated, like another story we shall mention presently, to excuse a fact that never can be excused. However it was, the king came at last to *Persepolis*, and meeting with no opposition, he made war on the royal palace, and under colour of revenging what *Xerxes* had done at *Athens*, most barbarously destroyed the most magnificent pile, this, or perhaps any other, part of the world could boast. *Parmenio*, the friend of *Philip*, a man always of moderate counsels, interposed in vain. In vain he represented to *Alexander*, that the destruction of this most noble palace would make him appear a barbarian to the *Asiatics*, and put them in doubt whether he intended to keep *Asia*, or only to plunder it; that besides it was no revenge upon the *Persians* to raze what was no longer theirs, but his [q]. The king was positive, as indeed he generally was; the city of *Persepolis* was given up to the plunder of the soldiers.

[n] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 18. [o] DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. [p] DIODOR. ubi supra. CURT. lib. v. c. 17. [q] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 18.

" before his mother, till licensed so to do by her, " I made it a rule with me never to sit before you, " till I received your commands. As often as you " have offered to prostrate yourself before me, I " have taken care to prevent it; and as the last and " highest token of my esteem, have always stiled " you mother, a title, strictly speaking, belonging " only to *Olympias* (47) ". *Curtius* concludes his chapter here without telling us that *Sisygambis* was more than satisfied. In all probability, she could not but be well pleased at an explanation which took from her all apprehensions of *Alexander*'s prejudice towards her family; but that this is the very speech which *Alexander* made to her, will perhaps not easily be credited on account of its rhetorical quaintness.

(47) *Curt. lib.* v. *c.* 9.

a soldiers, and then the palace set on fire and destroyed. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander* having assembled his troops, made them a long speech, wherein he set forth the reasons, such as they were, of his proceeding in this cruel manner; he charged this city with having caused innumerable mischiefs to *Greece*, with implacable hatred towards her, and with growing rich by her spoils, and to avenge all those injuries, he gave it up to them, to do with it, the inhabitants, and their estates, whatever they thought fit. Upon this the *Macedonians* rushed into the place, and put to the sword, without mercy, all they could lay hands on, plundering and tearing away all the wealth, jewels, rich furniture, and gorgeous vestments, with which the houses were full; and though they every-where loaded themselves with silver, gold, and
b purple, their thirst of spoil did but so much the more increase, every one thinking himself had too little, and others had too much, so that quarrels ensuing, many had their hands cut off, as they endeavoured to snatch and tear away prizes, and others were killed. Women of all ages and conditions they seized for the sake of their cloaths and ornaments; such as their beauty made desirable, they ravished, stripping all alike they sold them for slaves; so that in the same proportion, whereby *Persepolis* excelled all other cities before the *Macedonians* approached it, she was by them depressed in misery and calamity below the most wretched village on the earth[r]. In the palace, *Alexander* seized to his own use a hundred and twenty thousand talents, which he immediately ordered to be transported on mules and camels, for he had such an extreme
c aversion to the inhabitants of *Persepolis*, that is, even to the miserable remains of them, that he would leave nothing valuable with them, nor trust any thing near them. Many authors tell us, that the palace of *Persepolis* was not destroyed through any design, but from an accident; that *Alexander* having made a great entertainment therein, whereat himself, his friends, and their mistresses were present, one *Thais* an *Athenian* courtezan, who lived with *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, when they were well heated with wine, said, It would be a glorious thing to sacrifice to the honour of *Greece* this proud palace, the habitation of its implacable enemies; this being approved by the company, they cried out, Come on, bring us fire-brands; and the king, taking upon him to lead them, they with songs, pipes, and flutes, marched to
d execute this glorious proposal; *Thais* acting as lieutenant-general, and throwing the next fire-brand to the king[s]. The reflection of *Diodorus* on this story is very singular. It was, says he, very observable, and a thing deserving admiration, to see the sacrilege and impiety of *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, in his outrages committed in the citadel of *Athens*, so signally revenged so many years afterwards through the advice of a courtezan of the same city[t]. As there is not a word of *Thais* or this drunken entertainment in *Arrian*, there is just grounds to suspect that the whole story is a forgery, the intent of which is explained to us by this remark: The destruction of *Persepolis* had in it a barbarity unbecoming a *Greek* and most unworthy of *Alexander*. To resolve therefore that destruction into a judgment from the deity, and to make the
e execution thereof the sudden effect of some irresistible inspiration, is certainly a good way of taking off the load from *Alexander*; but where then is it to be laid? Why, upon heaven! a practice no sober historian will ever countenance, or presume to favour a prince at the expence of providence.

Alexander follows Darius.

During the time that *Alexander* continued at *Persepolis*, he received advice, that *Darius* remained still at *Ecbatana* in *Media*. He determined to march after him, which he did in a most precipitate manner, for in twelve days he reached *Media*, moving near forty miles a day; in three days more he reached *Ecbatana*, where he was thoroughly informed of *Darius*'s condition, that he had not with him above three thousand horse and six thousand foot, and that with these he had retired five days before,
f with an intent to pass into the remotest provinces of his empire. This put some stop to his rapid progress, and perceiving that there was no necessity for thus hurrying himself and his soldiers, he began to give such orders as were necessary in the present situation of his affairs[u]. The *Thessalian* horse, who had deserved so well of him in all his battles, he dismissed according to his agreement, gave them their whole pay, and ordered two thousand talents over and above to be distributed among them. He then declared that he would force no man, but if any of them were willing to serve him longer for pay, he desired that they would enter their names in a book, which

[r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. [s] Plut. in vit. Alex. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.. Curt. lib. v. [t] Diodor. ubi supra. [u] Arrian. lib iii. c. 19. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. v.

which a great many of them did; the reſt ſold their horſes, and prepared for their departure. The king named *Epocillus* to conduct them to the ſea, and aſſigned him a body of horſe as an eſcort; he likewiſe ſent *Menetes* with them to take care of their embarquement, and that they were ſafely landed in *Eubœa* without any expence to themſelves. *Parmenio* he directed to ſee all the ſeveral ſums of money, which had been collected throughout *Perſia*, delivered to his treaſurer *Harpalus* at the caſtle of *Ecbatana*, to whom he aſſigned a guard of five thouſand *Macedonian* foot and a conſiderable corps of horſe. This *Harpalus* was one of *Alexander*'s principal favourites, and as he was a monarch remarkably ſteady in his affections, ſo this man had experienced his clemency as well as his kindneſs; for having after the battle of *Granicus*, been appointed treaſurer, he had by degrees got large ſums into his hands, and being terrified by ſome artful people with ſtories of the king's rigid temper, he fled, and carried away great ſums with him. *Alexander*, inquiring thoroughly into the matter, entertained a favourable opinion of the man, notwithſtanding all this, and therefore ſent to invite him back again, aſſuring him, that he would forget all that was paſt, which he not only performed, but reſtored him to his favour and former poſt. The reaſon of all this was, that *Harpalus* had been his friend and confident in his father's time, and at that time too, when to be well with *Alexander* was no way to be well with *Philip*; he had even been baniſhed on his account, and durſt not return to the court of *Macedon*, till *Alexander* had aſſumed the crown [w]. Hence the gratitude of this prince appears, who, in the midſt of victories, and after conquering ſo many provinces, could remember and reward thoſe who ſided with him, when he was but the ſecond perſon in the little kingdom of *Macedon*.

The affairs of Greece, *and of the royal family of* Macedon.

ABOUT this time the king received advice from *Greece*, that all troubles there were happily ended through the extraordinary care and conduct of *Antipater*, who had reduced the *Lacedæmonians* ſo low, that they were conſtrained to accept any terms of peace which he was pleaſed to afford them; and, on the other hand, *Antipater*, to do his maſter honour, would come to no agreement, but on condition that they ſent deputies into *Aſia* to beg pardon of *Alexander*, and to implore his favour [x]. Theſe ſervices gave him a great intereſt in the heart of his prince, who as yet had not learned to diſtruſt his ſervants, or to conceive jealouſies of thoſe, who, by their important ſervices, had ſhewn the extenſiveneſs of their capacities. He ſent therefore inſtructions to that miniſter to keep always a guard about his perſon, made him ſuch remittances as were ſufficient to pay his army regularly, and to ſupport the expence neceſſary for preſerving the tranquillity of *Greece*; he likewiſe ſent immenſe ſums to his mother and relations, as alſo moſt magnificent preſents to his old friends and acquaintance. This bountiful temper of his, *Olympias* looked on as extravagance, and on this topic ſhe wrote him long and frequent letters, telling him, that though it was fit he ſhould give, and give like a king, yet that ſome bounds ſhould be ſet even to royal munificence. That his rewards did not render men grateful, but rather made them independent: That his favourites were ſo rich, they were continually ſtudying how to engage new dependents, ſo that while they were obliging all men to their ſervice, he was like to have few ſervants left [y]. The king read theſe letters, and knowing the temper of his mother, laid them by carefully without ever ſpeaking of their contents; only one day it happened, that he opened an epiſtle from *Olympias*, when *Hephæſtion* ſate behind him. *Alexander* perceived that he read over his ſhoulder, yet he forbad him not; but when himſelf had read the letter out, he took his ſignet off his finger, and clapped it on his favourite's mouth. But the great ground of expoſtulation between *Olympias* and her ſon was, the king's ſteady refuſal to permit her to have any hand in the regency. But he knew her too well, and was afraid to ſuffer a woman of her intriguing ſpirit to intermeddle with the government. On the other hand *Antipater* wrote often in the ſame ſtile, lamenting his condition, as being continually expoſed to the artifices and malice of *Olympias*. When *Alexander* one day had read a very prolix letter of this nature, and which was written with more than ordinary ſpirit, he could not help ſaying; *I wonder* Antipater *does not know, that one tear of a mother can blot out a thouſand of theſe letters* [z]. Thus in the midſt of all the favours of fortune, while he was ſeizing crowns

[w] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. & in vit. Demoſth. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [y] PLUT. in vit. Alex. [z] Id. ibid.

crowns in *Aſia*, and had them ſent after him from *Europe*, *Alexander* found his head
a little the eaſier, and himſelf as uneaſy in his private family, as any man within the bounds of the numberleſs provinces he had ſubdued. It may be, theſe cares contributed to make him more ready to enter on new expeditions, in hopes of burying private diſquiet in public diſorder, and make the loud tumult of war drown thoſe ſmaller and harſher noiſes which forbad him reſt.

The death of Darius.

On new informations, as to the poſture of *Darius*'s affairs, the king with a body of horſe and light-armed troops ſet out once more on the purſuit, marching as far as *Rhages*, a city one day's journey from the *Caſpian* ſtreights; there he underſtood that *Darius* had paſſed thoſe ſtreights ſome time before, which information leaving him again without hopes, he halted for five days. *Oxidates*, a *Perſian* whom *Darius*
b had left priſoner at *Suſa*, was appointed governor of *Media*, as the king departed on his *Parthian* expedition. The *Caſpian* ſtreights he paſſed immediately without oppoſition, and then gave directions for collecting proviſions ſufficient to ſerve his army on a long march through a waſted country. But, before his officers could accompliſh his commands, *Bagiſtanes* the *Babylonian*, and *Antibelus* the ſon of *Mazæus* came from *Darius* to acquaint him, that *Beſſus* governor of *Bactria*, *Barzaentes* preſident of *Arachoſia*, and *Nabarzanes* a general of horſe, had conſpired againſt and made that prince priſoner[a]. *Alexander*, as ſoon as he heard this, marched with his horſe and a few choſen foot without intermiſſion, except a few hours at noon, ſo that the next morning he entered the camp, from whence theſe noblemen
c came; there he was further aſſured, that *Darius* was bound in his chariot, that *Beſſus* had aſſumed the imperial title, and that all the army had ſubmitted to him, except *Artabazus*, and his ſons, and the *Greek* mercenaries, who, not being able to hinder what had paſt, left the great road and retired into the mountains. He alſo received advice, that thoſe who had the king in cuſtody had determined, if *Alexander* contiued his purſuit, to deliver him up, and conſult their own ſafety; but if he left it off, they would raiſe as great an army as they could, and ſhare the empire among them. That *Beſſus* was declared general of the army, at preſent, as well becauſe of the great neceſſity there was for him about *Darius* perſon, as becauſe he was taken
d priſoner in his province. *Alexander* hearing this reſolved to continue his march with all poſſible ſpeed; and though his men as well as their horſes were haraſſed with inceſſant labour, he nevertheleſs proceeded, and travelling hard all that night and till noon the next day, arrived at a certain village, where they who led *Darius* about had pitched their tents the day before; and being there farther aſſured, that they deſigned to march by night, he inquired of the inhabitants, if they knew any nigher road than that by which they fled, that he might the ſooner overtake them? they told him they did; but that it lead through a country deſart and deſtitute of water. He notwithſtanding ordered them to be his guides, and when he underſtood that the foot could not poſſibly keep pace with the horſe in ſo haſty a march, he com-
e manded about five hundred horſe-men to alight, and the captains of foot, and others of their beſt men, ſuch as were heavy armed, to mount their horſes. He alſo ordered *Nicanor* captain of the targeteers and *Attalus* commander of the *Agrians* to march with thoſe who were light-armed along the great road, which *Beſſus* and his companions had taken. The reſt of the foot were left to follow in order. He ſet forwards at the cloſe of the evening, and proceeded with the utmoſt vigour; and having marched four hundred furlongs that night, early the next morning came up with the *Barbarians*, who were flying all in diſorder and unarmed. A few of them drew up in ranks, as if they had deſigned to defend themſelves; but the greateſt part at the firſt ſight of *Alexander* turned their backs without ſtriking one blow; and
f when few of thoſe who betook themſelves to their arms were cut off and fled, *Beſſus* and his companions ſtill carried *Darius* about in a chariot; but perceiving *Alexander* at hand, *Satibarzanes* and *Barzaentes*, after having given him ſeveral grievous wounds, there left him, and with a party of ſix hundred horſe haſted away; ſoon after which *Darius*, before *Alexander* had yet ſeen him, died of his wounds[b]. This is the account of *Arrian*. But *Plutarch* relates it ſomewhat differently; he informs us, that the king had not with him above threeſcore horſe when he came up with the *Barbarians*; that they trampled over heaps of rich booty, and even large quantities of ſilver and gold, without offering to alight, that they might if poſſible come up with the foremoſt of the

[a] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 21. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [b] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

the party who were about the chariot of *Darius*; which at last they did, one *Polystratus* being the first that perceived him; he making up to the chariot, saw the unfortunate king stretched at his full length, mortally wounded and gasping for breath. However, he earnestly desired some drink. The *Macedonian* presenting him with a cup of water, *Darius* tasted a little of it, and then said, *That to receive such a benefit, and not have it in his power to make any return, was the last and severest stroke of his ill fortune; however*, continued he, Alexander, *whose kindness to my mother, wife, and children may God recompense, will doubtless gratify thee for thy humanity towards me: When therefore thou shalt give him an account of this event, tell him that I gave him my right hand in testimony of my sense of his kindness:* Saying this, he gave his hand to *Polystratus*, and breathed his last. *Alexander* when he saw the dead body, [b] covered it with his own cloak, and ordered it to be sent to *Sisygambis*, that it might be interred in the royal sepulchre of the *Persian* kings [c].

Hyrcania *reduced by* Alexander.

As soon as *Alexander* had collected his forces together, and had settled the government of *Parthia*, he entered *Hyrcania*, and having, according to his wonted custom, committed the gross of his army with the baggage and carriages to the care of *Craterus*, he at the head of a choice corps of horse and foot passed through certain craggy roads, while the army took an open and easy passage, and before their arrival struck all the province with such terror, that all the principal places were put into his hands. *Nabarzanes*, who was one of the conspirators against *Darius*, surrendered himself here, so did *Phradaphernes*, governor of *Hyrcania* and *Parthia*. *Artabazus* and his [c] sons arrived shortly after, and were all graciously received; *Alexander* testifying a high respect for them on account of their fidelity to *Darius*. Then the *Greek* mercenaries, who had fled into the mountains, sent deputies to desire that he would pardon what was past, and admit them to his service; but the king would not hear of any treaty, because, as he said, they were infamous persons, who had taken up arms against their country, and had obstinately persisted in their rebellion; yet, in consideration of their behaviour towards their late master, he consented to receive them as prisoners at discretion; to which terms they at last submitted, beseeching the king to send somebody to conduct them to his camp. The king thereupon sent *Andronicus* and *Artabazus* for that purpose, and on their arrival treated them with [d] great lenity, receiving them not long after into his service [d].

The Mardi *reduced.*

THAT burning desire which *Alexander* had to become the lord and master of every nation, of whom he had the least intelligence, induced him to enter the country of the *Mardi*, merely because its rocks and barrenness had hindered any body hitherto from making a conquest of it, or even from attempting it; however, he succeeded very happily by dint of a stratagem; for giving the necessary directions for the march of his forces, he suddenly turned back with a body of light-armed troops and chosen horse, with which he acted so vigorously, that the *Mardi*, astonished at an expedition they so little expected, fled to inaccessible rocks and caverns, a few only pretending to take up arms, and they to very little purpose; for where-ever they [e] appeared in the plains, the king drove them with his horse; and when-ever he discerned them encamped on the tops of mountains, he ordered all the passages to them to be so well guarded, that the *Barbarians*, finding it impossible to subsist, were constrained to surrender. While he was thus employed, it happened, that a party of the *Mardi* seized and carried off his favourite horse *Bucephalus*. No accident could possibly have disturbed the king more than this, for he had an extravagant love for this creature, on account of its singular properties and the long service it had done him. He therefore began to hew down all the trees in the neighbourhood of his camp, and to burn whatever hutts and houses could be found, causing proclamation to be made in the language of the country, whereby he signified, that if his [f] horse was not restored without injury, he would burn and destroy all things that were capable of feeling the effects of his indignation; which so terrified the *Mardi*, that they sent back *Bucephalus* immediately, accompanied with a deputation loaden with presents, and vested with full authority to submit the whole nation to the king's pleasure [e]. *Alexander* then appointed *Autophradates*, president of the *Tapuri*, to be governor also of this country, and, well satisfied with this conquest, returned to the main body of his army, where many things required his care, and where the soldiers

[c] PLUT. in vit. Alex. [d] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 23. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. vi. c. 5.

a soldiers impatiently expected his return, in hopes of having some bounds set to their labours, and the end of the war talked of at least with some degree of certainty [f].

Alexander at his arrival found not only the *Grecian* mercenaries brought safe to his camp by *Andronicus*, but also four *Lacedæmonian* embassadors, with *Diopithes* the *Athenian* embassador, and many others, cloathed with the like character, who, till he was made a prisoner, had attended on *Darius*; the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* he ordered to be kept in safe custody; as for the ministers of such states as had been subject to the *Persians*, these he dismissed, for he thought it but just that while any state owned a dependence to another, it should send ministers to recognize that b dependence, and to receive instructions from the sovereign. As to the *Greek* mercenaries, he distinguished them thus; such as had been in the service of the *Persian* before the *Greeks* entered into the general alliance for carrying on the war, he set at liberty, and left them free to act as they thought fit; but for such as had entered into the *Persian* service afterwards, and had knowingly and avowedly fought against their country, these he ordered to be enlisted and enrolled among his own troops, allowing them, however, the same pay which they had heretofore received from *Darius*, appointing at the same time *Andronicus*, who had negotiated their surrender, to be commander in chief of that body which he had taken into his pay [g]. After this he marched to *Zeudracarta*, the capital of *Hyrcania*, where for fifteen days he cele- c brated solemn games, and sacrificed with great magnificence to the gods of *Greece*; afterwards he entered *Aria*, and coming to the chief city thereof, *Satibarzanes*, the governor thereof, came and submitted to him; upon which *Alexander* continued him in his government, and assigned him a guard of *Macedonian* archers on horseback commanded by *Anaxippus*. Here he received advice, that the traitor *Bessus* had caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Asia* by the name of *Artaxerxes*; this exceedingly provoked the king, who instantly prepared to march after him into *Bactria*, in order to call him to a severe account, for his former treachery and for this new act of insolence. He was scarce, however, out of the province of *Aria* before advice came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, immediately on his departure, had massacred *Anaxip-* d *pus* and all the *Macedonians*, and having assembled a great body of forces in the neighbourhood of the chief city, which was called *Aritoana*, was about to declare either for himself or for *Bessus*, according as he should be encouraged by the success of his enterprize; but *Alexander* was not a prince of a temper capable of allowing time for the ripening of such designs; for, as soon as he was told this, he marched instantly with a body of horse and light-armed troops, and, travelling seventy miles in two days, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Aritoana* before *Satibarzanes* had the least intelligence of his march. Then it was this *Persian* discovered how unfit he himself was for the management of such an undertaking; for though he had with him a very considerable body of forces, yet, instead of attacking *Alexander* and his troops, e fatigued with such an excessive march, or of intrenching himself in order to defend the army under his command, he instantly quitted the field with a body of horse, and fled with all the expedition he was able to *Bessus*, who willingly received him [h]. *Curtius* tells us, that thirteen thousand *Arians* retiring to a high rock, which was absolutely inaccessible, refused to treat with *Alexander*, in hopes that, seeing it impossible to come at them, he would, when he quitted the country, leave them as he found them. The king, however, took quite a contrary course, for, while he with his horse pursued *Satibarzanes*, *Craterus* with the foot surrounded the bottom of the rock, and held the *Arians* in a manner prisoners till *Alexander*'s return. As soon as the king came into the camp, he ordered wood of all sorts to be cut, and having laid a foun- f dation of large billets, reared up a vast pile, till it was even with the rock; the same thing being done on the opposite side, and at each corner, according as the wind served, they set these piles on fire, and the flames being driven violently upon the rock, the people were compelled to throw themselves from thence, some half burnt, others naked; some few who cried out for mercy were saved. Throughout the whole province, *Alexander* made it his business to search out the chiefs and the accomplices in the rebellion, all of whom he either put to death, or sold for slaves; then he appointed *Arsames* the son of *Artabanus* governor of *Aria*, thence marched with

Satibarzanes *submits, revolts, and is defeated.*

[f] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 24. [g] Id. ibid. Curt. lib. vi. [h] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 25. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

with his army againſt the *Zarangæ*, who, under the command of *Barzaentes*, one of a
thoſe who had conſpired againſt *Darius*, were up in arms, and threatened to make
an obſtinate defence; but their hearts failed them when *Alexander* drew near, inſo-
much, that numbers daily falling off, *Barzaentes*, being afraid they would purchaſe
their own ſafety at the expence of his, privately withdrew from his camp, and
croſſing the river *Indus*, ſought ſhelter among the nations beyond it; but they,
either dreading the power of *Alexander*, or deteſting the treachery of this *Perſian*
towards his former maſter, ſeized and delivered him up; whereupon *Alexander* im-
mediately ordered him to be put to death, as well for the ſake of his own ſafety,
as that he might ſeem to revenge that perfidy which had been uſed towards his un-
fortunate predeceſſor [i]. But it is now time to quit for a ſhort ſpace the ſtory of b
foreign wars, in order to turn our eyes on the diſſenſions, factions, and conſpiracies,
which began to deform that victorious army, wherewith in ſo ſhort a time the greater
part of *Aſia* had been over-run.

Diſſenſions in the Macedonian *army, their cauſes and effects.*

THE firſt and indeed the grand ſource of thoſe troubles which embittered *Alex-*
ander's victories was, the immenſe treaſure acquired by them, and the beneficent
temper of *Alexander* himſelf. For, while with a laviſh hand he beſtowed all things
on all who were near him, many made a wrong uſe of his bounty, and fooliſhly in-
dulged thoſe vices by the practice of which the former poſſeſſors of that wealth, which
was now theirs, had loſt it. Among other inſtances of *Alexander*'s favourites, *Plu-*
tarch informs us, that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore ſilver nails in his ſhoes; that *Leonatus* c
employed ſeveral camels in tranſporting powder from *Egypt*, which he uſed when he
wreſtled. *Hephæſtion* wore very rich garments, and affected in every thing the *Per-*
ſian manner of living; but above all *Philotas* is ſaid to have been nice in his dreſs,
his table, his equipage, and moſt munificent to his friends; one of whom aſking
him to lend him a ſum of money, he inſtantly ordered it to be given him by his
ſteward; but the ſteward affirming there was no money in his coffers, *Philotas* re-
plied warmly, *Have you not then plate and cloaths of mine, turn them into money, ra-*
ther than let my friend want [k]. *Alexander* himſelf began to be very ſenſible of the
miſchiefs that would be produced by the introduction of luxury among his people;
he therefore ſought to extinguiſh it by diſcourſing the moſt eminent of his courtiers, d
whom he ſaw giving into this way of living; he told them, that he was ſurprized,
that they, who had experienced that ſolid ſatisfaction which reſults from an induſtrious
and laborious courſe of life, ſhould ſink into that ſupineneſs and indolence which
had deſtroyed the *Perſians*, and which without queſtion would enervate and enfeeble
themſelves; he told them, that to poſſeſs wealth and uſe it was great and noble;
but to make it the inſtrument of riot and luxury was baſe and effeminate; he expo-
ſtulated with them on the impropriety of ſuch a conduct in men who were ſtill ſol-
diers; he aſked them, how it could be expected that a man ſhould keep his arms
bright, and exerciſe them with activity, who would not ſo much as employ his
own hands in doing things neceſſary about his own body, but would rather call in the e
aid of a ſervant, as if by gaining riches he had loſt the uſe of his limbs. By his
own behaviour alſo, he to the utmoſt diſcouraged this ſort of lazy and inactive
pride; for when at any time he relaxed a little from the toils of war, he diverted
himſelf with hunting, in which he could endure not only all the rigour of the ſeaſon,
but would alſo faſt ſometimes throughout the whole day. Once when he was engaged
in this exerciſe, a lion of a prodigious ſize attacked him: The king defended himſelf
with great courage, and at laſt, though with much ado, he ſlew the beaſt, upon
which the *Lacedæmonian* embaſſador made him a well-turned compliment: *You have,*
Sir, ſaid he, *vindicated your title to royalty even againſt the lion. Craterus* was ſo much
pleaſed with this adventure, that he cauſed the whole of it to be expreſſed in figures f
of braſs by the hands of *Lyſippus* and *Leochares*, which noble piece he dedicated in the
temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. Yet neither *Alexander*'s diſcourſes nor his actions pre-
vailed; the manners of his courtiers proceeded from bad to worſe, in ſpite of all
he could ſay or do to prevent it; and at laſt they proceeded ſo far, as to cenſure his
conduct, and to expreſs themſelves with ſome bitterneſs on the ſubject of his long
continuance of the war, and his leading them conſtantly from one labour to another.
All this at firſt drew no harſher language from *Alexander* than this: *That to do well*
and to be ill ſpoken of, was becoming the royal dignity. But by degrees, as things went
farther,

[i] CURT. lib. vi. c. 25. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [k] PLUT. in vit. Alex. & in Orat. de Fortuna Alex.

farther, he was obliged to alter his behaviour: For when the whole army was ſplit
a into factions, and the ſoldiers were ever openly inveighing againſt his adminiſtration, *Alexander* was under a neceſſity of reproving them, talking to them ſeverely, and of taking other methods to oblige them to keep their ſpeech within the bounds of decency, and their actions within the limits of their duty [l]. *Curtius* tells us, that, to eradicate this ſpirit of mutiny and to reſtore the ancient *Macedonian* diſcipline, he was forced to cauſe fire to be ſet to the ſpoils collected by the ſoldiers, and reduce them all to aſhes [m], which, however, is very incredible; and therefore we prefer *Plutarch*'s account of this matter. He ſays, that when he led his army out of *Hyrcania*, he perceived in them an unwillingneſs to follow him, that is, he firſt perceived
b in them that ſullen diſrepectful humour which generally precedes mutiny. Upon this occaſion he had not recourſe either to harſh words or ſevere uſage; but having ſummoned the ſoldiers to an aſſembly, he in a long and eloquent harangue gave them to underſtand. "That hitherto the *Barbarians* had ſeen them no otherwiſe than as it "were in a dream; and if they ſhould think of returning when they had only alarmed "*Aſia*, and not conquered it, thoſe *Barbarians* would ſet upon them and deſtroy "them like ſo many women. However, he would detain none of them againſt their "will, but give ſuch as deſired it free liberty to return; but withal proteſted againſt "thoſe who ſhould be ſo mean-ſpirited, as to deſert him and his friends, and thoſe "who were willing to fight under him ſtill in an enterprize ſo great and glorious, as it
c "would be to make the *Macedonians* lords of the habitable world". What the reſult of this exhortation was, the ſame author informs us from a letter written by *Alexander* to *Antipater*, wherein is thus expreſſed: "That when he had ſpoken "to them after this manner, they unanimouſly cried out, they were ready to go "with him whitherſoever he ſhould be pleaſed to lead them [n]". From this time forward, however, *Alexander* began to alter his conduct, and, by giving himſelf a little into the cuſtoms of the orientals, endeavoured to ſecure that obedience from his new ſubjects, which he found it ſo difficult to preſerve among his old ones; he likewiſe endeavoured to blend the cuſtoms of the *Aſiatics* and the *Greeks* by various methods. The form of his civil government reſembled that of the ancient *Perſian* kings: In
d military affairs, however, he preſerved the *Macedonian* diſcipline; but then he made choice of thirty thouſand boys out of the provinces, whom he cauſed to be inſtructed in the *Greek* tongue, and directed to be brought up in ſuch a manner, as that from time to time he might with them fill up the phalanx. The *Macedonians* ſaw with great concern theſe extraordinary meaſures, which ſuited very indifferently with their groſs underſtandings; for they thought after all this fighting to be abſolute lords of *Aſia*, and to poſſeſs not only the riches of its inhabitants, but to rule over the inhabitants themſelves. Whereas they ſaw plainly, that *Alexander* meant no ſuch thing; but that, on the contrary, he conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks both of confidence and favour indiſcriminately on the *Perſians* and *Greeks*. *Plu-*
e *tarch* has taken great pains to inculcate a notion of *Alexander*'s doing this from a principle of exalted virtue, and from an earneſt deſire of uniting, as it were in marriage, the people of the two great continents, *Europe* and *Aſia*. Of this he ſpeaks every-where in raptures, as of the moſt ſublime and glorious kind of philoſophy, invented and practiſed by *Ariſtotle*'s royal pupil, that he might ſpread peace, plenty, and politeneſs over the face of the whole earth; with this ſingle proviſo, however, that the earth own no maſter but him. But it may be, that *Plutarch* thought more of this matter than *Alexander*, ſince, without having recourſe to any ſuch ſublime principles, we cannot account for his conduct in as ſatisfactory a manner. Wealth and pleaſure were the ends for which the groſs of his army had undergone ſuch exceſ-
f ſive fatigues; and now when thoſe were in their power, they did not greatly care to fight any longer. Dominion and fame were what *Alexander* had in view, and finding that theſe could ſcarce be ſecured by an army already full of diſſenſion, he began to turn his eyes on thoſe whom he had ſubdued, and to expect from them as much as had been performed hitherto by his *Macedonians*, as if all men were capable of all things under his auſpice [o].

WITH all theſe mighty deſigns in his head, a conſpiracy was formed in his camp in order to take him off, before any of them could be carried into execution; this *A conſpiracy againſt the life of* Alexander *diſcovered.*

[l] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in loc. citat. [m] CURT. lib. vi. c. 6. [n] PLUT. in vit. Alex. [o] ARRIAN. lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. v. vi. JUSTIN. lib. xi. PLUT. in orat. de fortun. & virt. Alexand.

this conſpiracy, like moſt others, was by thoſe who were concerned in it, involved in a
ſuch obſcurity, that few were able to know what to make of it even at the time it
broke out; and authors have related its circumſtances ſo variouſly, that it is very
difficult to give a tolerable and conſiſtent account of it from the lights they afford
us. Our old guide *Arrian* was as much in the dark as the reſt, and, as we ſhall ſee
hereafter, met with different relations under the hand of the ſame author. In ſo
perplexed a buſineſs, we ſhall draw out as clear and diſtinct a detail of facts as we can,
and, having furniſhed the beſt materials in our powers, ſhall leave our readers to
decide for themſelves. One *Dymnus* a *Macedonian*, of no great rank in the army,
having determined in his mind to kill *Alexander*, communicated his deſign to one b
Nicomachus, a young man for whom he had a great love, earneſtly inviting him
to bear a part in the action; the lad, terrified at the very mention of it, revealed
it to *Cebalinus* his brother, whom *Plutarch* calls *Balinus*; and he, eager to ſave his
brother and himſelf, was reſolved to make a diſcovery; but inaſmuch as *Dymnus*
had told *Nicomachus*, that thoſe who were concerned in this plot would execute it in
three days, *Cebalinus* went to court out of an apprehenſion, that if his brother was
ſeen there, it might alarm the conſpirators, and engage them to execute their
purpoſe before proper meaſures could be taken to prevent it. When *Cebalinus* came
to the royal quarters, the firſt perſon of diſtinction he met with was *Philotas*, to
whom he diſcloſed this matter, and begged him to bring him to the king. This
was eaſy for him to have done, becauſe he was twice a-day admitted to the royal c
preſence; however, he omitted it, though he had a very long conference with the
king that very day. The next day *Cebalinus* ſolicited him again, when *Philotas* told
him, that he had no opportunity of ſpeaking of it to the king, but promiſed him
that he would do it ſpeedily; yet he omitted it throughout this day alſo; where-
upon *Cebalinus*, growing impatient, and doubting with himſelf if this ſhould come
to the king's ear any other way, his own and his brother's life would be in danger,
applied himſelf to one of the king's pages, and having intimated to him what the
diſcovery was which he was deſirous to make, received directions from him to hide
himſelf in the armoury, together with a promiſe, that the king ſhould be acquainted
with it when he was in the bath; which was accordingly done. When *Alexander* had d
heard all the page knew, and was farther acquainted, that *Cebalinus* himſelf was in
the armoury, he ſent for him, and heard from his own mouth, not only all that
Nicomachus's brother had told him, but alſo how *Philotas* had trifled with him, and
had for two days together concealed this matter from his knowledge. The king,
extremely offended, ordered *Dymnus* to be ſeized, and *Philotas* to be ſent for to
him[p]. The former, as ſoon as he was apprehended, ſtabbed himſelf ſo deſperately,
that he died juſt as he was brought into the king's preſence, or, as others ſay, was
killed in his own tent by him who went to apprehend him, becauſe he ſtood on his de-
fence: However it was, he died without being examined, or making any confeſ- e
ſion, which gave the king great diſquiet, who fancied, that if the man had been
brought to him alive, he might one way or other have drawn from him the whole
ſecret. As it was, he ſent for *Philotas*, and taxed him with perfidy, for not inform-
ing him of *Cebalinus*'s diſcovery: *Philotas* excuſed himſelf, by affirming that the
ſtory ſeemed to him altogether improbable, and that he was unwilling to fill his
head with needleſs fears and ſuſpicions; as he ſaid this, he threw himſelf at the king's
feet and embraced his knees; and it is ſaid the king gave him his hand in token of
forgiveneſs. Indeed it is very probable, that *Alexander* thought himſelf bound to
paſs by ſuch a neglect, in a perſon who had ſerved him faithfully, whoſe father had
done ſuch important ſervices to his father and himſelf, and who had loſt two bro- f
thers in fighting his quarrels[q]. At ſupper *Philotas* was invited, and the king talked
to him as familiarly as he was wont to do; but it ſeems he retired early, and went
to bed. When he was gone, ſome who were about the king, *Curtius* mentions expreſs-
ly *Craterus* for one, began to infuſe it into *Alexander*'s head, that *Dymnus* could
never be the prime author of ſo extrordinary an attempt, but muſt have been influ-
enced thereto by perſons of ſuperior rank. That it looked very ſuſpicious in *Philotas* never to diſcloſe any thing of this matter, nor to take any meaſures for ſeizing
the conſpirators. That in things of leſs importance pity and tenderneſs might in-
terfere; but that where the king's life lay at ſtake, and in him the fortune of *Ma-*
cedon,

[p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [q] Curt. lib. vi. Arrian. lib. iii. c.

a *reden*, compaſſion was no virtue, but rather a kind of treaſon, it being the duty of every loyal ſubject to ſacrifice all private conſiderations to the peace and ſafety of his prince. By ſuch diſcourſes they extorted, as it were, from the king an order to ſeize *Philotas*, and put him to the queſtion. Which when they went to execute, they found him faſt aſleep; however, they waked him, and put him in irons, at which he is ſaid to have burſt out into this exclamation; *O! my prince, the malice of my enemies hath overcome thy inclination to mercy.* When he was firſt put to the rack, he denied every thing; but at laſt, unable to bear the pain, he impeached many, and amongſt the reſt his father. In all likelihood, he ſaid any thing that he thought would deliver him from his torments [r].

b *Curtius* gives us a fuller, and we ſhould ſay a better account of this matter, if we could at all rely on the harangues inſerted in his writings; but theſe have evidently ſo rhetorical a turn, that it is difficult to conceive how they ſhould have proceeded from the mouths of perſons ſo ſtrongly agitated by their paſſions. It is, however, probable and conſiſtent with the beſt hiſtorians, that *Philotas* was brought to an open trial according to the laws and cuſtoms of the *Macedonians*, wherein he was charged by the king with having a hand in *Dymnus*'s conſpiracy. Againſt this charge he made a long and laboured defence; he ſaid, that his father and himſelf, with his brothers, *Nicanor* and *Hector*, who were now no more, had often hazarded their lives in the king's ſervice, and had ſome ſhare in the victories purchaſed by the valour of

c the *Macedonians*: That the conſpiracy of *Dymnus* no ways reached him, his name having never been mentioned by any of the accomplices impeached by *Nicomachus*; he obſerved, that it was highly improbable, if he had any concern in the plot, that he ſhould ſuffer *Cebalinus* to remain two days at court at full liberty to apply himſelf to others; he acknowledged his offence in not acquainting the king ſooner with the diſcovery, and then addreſſing himſelf, as it were, to *Alexander*, whom he conceived to be within hearing, though he affected not to be preſent, he put him in mind that he had immediately implored his clemency, that he had givin him his hand as a pledge of his pardon, and had invited him to his table; his own innocence and the king's aſſuring him of mercy had ſo quieted his mind, that, as he remarked, thoſe

d who came to ſeize him had much ado to awake him; he therefore conjured the king not to abandon him to his enemies, nor to ſuffer them to triumph at once over an innocent man and the word of a merciful prince. *Alexander*, however, pretended to leave all things to the aſſembly, and they, managed by the capital enemies of *Philotas*, adjudged him to the torture, and afterwards, upon the confeſſion extorted from him by the pains he then endured, to death [s], which he ſuffered, as *Arrian* informs us, by being ſtruck through with darts by the ſoldiers [t]. *Curtius* ſays, that according to the manner of the *Macedonians* they ſtoned him [u]. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was puniſhed as a traitor according to the cuſtom of his country [w]. All agree that he was put to death, and that his execution was attended with many conjectures

e and ſuſpicions, that he fell rather through the effects of private malice, than by the ſtroke of public juſtice.

Philotas *firſt tortured, then put to death.*

The certainty of this plot diſcuſſed.

Those who have ſought to excuſe *Alexander* from the imputations which the death of *Philotas* and its conſequences drew upon him, have ſuggeſted in their accounts many things, which, if they were true, would certainly prove that *Philotas* was an indiſcreet and ambitious man at leaſt, if not a traitor. They alledge, that he affected a pomp in his manner of living, a ſplendor in his equipage, a nicety at his table, a complaiſance for his friends, a large and ſwelling retinue, and in fine many other things inconſiſtent with the moderation which ought to be obſerved by a ſubject. They

f ſay, that many years before he had diſcovered a contempt of the king, and a very high idea of his father's merit and his own; that after the battle of *Iſſus*, growing paſſionately enamoured of one *Antigona* of *Pydna*, a very handſome woman, who, as a priſoner, fell to his ſhare; he ſaid to her in his cups, *What was* Philip, *but* Parmenio? *What is* Alexander, *but* Philotas [x]? Which, being talked of by the woman, came at laſt to *Craterus*'s ear, who introduced *Antigona* to *Alexander*, to whom ſhe told this and many other things, and received a ſtrict charge from the king to continue a ſpy on *Philotas*'s words and actions. It is likewiſe alledged, that *Parmenio* himſelf was not a little diſpleaſed with his conduct, and would often give him

[r] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra. [s] Curt. lib. vi. c. 19---33. [t] ubi ſupra.
[u] ubi ſupra. [w] ubi ſupra. [x] Plut. in Orat. de virtut. Alex.

him this caution; *My ſon appear leſs* [y]. But theſe tales carry their refutations in themſelves; if *Philotas*'s behaviour had been ſo generally offenſive, he would not ſurely have held his command, and with it the confidence of the king, till this buſineſs of *Dymnus*. If *Antigona* could bring herſelf not only to impeach a man who loved her, but to remain with him in order to extract his ſecrets, ſhe muſt have been of a diſpoſition unworthy of belief. Beſides, *Craterus* was the capital enemy of *Philotas*, and her being brought by him to the king renders the whole buſineſs very ſuſpicious: If *Parmenio*'s caution to his ſon reflects at all upon his conduct, it certainly juſtifies the father, and yet we ſhall ſee he eſcaped no better than his ſon. On the whole, *Arrian* tells us from *Ptolemy*, that *Philotas* was once tried and acquitted; but that upon ſome new diſcoveries he was a ſecond time impeached and convicted [z]. However it was, after putting him to death, the king thought it not fit to let *Parmenio* ſurvive him long; he therefore diſpatched letters by *Polydamas*, one of his friends, to *Cleander*, *Sitacles*, and *Menidas*, who commanded under *Parmenio* in *Media*, with orders to take him off, which accordingly they did; and, if we may believe *Curtius*, in a very extraordinary manner. He ſays, that *Polydamas*, who undertook the management of this matter, was *Parmenio*'s deareſt and moſt intimate friend; he carried with him not only a letter from the king to that general, but alſo another written in a hand like that of *Philotas* and ſealed with his ſeal. When he arrived in *Media*, and had communicated the king's orders to *Cleander* and his aſſociates, they concerted all things together, and the next day preſented *Parmenio* with his letters as he was walking in his park, where while he was commending the king and looking on the letter which he ſuppoſed came from his ſon, *Cleander* ſtabbed him in the ſide, then in the throat, his companions afterwards ſhamefully mangling the dead body; at laſt *Cleander* cut off the head and ſent it to *Alexander*, the miſerable remains being mournfully interred by the ſoldiers [a].

Conſequences of theſe proceedings.

THESE executions made way for more diſcoveries, or pretended diſcoveries. *Amyntas* the ſon of *Andromenes*, *Attalus*, and *Symmias*, all brethren, were ſeized on account of their intimacy with *Philotas*, and becauſe their fourth brother *Polemon* had fled to the enemy; they were brought to an open trial, and *Amyntas* defended himſelf ſo well, that they were all acquitted; after which *Amyntas* deſired *Alexander*'s leave to go and ſearch for his brother, which was granted him, and he accordingly brought him back, which was thought a convincing proof that they were all innocent; this is *Arrian*'s account, *Curtius* carries the matter ſtill farther; he gives us the defence of *Amyntas* at large, and informs us, that while he was in the midſt of it, *Polemon* was brought in priſoner by thoſe who were ſent in purſuit of him. When he came to ſpeak, he told the aſſembly very frankly, that his intimacy with *Philotas* was the reaſon that he fled; that he was ſo terrified with the thoughts of the tortures that unfortunate perſon had ſuffered, that he left the camp; and that having loſt his companions on the road, while he deliberated with himſelf whether he had beſt proceed or return back, he was taken. *Demetrius*, one of the king's guards, fell alſo into ſuſpicion, and orders were diſpatched into *Macedonia*, directing, that *Alexander Lyncęſtes*, who had been ſome years a priſoner, ſhould be put to death; his friendſhip with *Antigonus* had hitherto preſerved his life, but now he was given up to ſlaughter [b]. Theſe things diſturbed the army very much, eſpecially the *Macedonians*, who though they adored the royal virtues of *Alexander*, did not think themſelves obliged to be in love with his vices; they therefore did not content themſelves with ſpeaking very freely, but wrote home to their friends their thoughts of the preſent ſtate of affairs, the king's ſuſpicions of his friends, and his inclination to hunt out enemies at the very extremities of the world. *Alexander*, having intercepted theſe letters and taken the beſt informations he could, picked out theſe diſſatisfied people, and having diſpoſed them into one corps, gave it the title of the *turbulent battalion* [c], and appointed *Leonidas* to command it; hoping by this means to ſtop the contagion, and to prevent this ſpirit of diſaffection from ſpreading through the whole army.

Having provided againſt future conſpiracies, he purſues his former deſigns.

As a farther precaution againſt any future conſpiracy, *Alexander* thought fit to appoint two generals of the auxiliary horſe, being apprehenſive, that if this authority was lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon, it might prompt him to dangerous under-

[y] Id. in vit. ALEX. [z] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [a] CURT. lib. vi. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [b] ARRIAN. CURT. ubi ſupra. [c] Ἀτάκτων τάγμα.

undertakings, and at the ſame time furniſh him with the means of carrying them into execution. *Hepheſtion* and *Clytus* were therefore appointed joint commanders of theſe horſe, nor can the king be juſtly blamed for this caution, if it be ſuppoſed, that *Alexander Lynceſtes*, and *Philotas* were juſtly puniſhed [d]. To keep his forces in action, he ſuddenly marched into the country of the *Euergetæ*, i. e. *benefactors*. This is an inſtance of that ſtrange way of writing, into which, out of a fondneſs for their own language, the *Greeks* conſtantly ran; it is impoſſible that this nation ſhould have been really called by this name; the truth is, that it is no more than a tranſlation of a *Perſian* name beſtowed upon them by *Cyrus*, and it would have been well, if any of the *Greek* hiſtorians or geographers had preſerved this *Perſian* name. *Arrian* tells us, that they were before called *Agriaſpæ*, and *Diodorus* calls them by two different names; ſuch differences are common in *Greek* writers, nor is it eaſy to diſcover which is the true or the beſt reading. Theſe people were celebrated for their wiſdom, beneficence, and politeneſs. When *Cyrus* the founder of the *Perſian* empire marched this way againſt the *Scythians*, his army was grievouſly diſtreſſed for want of proviſion, inſomuch, that they were compelled to eat each other; from this deplorable ſtate they were relieved by the kindneſs of this nation, who brought thirty thouſand loads of proviſion of all ſorts into the camp. *Cyrus*, in conſideration of this extraordinary act of generoſity, honoured them with ſome *Perſian* appellation equivalent to the *Greek* term *Euergetæ*. *Alexander* found their ſucceſſors full of the ſame kind and hoſpitable diſpoſition; he therefore treated them with great reſpect, and ſtaying among them ſome ſmall time in order to celebrate a feſtival to *Apollo*, he at his departure added to their dominions ſome lands, which lay contiguous, and which for that reaſon they had requeſted of him [e]. Turning then to the caſt, he entered *Arachoſia*, the inhabitants of which ſubmitted without giving him any trouble; whereupon he appointed *Memnon* to be governor of theſe provinces, as *Arrian* aſſures us, though *Diodorus* affirms that he appointed *Tiridates*. While he paſſed his winter in theſe parts, the king received advice, that the *Arians*, whom he had ſo lately ſubdued, were again up in arms, *Satibarzanes* being returned into that country with two thouſand horſe aſſigned him by *Beſſus*. *Alexander* inſtantly diſpatched *Artabazus* the *Perſian* with *Erigyus* and *Caranus*, two of his commanders, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot; he likewiſe ordered *Phrataphernes*, to whom he had given the government of *Parthia*, to accompany them. Theſe, with all convenient ſpeed, marched back into *Aria*, where *Satibarzanes* met them with a well-appointed army; a general engagement enſued, wherein the *Arians* behaved very well, as long as their commander *Satibarzanes* lived; but he engaging *Erigyus*, the *Macedonian* ſtruck him firſt into the throat, and then drawing forth his ſpear again through the mouth, ſo that he immediately expired, and with him the courage of his ſoldiers, who inſtantly began to fly, ſo that *Alexander*'s commanders made an eaſy conqueſt of the reſt of the country, and ſettled it effectually under his obedience [f] (R).

THE

[d] ARRIAN. lib. iii, c. 27. [e] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 9. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 5. [f] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 28. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 17.

(R) There is nothing more warmly complained of by the critics, than the vaſt miſtakes and inſuperable difficulties, which occur in the deſcriptions of rivers, mountains, provinces, *&c.* in ancient authors. Without queſtion, theſe complaints are not altogether groundleſs, and yet, from a ſtrict compariſon of the ancients with each other and with the relations of modern travellers, we are induced to believe, that there is not always ſufficient authority for thoſe vehement declamations, which ſome, in order to paſs for great geographers, have made, not only againſt *Curtius*, but againſt *Arrian* and *Diodorus*, on account of their ſuppoſed errors in theſe matters. To touch on this ſubject, as often as we meet with theſe complaints in the commentaries of late writers on thoſe who have lived ages before them, would lead us into a prolixity, alike troubleſome to ourſelves and tedious to our readers; to ſay nothing on this head at all might betray our own want of care, and leave them in great perplexity. We ſhall therefore once for all lay down the reaſons which have induced us to pay a greater regard than is uſually done to the deſcriptions met with in ancient authors, and the motives which have led us to paſs this ſentence on thoſe who have treated the ancients in another manner. *Arrian*, in his account of *Alexander*'s march through *Paropamiſis*, tells us, that it was performed with the utmoſt toil and difficulty, his ſoldiers paſſing through deep ſnows, and enduring all the extremities of want (48). *Diodorus* ſpeaks more largly of theſe difficulties; but as we have inſerted what he ſays in the text (49), there is no neceſſity of repeating it here (50). *Curtius* has followed *Diodorus* exactly: *Strabo* in his geography agrees very well with what the reſt (51) ſay, and yet it has been ſurmiſed, that they are every one miſtaken;

(48) *Arrian. lib.* iii. (49) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (50) *Curt. lib.* vii. *c.* 3. (51) *Strab. Geogr. lib.* xiii. *p.* 723.

Continues his marches in the most rigorous seasons, and through the most barren countries.

The king, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, advanced into the country of *Paropamisis*, so called from the mountain *Paropamisus*, which the soldiers of *Alexander* called *Caucasus*. We are told by *Diodorus*, that he found the country for the most part open and plain, without trees, covered with snow, having large open boroughs scattered here and there. The houses in which the inhabitants dwelt were covered with tiles; the roof rising up like a spire, but open at the top, whereby they received light and let out the smoke; the walls of these houses were so well built, and the mortar made use of for them so excellently tempered, that they had in them no flaws or cracks, but were perfectly secured from the inclemencies of the air. In them therefore the people dwelt all the winter, having store of all sorts of provisions laid up, and having previously secured their vines and other fruit-trees, by covering them with matts, from the effects of the frost. In their marches through this melancholy plain, the *Macedonians* were exposed to vast inconveniencies, the reflection of the light from the snow and ice grievously affecting their eyes, and the excessive cold seizing such as, through weariness, either walked slow, or sat down; many of them perished. *Alexander*, however, pleasing himself with the thoughts of having reached *Caucasus*, in sixteen days marching cross *Paropamisus*, came at length to an opening leading into *Media*, which, finding of a sufficient breadth, he directed a city to be built there, which he called *Alexandria*, as also several other towns about a days journey distant from thence; and in these places he left seven thousand persons, part of them such as had hitherto followed his camp, and part of the mercenary soldiers, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to dwell here. Having thus settled things in this province, he sacrificed solemnly to the gods, and appointed *Proexes* the *Persian* president thereof, with a small body of troops under the command of *Niloxenus* to assist him, he resumed his former design of penetrating into *Bactria* [g] (S).

Besus,

[g] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 28, 29. Diodor. ubi supra. Curt. lib. vii. c. 15.

mistaken; and on account of this province lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-seventh degrees of latitude, it has been asserted, that the cold could not be greater there than in *Italy* or *Greece*; yet *Tavernier* (52), and in general all the travellers that speak either of this province, or of places near it, agree, that in the winter it is excessive cold; that the snow renders it almost impassable, and that it is to this very time as barren of wood, as it is described to be by the before-mentioned authors. Perhaps it might be very possible to assign the natural causes of such severe winters in these parts, but there is no necessity of doing that; for if the matter of fact be, as the ancients have described it, it fully justifies them and us in following them. To say the truth, the moderns have been too assuming, and without proper grounds; it is but very lately that we knew either the true form or the exact situation of the *Caspian* sea, and yet the mistakes of the ancients about it have been censured long ago, and with great quickness. The source of all this is too great a dependance on theoretick knowledge, and an absurd affectation of not believing what we cannot bring to square with our hypothetic notions. One would have thought, that an error of the ancients might have taught us to have acted with greater caution and modesty in this way; we know, that the most learned men of all sects and ages were of opinion, that the torrid zone was absolutely uninhabitable, and very fair and plausible reasons they produced for their opinion; and yet experience has convinced us, that they were absolutely mistaken; and if they were, why may not we? In matters of fact, the evidence necessary to conviction is of a different nature than in matters of speculation; and therefore it was, and will be everlastingly, wrong to exclude authentic relations, because they do not concur with our favourite theories.

(S) We have omitted in the text a very remarkable instance of the inequality of *Alexander*'s temper, and of that savage cruelty which in spite of his many virtues still lurked in his breast. The reason of our omitting it was, because we find nothing of it in *Arrian*; the reason of our inserting of it here is its having been approved by the best compilers of history, though it is found in *Curtius*. It must be owned, that there is a chasm in *Diodorus*, wherein for ought we know this story might have been inserted. However it be, the reader ought to find it somewhere, and therefore we have made it the subject of a note. "While the king expected *Besus* to be brought to him, he came to a little "town inhabited by the *Branchidæ*. These were a "family of *Milesians*, removed thither by *Xerxes* on "account of their putting into his hands the sacred "treasures reposed in the temple of *Apollo Didymæus*. They had not quite forsaken the customs "of their ancient country, but their language was "a sort of medley, made up of their own and that "of the country they now inhabited. They expressed a great deal of joy at the king's arrival, and "readily surrendred both themselves and their town "to him. Hereupon *Alexander* called together the "*Milesians* that served in his army. Now we must "observe, that the *Milesians* bore an old grudge to "the *Branchidæ*. The king therefore referred it to "them, whether they would consider their extraction, or revenge their former injury; and as they "varied in their opinions, he told them he would "advise with himself what was best to be done in "the matter. The next day, when the deputies "from the *Branchidæ* came to meet him, he commanded them to attend him, and being come to "the town, he entred the gates thereof with "part of his army, and ordered the phalanx to surround the place, and, upon the signal given, to "pillage

(52) *Voyag. de Tavernier, Vol.* I. *Tit. Histoire de Candahar.*

Alexander *reduces* Bactria *and* Sogdia, Beſſus *being taken.* *Year after the flood* 2670. *Before Chriſt* 329.

a *Beſſus*, who with the imperial ornaments had aſſumed the title of *Artaxerxes*, when he was aſſured that *Alexander* was marching towards him, immediately began to waſte all the country between *Parapomiſus* and the river *Oxus*, which river he paſſed with his forces, and then burnt all the veſſels he had made uſe of for tranſporting them, retiring to *Nautaca* a city of *Sogdia*, fully perſuaded that, by the precautions he had taken, *Alexander* would be compelled to give over his purſuit. This conduct of his, however, diſheartened his troops, and gave the lye to all his pretenſions; for he had affected to cenſure *Darius*'s conduct, and had charged him with cowardice, in not defending the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, whereas he now quitted the banks of the moſt defenſible river perhaps in the whole world. As to his hopes, though it b cannot be ſaid they were ill founded, yet they proved abſolutely vain; for *Alexander* continuing his march, notwithſtanding all the hardſhips his ſoldiers ſuſtained, reduced all *Bactria* under his obedience, particularly the capital *Bactra* and the ſtrong caſtle *Aornus*; in the latter he placed a gariſon under the command of *Archelaus*, but the government of the province he committed to *Artabazus* [h]. He continued his march then to the river *Oxus*, on the banks of which when he arrived, he found it three quarters of a mile over, its depth more than proportionable to ſuch a breadth, its bottom ſandy, and its ſtream ſo rapid, as to render it almoſt unnavigable; neither boat nor tree in its neighbourhood, ſo that the ableſt commanders in the *Macedonian* army were of opinion, that they ſhould be obliged to march back. The king, however, having firſt ſent away under a proper eſcort all his infirm and worn-out ſoldiers, c that they might be conducted ſafe to the ſea ports and from thence to *Greece*, deviſed a method of paſſing this river without either boat or bridge. He ordered the ſkins, of which the *Macedonians* made their tents, to be made into a kind of bags, and to be ſtuffed with certain light and buoyant matter; then they were rolled and ſtrongly ſtitched to prevent the water from breaking in; by the help of theſe he paſſed over his whole army in five days, and marched directly towards the camp of *Beſſus*, where when he arrived, he found it abandoned; but received at the ſame time letters from *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes*, who were the chief commanders under *Beſſus*, ſignifying, that if he would ſend a ſmall party to receive him, they would put *Beſſus* into d his hands. *Alexander* thereupon diſpatched *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* with three ſquadrons of the auxiliary horſe, a party of archers, the battalion of foot which had been commanded by *Philotas*, and a conſiderable corps of light-armed troops to receive the priſoner; and *Ptolemy* having in four days paſſed over as much ground as might have taken up ten, arrived within an ordinary day's march of *Spitamenes*. There he received advice, that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes* were not thoroughly reſolved whether they themſelves ſhould put *Beſſus* into his hands; whence he rightly judging that they would

[h] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 30.

" pillage the receptacle of traitors, and put them " all to the ſword. Theſe poor wretches, being in " a defenceleſs condition, were every-where butch- " ered, and neither conformity of language, the " humble poſture of ſuppliants, nor the moſt fer- " vent intreaty could put a ſtop to their authori- " zed cruelty. The very foundations of the " walls were dug up, that there might not be the " leaſt footſteps left of the town. Their fury did " not ſtop here, for they not only cut down the " conſecrated wood, but alſo grubbed up the very " roots thereof, that there might be nothing left " but a barren waſte ſolitude. Now, had their " cruelty been practiſed on the firſt tranſgreſſors, " it might have been thought a juſt puniſhment of " their crime; but here poſterity is puniſhed for " the ſins of its forefathers, without ever having " ſo much as ſeen *Miletum*, far from being able to " betray it to *Xerxes* (53)." There is a paſſage in *Strabo* which ſeems to confirm what is here related by *Curtius*; he is deſcribing *Bactria*, and from thence takes occaſion to ſpeak of *Alexander*'s exploits there and in *Sogdia*; and amongſt other things relates this: " Finding here-abouts the city " of the *Branchidæ*, he demoliſhed it. Theſe " people followed *Xerxes* out of their own coun- " try, after having betrayed to him the treaſures of " *Apollo Didymæus*; but *Alexander*, to expreſs his " abomination of their ſacrilege and treaſon, razed " their city (54)." In ſeveral other places this author aſſures us, that the *Branchidæ* did betray theſe treaſures into the hands of *Xerxes*, and followed him into *Aſia*. Yet *Herodotus* ſeems to give another account of this matter, for he aſcribes the plundering of this temple, and reducing it to aſhes, to *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*; and tells us farther, that all the *Mileſian* priſoners were conducted to *Suſa*, from whence *Darius*, without any other ill uſage, ſent them to inhabit the city of *Ampe*, ſeated near the mouth of the river *Tigris* (55). Perhaps the *Branchidæ* were at this time left behind, and, after the temple was repaired, and the oracle reſtored, betrayed the treaſures to *Xerxes* on his return from the *Grecian* war, when he ſeized all the wealth laid up in temples, to indemnify him for the loſs he ſuſtained in that unſucceſsful expedition. However, if *Alexander* really maſſacred the people, as well as demoliſhed their town, *Curtius* had reaſon to reflect, as he does, on the proceeding, which was flagrantly cruel and unjuſt.

(53) *Curt. lib.* vii. *c.* 21. (54) *Strab. Geogr. lib.* xiv. *p.* 518 (55) *Herodot. lib.* vi.

would be glad to have that done by force, which by fraud they were afraid to do, put himſelf at the head of his horſe, and by a quick march ſurrounded the village in which *Beſſus* had been left with a few ſoldiers. As ſoon as he had done this, *Ptolemy* ordered proclamation to be made, that the inhabitants of the place had nothing to fear, if they delivered up *Beſſus*. This had the wiſhed-for effect, the people reſolved not to ſuffer for the ſake of ſo wicked a perſon; they therefore opened their gates, and *Ptolemy* entering ſeized *Beſſus* [i]. *Curtius* has given quite another account of this matter; and there are other accounts which differ from his; but it ſeems to us impertinent to trouble the reader with any but this, becauſe we are convinced that it is the true one [k]. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* took him: From the memoirs of this *Ptolemy* we have the account before given: To what end therefore ſhould we have recourſe to other memoirs, the materials of which muſt have been collected at ſecond hand? When *Ptolemy* had him in his power, he ſent advice thereof to the king, and deſired to know after what manner he ſhould be brought to him. *Alexander* returned for anſwer, that he ſhould be brought chained and naked, and that in this condition he ſhould be placed on the right hand ſide of the road, by which he was to march with his army. This being accordingly performed, *Alexander*, as he paſſed by him, ordered his chariot to ſtop, and with a loud voice asked him, *What could induce you to ſeize upon* Darius, *your ſovereign and friend, who had always deſerved well at your hands? and what, after you had ſeized and led him about priſoner, could tempt you to murder him in ſo baſe a manner?* To whom *Beſſus* anſwered, *That it was not his act, nor done by his advice alone; but was performed by the joint conſent of all who were preſent, from an opinion, that it would procure them the favour of* Alexander. The king ordered him to be whipt; directed the queſtion he had asked to be proclaimed aloud throughout the army, and then commanded that *Beſſus* ſhould be conducted priſoner into *Bactria* [l]. A ſupply of horſes being now arrived, the *Macedonian* cavalry were remounted, *Alexander* continued his march to *Maracanda*, the capital of *Sogdia*, from whence he advanced to the river *Iaxartes*, called by *Arrian* and the reſt of the hiſtorians who have written his life, *Tanais*, but doubtleſs without any foundation; for beſides a very large tract of land on this ſide, and a much larger on the other, the whole breadth of the *Caſpian* ſea is between that part of the river *Iaxartes*, to which he came, and the fall of the *Tanais* into the *Palus Mæotis*. It is true, that *Arrian* diſtinguiſhes between this *Tanais* and that, which ſhews he had more ſkill in geography than the reſt; but we ſtill want a proof, that the *Iaxartes* was ever called *Tanais* by any but *Alexander*'s ſoldiers, who were fond of impoſing falſe names to flatter their own vanity, and amuſe the reſt of mankind. On the ſide of this river, as ſome of his troops were foraging, they were ſurprized by the *Barbarians*, and a conſiderable number of *Macedonian* horſe ſlain. After which exploit between twenty and thirty thouſand of theſe rude people betook themſelves to a high rock, the aſcent of which was on all ſides ſteep and rugged, in hopes that there they ſhould be ſafe from *Alexander*'s ſoldiers. But the king, as ſoon as he received advice of what had happened, marched thither with his horſe and light-armed troops, and notwithſtanding the danger and difficulty of the attack, led his troops in perſon to aſcend the rock. The *Barbarians*, having ſo great an advantage from the ſituation of the place and fighting alſo for their lives, repulſed the *Macedonians* more than once; at laſt, however, notwithſtanding the king himſelf was wounded in the leg, ſo as to have the ſmaller of his ſhin bones broken, the *Macedonians* carried it, compelling numbers of thoſe unhappy wretches to throw themſelves over the rock, ſlaying without mercy thoſe that fell into their hands, ſo that of the multitude retiring thither not above eight thouſand eſcaped [m].

Subdues certain rebels.

WITHIN a few days after, the *Abii*, a famous *Scythian* people, ſent embaſſadors to *Alexander* to deſire peace; with them came embaſſadors from the *European Scythians*; to theſe he gave fair words, and ſent ſome of his own people home with them under colour of concluding the negotiations; but in truth to bring him advice of the ſituation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what manner they made war. The *Scythians* having ſome notion of what he deſigned, that is, the *Scythians* whom he had already ſubdued; and being alſo informed, that he had projected the building of a city to keep them in awe, they at once took up

[i] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 30. [k] Curt. lib. vii. c. 22. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.
[l] Arrian. ubi ſupra. [m] Arrian. lib. iii. c. ult. Curt. lib. vii. c. 26, 27.

a up arms, cut off his garisons, and joined with the discontented *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*. As soon as *Alexander* was informed of this, he directed his several battalions of infantry to furnish themselves with ladders, which as soon as they had done, he marched instantly towards *Gaza*, the nearest city of seven which the *Barbarians* had seized. At the same time he dispatched *Craterus* to *Cyropolis*, the greatest of those cities, into which most of the *Barbarians* had retired, commanding him to encamp with the walls, to draw a ditch and rampart round the city, and plant his engines where-ever he thought convenient; so that the citizens, there, finding employment enough to defend themselves at home, might not be able to secure other places elsewhere. As soon as he approached *Gaza*, he orded the wall, which was but of mud
b and low built, to be assaulted, and his scaling-ladders every-where got ready. Then his slingers, and archers, and darters, mixed with the foot, beginning the attack, incommoded the besieged with missive weapons, and at the same time galled them with darts from their engines; insomuch, that the walls were deserted by the *Barbarians*, and the ladders being immediately fixed, the *Macedonians* mounted, and entering killed all the men they met, for so *Alexander* had commanded; but the women, and children, and the riches of the place, were given as a spoil to the soldiers. Thence he moved to another of those cities, which was built and fortified like the former; which he assaulted and took the same day, and disposed of the captives in the same manner. Thence proceeding to the third city on the next day, he took it at the
c first attack. In the mean time, while he at the head of his troops of foot was busied in reducing those places, he dispatched his horse to two other cities not far off, with orders to take care that the citizens, when they heard of the storming of their neighbour towns and his nigh approach, should not betake themselves to flight, and so render it a difficult task for him to overtake them. And as he judged, so it happened, that the dispatch of these troops thither was necessary; for the *Barbarians*, who held the other two cities not yet taken, seeing the smoke of that over-against them, which was then on fire, and besides some who had escaped out of that calamity bringing them the news, they fled out of both the cities as fast as they could; but, falling in among the horse posted for that purpose, were most of them slain. These
d five cities thus taken and destroyed in two days, he hasted to *Cyropolis*, the greatest and most populous of the whole country. It was surrounded with a wall much higher than any of the rest, and was built by *Cyrus*; and as many of the *Barbarians* both stout and well-armed had fled for shelter thither, it was not to be supposed that the *Macedonians* should gain it at the first assault. Wherefore *Alexander* having planted his engines in places convenient, determined to batter the wall, and where-ever he made a breach to storm the place. But finding the channel of the river, which usually run through the town like a torrent, at that time dry, and the wall disjoined, so as to afford an entrance for his soldiers, he with his body-guards, his targeteers, his archers, and *Argians*, while the *Barbarians* were employed in guarding themselves from the en-
e gines and the assailants, privately entered the city at first with a few men through that channel, and having burst open the gates with that party, gave an easy admittance to the rest. The *Barbarians* then, notwithstanding their perceiving their city taken, falling upon the *Macedonians*, a sharp battle ensued, wherein *Alexander* himself received a blow on the head and neck with a stone, and *Craterus* and many more of his captains were wounded with missive weapons. However, the *Barbarians* were at last driven out of the *market-place*. In the mean time, those who battered the wall, seeing it void of defendants, took it, and at their first entrance slew about eight thousand of the enemy. The rest (for the whole number there gathered together was eighteen thou-
f sand) retired into the castle: But these, when *Alexander* had continued his siege but one day, being destitute of water, surrendered the place. Thence moving to the seventh city, he took it at the first assault. *Ptolemy* indeed says, it was delivered up without fighting; but *Aristobulus* on the contrary affirms, that it was taken by storm, and all who were found therein slain. *Ptolemy* tells us, that the captives were dispersed throughout the army, and kept chained till he should depart out of that country, lest any of those who had occasioned the revolt should be left [n]. The *Scythians* in *Asia* laying hold of this opportunity, came down in great bodies to the river's side to watch when they might attack *Alexander* advantagiously; this interruption was followed by an account that *Spitamenes* had besieged the garison left in *Maracanda*,

[n] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 2, 3. Curt. lib. vii. c. 26.

canda, and that the *Macedonians* were in great danger. *Alexander*, however, would not abandon a design he had once formed; having therefore dispatched relief to the city before-mentioned, he proceeded to mark out the city he had formerly projected, to serve for a fortress against the *Scythians*. In twenty days he walled it round; the soldiers vying with each other in the performance of the tasks assigned them. This once done, he gave the city to such of the *Barbarians* as had served in his troops, to the mercenaries who were desirous of settling there, and to such of the *Macedonians* as, being unfit for service, were willing to have houses and lands allotted to them in this place [o].

Defeats the Scythians, but with difficulty.

The king having accomplished all that he intended in these parts, and being no ways desirous of entering into a war with the *Scythians*, from whom he knew there was nothing to be got but blows, prepared to march away. The *Scythians*, having notice of this, came down in vast numbers to the river's side, upbraided him and his soldiers, called them cowards and bullies, who, proud of having subdued the effeminate *Persians*, were afraid of attacking men, and durst not engage the ancient conquerors of *Asia*. *Alexander* was exceedingly nettled at these reproaches, and yet was at a loss how to pass the river in the sight of so daring an enemy; however, he ordered *Aristander* to offer sacrifices, which he did again and again, but constantly assured the king, that the omens were altogether inauspicious; this gave him great concern, but could not engage him absolutely to drop his design. On the contrary, when he reflected on the dishonour which *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* had sustained from his unfortunate war with this people, he began to fansy that his own fame would be no less injured; wherefore he at last determined at all events to pass the river, and to attack the enemy, having first put them into some disorder by the darts and stones thrown from his engines, which, doing great execution cross the river, were new to the *Scythians* and amazed them very much. The *Macedonian* horse being few in comparison of the enemy, the *Scythians* repulsed them at the first attack, and disordered them pretty much; but *Alexander* taking care to support them with light-armed troops, they charged again, and made some impression on the enemy, which as soon as the king perceived, he brought up the heavy-armed troops, and the weight of their charge determined the matter; for the *Scythians* being unable to sustain it broke and fled, leaving a thousand men dead upon the spot, among whom was one *Satraces* an eminent general, and a hundred and fifty were made prisoners; much more execution would have been done in the pursuit, if the *Macedonians*, thro' excessive heat, and violent thirst, had not been hindred from continuing it. *Alexander*, who was always among the number of the most forward and vigorous soldiers, finding himself very faint, drank freely of some standing water, which threw him into such a flux, as endangered his life, which was held an accomplishment of *Aristander*'s prediction [p]. It may be truly said, that this was a hard-fought battle, and that the *Macedonians* bought their victory much dearer than they were wont to do, losing one hundred foot and sixty horse upon the spot, having a thousand wounded. The king ordered the prisoners to be released, and some days after, when ambassadors arrived from the *Scythian* king, excusing the business and assuring him that the late proceedings were against his orders, *Alexander* took all in good part, received them into his protection, and being by no means willing to have any thing farther to do with them, granted them a peace on their own terms, and began to turn his head to the care of his other affairs, which were indeed in no little disorder; the war reviving when he least expected it, the troops under *Spitamenes* seeming to be beat at last both into discipline and courage [q].

The Macedonians under Pharnaces defeated by Spitamenes.

We have before mentioned the relief sent by *Alexander* to the garrison in the castle of *Maracanda*; it consisted of sixty auxiliary horse commanded by *Andromachus* and *Menedemus*, eight hundred mercenaries under the command of *Caranus*, and fifteen hundred foot led by *Pharnaces* the interpreter, who, though a *Lycian* by birth, yet was perfectly skilled in the language of those countries, and could therefore upon occasion treat with the *Barbarians*, in case they sought to avoid farther mischiefs by submitting themselves. While these troops were upon their march, the *Macedonians* in the castle made a desperate sally on *Spitamenes*, and drove him and his forces from their works. The loss sustained on this occasion and the news of *Pharnaces*'s march engaged that general to raise the siege, and to retire towards *Sogdia*. *Pharnaces* pursued him, and in his march meeting with a body of the *Nomades*, he attacked them; where-

[o] Arrian. ubi supra. [p] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 4. Curt. lib. vii. c. 7. [q] Justin. lib. xii. c. 5.

whereupon they retired, and joined *Spitamenes*, who, elated with ſo ſudden and unexpected a reinforcement, determined no longer to avoid, but rather to ſeek the *Macedonian* army. There are two relations of the ſubſequent engagement, both in *Arrian*, one taken from *Ptolemy*, the other from *Ariſtobulus*; they agree in the main, that the defeat and ſlaughter of the *Macedonians* was owing to the ill conduct of their officers. *Pharnaces* was a man void of military ſkill, of which he was very ſenſible, and offered to reſign the command of the troops; but this the *Macedonian* generals would not yield to; for they foreſaw that this buſineſs would be attended with great loſs, and therefore were not willing to make themſelves accountable for an unfortunate battle, and for exceeding their commiſſion at the ſame time. The iſſue of the matter was, that while they were full of doubts and confuſion, the *Scythians* attacked them, ſupported by *Spitamenes* and his forces. The *Macedonians* behaved with great bravery, and in all probability would at leaſt have made a good retreat, if they had either had a good general, or if the officers they had had acted in concert. But *Caranus* with his ſquadron of horſe, without conſulting the reſt, entered the river, upon which the greateſt part of the foot followed, not his command, but his example, and with much ado gained a little iſland not far from the ſhore. This ſhadow of ſafety proved their utter deſtruction; for the *Barbarians* cut off many as they entered the water, more when they were in it, and as for all thoſe who got into the iſland, they ſhot them to death with their arrows; ſo that of two thouſand three hundred and ſixty men, horſe and foot, there did not eſcape above forty of the former, and three hundred of the latter; their officers being all ſlain, after having ſhewn much more courage than conduct [r].

Alexander *cauſes the ſiege of* Maracanda *to be raiſed.*

As ſoon as *Alexander* received the news of the defeat, which *Pharnaces* and the troops under his command had ſuſtained, he determined to revenge it; with this view he took half his auxiliary horſe, all his light-armed foot, and a battalion of the *Macedonian* phalanx; with theſe he marched (if there be no miſtake in the numbers) fifteen hundred furlongs in three days; on the fourth he drew near to *Maracanda*, which *Spitamenes* had again beſieged; but on the news of *Alexander*'s approach, he raiſed the ſiege with great precipitation, and retired with all the celerity imaginable. *Alexander* purſued him, not only to the edge of, but even a good way within, the deſart; when he found it was impoſſible to overtake him, he returned and buried all the ſoldiers who had fallen in the late engagement with honour. Then he cauſed all the country thereabous to be burnt and waſted, puttingto death the inhabitants of ſuch villages as he had been informed had not only refuſed ſhelter to the flying *Macedonians*, but had alſo mal-treated, and even murdered them. After this the king marched to *Zariaſpa*, where he put his army into winter quarters. Thither came *Phrataphernes*, governor of *Parthia*, and *Staſanor*, who had been diſpatched into *Aria* to ſeize *Arſanes*, who had begun to raiſe ſome diſturbances there; him they brought bound, and with him *Brazaentes*, whom *Beſſus* had made governor of *Parthia*; a ſhort time after arrived the *Macedonian* officers who had been ſent to take care of the recruits, as alſo thoſe who had conducted ſuch as were diſcharged to their imbarkation [s]. Thus the army was again reſtored to a formidable greatneſs, and at the ſame time the court of *Alexander* ſhone with extraordinary ſplendor from the reſort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the arrival of ſo many illuſtrious perſons from *Greece*. The king therefore took this opportunity of calling a great council, into which he odered *Beſſus* to be brought; where having reproached him with his infidelity and treachery, his cruelty and treaſon, towards his ſovereign *Darius*, he ordered his noſe and ears to be cut off, and then ſent him under a guard to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, that he might abide his trial according to the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. *Arrian*, who is otherwiſe very ſparing of his reflections, cenſures in warm terms this ſeverity towards *Beſſus*; he ſays, it was a ſign the king was departing from the maxims of his anceſtors, and leaving the generous notions of the *Greeks*, to take up the proud, cruel, and inexorable cuſtoms of thoſe *Barbarians* whom he had lately conquered, and whoſe vices he now ſuffered to conquer him; as to the ſubſequent fate of *Beſſus*, the relations of authors are ſo contradictory, that, to avoid confuſion, we have digeſted what they ſay into a note(T).

[r] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 5. Curt. lib. vii. c. 36.

[s] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 7. Curt. lib. vii. c. 38.

(T) *Diodorus* tells us, that *Beſſus* at a great feaſt, to which he had invited his friends, growing warm with liquor, grievouſly inſulted one of them whoſe name was *Bagadoras*, and even attempted to kill him;

Affects the Persian customs

It is certain, that about this time *Alexander* began to throw off in a great measure the manners of a *Macedonian* prince, and to affect those of a *Persian* king. Authors vary not a little in the accounts they give us of this matter. *Arrian* says expressly that he laid aside the *Macedonian* for the *Median* habit, adding, *That to him it appeared wonderful, the king did not blush when he changed the modest covering of his head, which he had worn in so many battles, for the* Persian tiara. Yet *Plutarch* as positively affirms, he did not follow the *Median* fashion, that he neither wore their breeches, long vest, or tiara, but made choice of a garb inclining to the *Persian* habit, more pompous and magnificent than the *Macedonian* vesture, yet not so rich or gaudy as that worn by the *Persian* kings. But it may be, *Alexander* proceeded by degrees in the alteration of his habit, as we know he did in the use of it; for at first he only dressed himself in this manner, when he had business to transact with his new subjects, but when he conversed with the *Greeks* and commanded the *Macedonians*, he wore his own country cloaths: If therefore this conjecture of ours be right, *Plutarch* and *Arrian* may be reconciled; and indeed it is very probable, that in this great council, wherein he imitated the oriental severity, he appeared in habit as a *Persian* king; that is, as the lord of *Asia*, or, as the *Greeks* were wont emphatically to style him, as the *Great King*[t] (U). This mightily grieved his *Macedonians*, and this very grief shewed

[t] Arrian. lib. iv c. 7. Plut. in vit. Alex.

him; that this man, flying in the night to *Alexander*, the rest of the counsellors of *Bessus* were exceedingly alarmed, fearing on the one hand the cruelty of this usurper, and on the other, dreaming of great rewards, if they put him into the hands of *Alexander*; which at last they resolved to do, and to that end seized and bound him. They were not disappointed in their expectation; the king rewarded them bountifully; as for *Bessus*, he delivered him to the brother of *Darius* and the rest of his relations, who, after offering him all the indignities they could think of, and exercising on him variety of torments, cut his flesh into small pieces, and hurled it bit by bit out of their slings (56).——*Curtius* informs us of a quarrel *Bessus* had with a friend of his, but he calls him *Cobares*, a *Median* and one of the *Magi*. This man, after *Bessus* had been vilifying *Darius*, and exalting himself, told him plainly, it was in vain to think of flying from such an enemy as *Alexander*; and that the only method he had to take was submitting himself, and trusting to the mercy of the victor; this put *Bessus* into such a passion, that *Cobares* was forced to retire out of the room for his immediate safety, and afterwards fled to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* is characterised by this author as an envious and ungrateful traitor; that he told *Bessus*, two of his best friends had conspired against him, and that he, having discovered the conspiracy, had caused them to be apprehended; for which *Bessus*, thanked him, and desired they might be brought into his presence. Upon this *Dataphernes* and *Catenes*, who concurred with *Spitamenes*, were brought in with their hands tied, surrounded by eight chosen men, as if they had been their guards. But no sooner did *Bessus* rise and approach them, than the pretended guards seized him, pinioned him, took his crown from his head, and tore his robes; whereupon he cried out, that they justly revenged *Darius*, but were too propitious to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* afterwards led him with a halter about his neck into the presence of *Alexander*, who delivered him to *Oxathres*, *Darius*'s brother, with directions to see him crucified, after having his nose and ears cut off, and then shot to death with arrows, which *Oxathres* accordingly undertook to do; *Catenes* being to fulfil the last part of his punishment, which was to guard his body, that no part of it might be interred in the bowels of birds. He afterwards tells us that he was sent to *Ecbatana*, there to suffer death (57). —— *Plutarch* relates, that, by the direction of *Alexander* himself, *Bessus* was fastened to a couple of tall strait trees, which were bound down to each other; and then being let loose with a great force, returned to their own places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it which was tied to it (58).—*Justin* acquaints us in few words that *Alexander* delivered *Bessus* to the brother of *Darius*, that he might crucify him (59). It is impossible that he should die all these deaths, and, amongst this great variety of sentiments, it is as impossible to determine what death he died; that he lost his nose and ears by the command of *Alexander* may be esteemed certain; and that he afterwards suffered capital punishment is also certain; as to the manner in which he suffered it, nothing can be positively affirmed. In all probability, *Bessus* might have escaped all this severity, if he had taken the advice of *Cobares*, and submitted himself, and the provinces under his power, to *Alexander*; for there is good reason to believe, that his assuming the imperial title was at least as heinous in the sight of *Alexander*, as his murder of *Darius*; and therefore, if he had not joined this to his former crime, he might have escaped better. The answers given by *Bessus*, as they are recorded in *Arrian* and *Curtius*, hint plainly at this; for he told the king, *First*, That *Darius* was murdered to obtain his favour; and, *Secondly*, That he was not the sole author of the murder, but that all who were present concurred in it. Among these was *Satibarzanes*, who on his submitting himself to *Alexander*, was not only well received, but had his government restored to him. As for the other conspirator *Barzaentes*, he indeed was put to death, in revenge, as it was said, of the treason he had committed against his master; but then he had always continued in arms against *Alexander*, and flying to the *Indians* for safety was delivered up by them (60). On the whole therefore we may safely conclude, that this extraordinary severity, this laboured scene of doing justice on *Bessus*, was altogether affected, and had nothing of that spirit and generosity which *Alexander* had shewn at the opening of the war.

(U) *Curtius* gives us a very extraordinary story in relation to the revolt of the *Sogdians*, which, on account of its length and its having so strong a mix-ture

(56) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (57) *Curt. lib.* vii. *c.* 20. (58) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.* (59) *Justin. lib.* xii. *c.* 5. (60) *Arrian. lib.* iii. *c.* 29, 30.

a ſhewed that they were ſtill loyal and affectionate to him; for men of traiterous or rebellious principles do not grieve for the errors of their prince, but magnify them into crimes; and, as if they were conſcious of the enormity of their own guilt, endeavour to transfer a part of it to their hated ſovereign. When therefore *Alexander* perceived this diſpoſition in his army, he ought certainly to have ſoothed them, and endeavoured either to convince them of the rectitude of his behaviour, or to have quieted them by yielding in ſome meaſure to their deſires. But this was not in the nature of *Alexander*, or at leaſt was no longer in his nature after he had viſited the temple of *Ammon*. Beſides, he had about him a multitude of ſycophants, who, as *Arrian* well notes, are, and ever will be, the bane of princes; he might have b added, and the curſe of nations. Theſe, by complying with his humours and heating his paſſions, carried him daily into new extravagancies, and brought him to be a proper inſtance of the truth of another of *Arrian*'s obſervations; that an ability of conquering vaſt provinces and of acquiring ſupreme dominion is of little conſequence to a man's happineſs, unleſs he preſerves a philoſophic conſtancy and moderation of mind; however ſpecious appearances may deceive a deluded world, and make them conceive gilded miſery true felicity; whereas no two things in nature are farther removed. But to return to the ſeries of our hiſtory, for which theſe reflections are to make way.

Murders Clytus *at a banquet.*

The *Greeks*, and eſpecially the *Macedonians*, obſerved an anniverſary feſtival to *Bacchus*. This year it ſeems the king, omitting *Bacchus*, transferred the honour of c this feſtival to the *Dioſcuri*, i. e. *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and, not ſatisfied therewith, ſtrictly commanded, that for the future to them, and not to *Bacchus*, theſe ſolemn rites ſhould conſtantly be dedicated. Theſe ſacrifices were followed by a magnificent banquet, to which all the principal commanders in the army were invited, and *Clytus* the ſon of *Dropidas*, who ſtood as high in the king's favour as any of them, amongſt the reſt. At ſupper the diſcourſe turned on the heroes to whom they had ſacrificed; and a queſtion was ſtarted, With what propriety they were ſtyled the ſons of *Jupiter*, when it was notorious that *Tyndarus* was their father? It may be, this was introduced to give ſome ingenious flatterer an opportunity of reconciling things, which hitherto the *Macedonians* could never underſtand, how *Alexander* could be at once the d ſon of *Ammon* and the ſon of *Philip*. Some who ſat near the king laid hold of this fair opportunity to magnify his actions above thoſe of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and when their hands were in, they laid hold of the fame of *Hercules* too, and ſet that a ſtep lower than the glory of *Alexander*: To give theſe things a colour, they inſiſted on the natural envy of men towards their cotemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worſhip thoſe virtues in the living, which, with the utmoſt readineſs and the moſt profound reſpect, they adored in the dead. *Clytus* took fire at theſe expreſſions; he ſaid, *he could not bear to hear ſuch indignities offered to the gods, or the credit of ancient heroes depreciated, to tickle the ears of a living prince.* As to *Alexander*'s actions, he allowed that they were great and glorious, but he affirmed that they had nothing in e them ſupernatural; beſides, they were not performed by him alone, but by his army; and

ture of the wonderful, we thought more proper for a note, than for the text; where if it had been curtailed, it would not have been clear, and if inſerted at full length, it would have interrupted the current of the narration. "Among the captive "*Sogdians*, he ſays, there were thirty of the chiefeſt "nobility of the country, who were remarkable for "their prodigious ſtrength of body. Theſe being "brought before the king, and underſtanding by "the interpreter, that his majeſty had ordered them "to be executed, they began to ſing and dance, "and by other wanton motions of their body en"deavoured to expreſs the chearfulneſs of their "mind. *Alexander*, being amazed at their unuſual "alacrity on ſuch an occaſion, commanded them to "be brought back, and aſked them the cauſe of "their exceſſive joy, when they beheld death before "their eyes? To which they anſwered, that if any "other than himſelf had ſentenced them to die, they "ſhould have been concerned; but ſince they were "to be reſtored to their anceſtors by ſo great a king, "who had conquered all the world, they looked up"on their death to be ſo honourable, as even to de"ſerve the envy of all brave men, which made them "ſo tranſported when they underſtood his pleaſure. "The king then aſked them, If they would be his "friends hereafter, if he ſhould give them their "lives? They replied, that they had never been his "enemies, but had only defended themſelves when "they were attacked in a hoſtile manner by him: "And that if any body would make tryal of them "by good offices, inſtead of injuries, they would "willingly contend in the generous ſtrife, and uſe "their utmoſt endeavours not to be overcome. He "asking them afterwards, What pledge they would "give him for their fidelity? They anſwered, their "lives, which they received through his bounty, "and which they would at all times be ready to "reſtore to him whenever he required them. Nor "were they worſe than their words: For thoſe of "them who were ſent home kept their country"people in due ſubjection to *Alexander*, and four "of them being received into his body-guards, "were inferior to none of the *Macedonians* in their "ſincere affection to the king (61).

(61) *Curt. lib.* vii. *c.* 37.

and that therefore all the *Macedonians* had a right to ſhare in the praiſe due to thoſe deeds, in which they, as well as he, had exerted themſelves. Theſe reflections made *Alexander* very angry. To ſooth this anger, ſome of his flatterers began a diſcourſe about his father *Philip*, in which they ſought to leſſen his actions, and to repreſent him as a prince who had done nothing extraordinary; which provoked *Clytus* ſo far, that he began to detract from the merit of *Alexander*, and to ſuggeſt, that nothing he had done deſerved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. Upon this the king loſt all patience, and when *Clytus* proceeded to upbraid him with the preſervation of his life at the battle of *Granicus*, ſtretching out his arm, and ſaying, *This hand*, O Alexander, *ſaved thee*; the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him, but was prevented by the interpoſition of his friends, who caught hold of him, and with much ado got between them: *Clytus* in the mean time continued his reproachful expreſſions; whereupon the king called for ſome of his guards; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himſelf exceedingly, ſaying, *That he was now in the ſame condition with* Darius, *when in the hands of* Beſſus: *That he had the empty name of king, and nothing more.* His friends upon this retiring and leaving him to himſelf, he ſnatched a lance, or, as ſome ſay, a long *Macedonian* pike, and therewith ſtruck *Clytus* through, and killed him. In this account we have followed *Arrian* cloſely; for to have collected into one relation what different authors have delivered, could have only ſerved to perplex the reader. What may be wanting to his farther information, and could be had from other authors, he will find below (W) [u]. Here let us purſue

[u] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 8.

(W) The detail given us by *Plutarch* of what happened at the death of *Clytus* differs ſo much from what has been inſerted in the text from *Arrian*, and is in itſelf ſo curious, that it well deſerves the reader's peruſal. He informs us, that the king having a preſent of *Grecian* fruit brought him from the ſea-coaſt, ſo well preſerved, "that it ſeemed to "be but juſt gathered, ſent for *Clytus* that he might "ſee and partake of it. *Clytus* was then ſacrificing, "but he immediately left off, and went to wait on "the king, followed by three of the ſheep, on "whom the drink offering had been already "poured, in order for the ſacrifice. *Alexander*, "being informed of this accident, conſulted his "two diviners, *Ariſtander* and *Cleomantes* the *Spar-*"*tan*, and asked them, What was portended by "it? They aſſuring him that it was an ill omen, "he commanded them in all haſte to offer ſacrifices "for *Clytus*'s ſafety; foraſmuch as three days be-"fore he himſelf had ſeen a ſtrange viſion in his "ſleep of *Clytus* all in mourning, ſitting by *Par-*"*menio*'s ſons, who were all dead. *Clytus*, however, "ſtaid not to finiſh his devotions, but came ſtrait "to ſupper with the king, who the ſame day had "ſacrificed to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. And when they "had drank pretty hard, ſome of the company "fell a ſinging the verſes of one *Pranichus*, or as "others ſay, of *Pierion*, which were made upon "thoſe captains who had been lately worſted by "the *Barbarians*, on purpoſe to diſgrace and turn "them to ridicule; which ſo offended the grave "ancient men, that they reproved both the author "and the ſinger of the verſes, though *Alexander* "and the blades about him were mightily pleaſed "to hear them, and encouraged them to go on: "Till at laſt *Clytus*, who had drank too much and "was beſides of a froward and wilful temper, was "ſo nettled, that he could hold no longer; ſaying, "*It was not well done thus to expoſe the* Macedoni-"ans *before the* Barbarians *and their enemies, ſince* "*though it was their unhappineſs to be overcome,* "*yet they were much better men than thoſe who* "*laughed at them.* To this *Alexander* replied, "*That ſure* Clytus *ſpoke ſo tenderly of cowar-*"*diſe, when he called it misfortune, only to ex-*"*cuſe himſelf.* At which *Clytus* ſtarting up, *This* "*cowardiſe, as you are pleaſed to term it*, ſaid he "to him, *ſaved your life, though you pretend to be* "*ſprung from the gods, when you were running* "*away from* Spithridates's *ſword; and it is by the* "*expence of* Macedonian *blood, and by theſe wounds,* "*that you are now raiſed to ſuch an height, as to* "*deſpiſe and diſown your father* Philip, *and adopt* "*yourſelf the ſon of* Jupiter Ammon. *Thou baſe* "*fellow*, ſaid *Alexander*, who was now thorough-"ly exaſperated, *doſt thou think to utter theſe* "*things every-where of me, and ſtir up the* Macedo-"nians *to ſedition, and not be puniſhed for it? We* "*are ſufficiently puniſhed already*, anſwered Clytus, "*if this be the recompenſe of our toils; and eſteem* "*thoſe happieſt who have not lived to ſee their coun-*"*trymen ignominiouſly ſcourged with* Median *rods,* "*and forced to ſue to the* Perſians *to have acceſs to* "*their king.* While *Clytus* talked thus at random, "and the king in the bittereſt manner retorted up-"on him, the old men that were in company, en-"deavoured all they could to allay the flame, "when *Alexander* turning to *Xenodolus* the *Cardian*, "and *Artemius* the *Colophonian*, asked them, *If they* "*were not of opinion that the reſt of the* Grecians *be-*"*haved among the* Macedonians, *like ſo many demi-*"*gods among ſavages?* All this would not ſilence "*Clytus*, who calling aloud to *Alexander*, bid him, "*if he had any thing to ſay, to ſpeak out; or elſe, why* "*did he invite men who were free-born, and uſed to* "*ſpeak their minds openly without reſtraint, to ſup* "*with him? He had better live and converſe with* "Barbarians *and conquered ſlaves, who would not* "*ſcruple to adore his* Perſian *girdle and white tunic.* "Which words ſo provoked *Alexander*, that not "able to ſuppreſs his anger any longer, he took one "of the apples that lay upon the table, and flung it "at him, and then looked about for his ſword. "But *Ariſtophanes*, one of his life-guards, had hid "that out of the way, and others came about him, "and beſought him to ſtay his fury, but in vain; "for breaking from them, he called out aloud to "his guards in the *Macedonian* language, which was "a certain ſign of ſome great diſturbance in him, "and commanded a trumpeter to ſound, giving him "a box on the ear for delaying, or rather refuſing, "to obey him, though afterwards the ſame man "was commended for diſobeying an order which "would have put the whole army into tumult and "confuſion. *Clytus* continued ſtill in the ſame quar-"relſome humour, till his friends with much ado

"forced

a purſue the hiſtory without entering into any debates upon the queſtion which has riſen upon the fact, *Whether* Clitus's *indiſcretion could excuſe* Alexander's *intemperance and cruelty*. As ſoon as the king came to himſelf, his brains were perfectly cool, and he began to remember what had paſſed, he fell into a fit of exceſſive grief. He accuſed himſelf, as indeed well he might, of having ſlain his father's brave ſoldier, his own faithful friend, the conſtant companion of his toils, his foſter-brother, and him to whom he owed his life: It was then, that in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, he diſclaimed all kindred to the gods, and, with a laudable ſorrow, mourned like a man for having done a baſe and cruel act unworthy of a man. It was then he cried out on *Clytus*, on his ſiſter *Lellanice*, whoſe breaſts he had ſucked, and inveighed againſt himſelf as one forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendſhip, and the laws of nature, b depriving his friends of life, and executing thoſe as evil-doers who could not patiently hear or ſee him do ill. For three days he refuſed meat, neglected his apparel, and, as ſome ſay, with the pike that killed *Clytus*, would have ſlain himſelf. The army in the mean while were diſconſolate to the higheſt degree; their regard to *Clytus* is ſaid to have given way to their love and loyalty to *Alexander*, inſomuch, that to ſooth their afflicted prince, they condemned *Clytus*, and prohibited his interment, ſeeking thereby to colour the fact, or at leaſt to comfort *Alexander* by ſeeming to think his reſentment juſt. This was excuſable in ſoldiers. The prieſts and philoſophers went c greater lengths. The former told the king, that what he did was not the error of his own will, but the effects of a fury inſpired by *Bacchus* on account of his feſtival being transferred to the *Dioſcuri*. Thus did theſe execrable diſſemblers ſeek to transfer a crime unworthy of a man to him they worſhipped as a god, and moſt impudently called that a divine fury, which at beſt was beaſtly drunkenneſs; all flatterers are deteſtable, becauſe they inſult human nature; but theſe ſpiritual flatterers are doubly ſo, becauſe, as far as in them lies, they proſtitute the gods to pleaſe the worſt of men. *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*, whom moſt hiſtorians ſtile a philoſopher, but *Arrian* rightly a ſophiſt, was the next who undertook to moderate the king's grief; and finding him upon his bed ſighing and dejected, thus he addreſſed him: "Is this the *Alex-* "*ander* whom the world looks upon with ſuch admiration? Behold him extended d "on the ground, and weeping like an abject ſlave for fear of the law and reproach "of men, to whom he himſelf ought to be a law and the meaſure of equity, ſince "he conquered for no other end but to make himſelf lord of all, and not to be a "ſlave to a vain idle opinion: Do not you know, that *Jupiter* is repreſented ſitting "on his throne, with law aſſiſting on one ſide and juſtice on the other, intimating "thereby, that let a ſovereign prince do what he will, all his actions are juſt and law- "ful"? Theſe were admirable doctrines, tending not only to ſet the king's mind at reſt, as to the murder he had committed, but to prevent any more qualms, in caſe rage, envy, or drunkenneſs, ſhould plunge him again into the ſame circumſtances.

Calliſthenes,

"forced him out of the room; but he came in a- "gain immediately at another door very irreve- "rently, and inſolently ſung this paſſage out of "*Euripides*'s *Andromache*. *Ye gods, what an ill* "*cuſtom have you introduced into* Greece! *When an* "*army has erected a trophy upon the defeat of the* "*enemy, it is never conſidered that the victory is* "*owing to the valour of the troops who fought, but* "*the general puts in for all the honour of it; though* "*he had expoſed himſelf to no more danger than many* "*thouſands beſides, and had done no more than a* "*common ſoldier, yet he only is celebrated in the* "*ſongs of triumph, and robs the reſt of their ſhare of* "*the glory*. Then *Alexander*, ſnatching a ſpear "from one of the ſoldiers, met *Clytus* as he was "putting by the curtain that hung before the "door, and ran him through the body. He fell "immediately, and, after a few piercing groans, "expired. In the very inſtant the king's indigna- "tion cooled, and he came perfectly to himſelf; "but when he ſaw his friends about him all in a "profound ſilence, as ſeized with horror at the "fact, he pulled the ſpear out of the dead body, "and would have turned it againſt himſelf, if the "guards had not held his hands, and by main "force carried him away into his chamber (62)".

The relation of *Curtius* agrees pretty well with that of *Plutarch*, only he attributes more moderation to the king at the beginning (63). *Juſtin* tells us in few words, that at a debauch *Alexander* killed his friend *Clytus* for extolling the actions of his father *Philip*; but this author inſiſts very largely on his repentance, attributing his recovery from that ſtate of dejection and grief, as *Curtius* does, to the advice of *Calliſthenes* (64). If we had *Diodorus*'s account of this buſineſs, in all probability we ſhould find it correſpond with *Curtius* and *Juſtin*; but, as we have heretofore remarked, theſe authors, when they differ from *Arrian*, frequently agree with him; the reaſon is, that among a multitude of writers, who undertook to tranſmit the actions of *Alexander* to poſterity, the collectors of general hiſtory followed, at their pleaſure, ſometimes one, and ſometimes another, and not ſeldom mixed ſeveral relations together. Authors of abridgments copied from theſe indiſcriminately, as the later writers of particular hiſtories did frequently too, adding ſuch embelliſhments, inſerting ſuch deſcriptions, and framing ſuch ſpeeches for the amplifying and adorning their works, as they thought fit.

(62) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.* (63) *lib* viii. *c.* 2, 3, 4. (64) *Juſtin. lib.* xii. 6.

Callisthenes, the scholar and relation of *Aristotle*, sought to settle his mind by honest and moral discourses. *Arrian* says, that the suggestion of the priests, in relation to *Bacchus*, did not displease the king. Both *Plutarch* and the last-mentioned author say, that *Anaxarchus* allayed the king's grief at the same time that he corrupted his manners; but *Curtius* ascribes the king's recovery to *Callisthenes*; we may well suppose that they had all a hand in it, though the subsequent history will shew, that in all probability the last had the least [w].

Alexander *aspires to divine honours*

IF the tragical death of *Clytus* had brought *Alexander* to a right way of thinking, perhaps posterity, like the *Macedonian* soldiers, would have drawn a veil over this dark scene, and have chosen rather to commend the king's compassionate concern, than to have censured his drunken cruelty. But no sooner was his sorrow for the death of this worthy man alleviated, but he began again to give up himself to the management of those sycophants, whose poisonous speeches had wrought that mischief; and still they were dinning his ears, that in their opinions he was something more than man, and that it was injustice and disloyalty in other people not to think him so too. The result of all these discourses was, that a god he should be, or at least have divine honours paid him, as heretofore had been given to *Persian* kings, and *Anaxarchus* the sophist, *Agis* a miserable poet, *Chærillus*, *Agnon*, and other parasites, undertook to bring this great matter to bear, and to engage the *Greeks* as well as the *Asiatics*, to pay him adoration [x]. *Alexander* was mightily pleased with this, and a great banquet was appointed, at which this hopeful scheme was to be carried into execution. At this entertainment, *Anaxarchus* proposed the adoring of *Alexander* in a set oration; he insisted, that *Bacchus* was a *Theban*, and though he admitted that *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and without reproach, yet he affirmed, that *Alexander*'s being descended from him was at once the most certain and the greatest honour which could be attributed to him; hence he inferred, that if *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were worthily worshipped, so without doubt would *Alexander* be, whose actions so far exceeded theirs, at some distance of time; but inasmuch as that worship would be of small consequence to him then, he alledged, it would be more rational, as well as more obliging, to offer it him now, while he was living, and could take pleasure in it. The *Macedonians*, who were not in the secret, were stunned at the speech, and knew not either what to think of its author, or what answer to afford themselves to what he had propounded; so a long and deep silence ensued. *Callisthenes* at last broke through it, and, as *Arrian* tells us, delivered himself in these words: "Indeed *Anaxarchus*, "I count not *Alexander* unworthy of any honour, how great soever it be, that is "fit to be ascribed to man; but there are prescribed differences amongst men between "divine and human honours; amongst many others, in the building of temples and "erecting of statues; for to the gods we consecrate oratories, offer sacrifices and drink-"offerings: To the gods are sung hymns; men are praised, but not adored: "kisses in salutations are given to men, but the gods are placed on high, and "'tis not lawful to touch them, and therefore they are worshipped with adoration. "Solemn times of dancings are performed to the gods, and pæans sung to them; "neither is it to be wondered at, inasmuch as the honours given to the gods are va-"rious; some sort of honours given to one, and others to another, especially those "honours of later times; nay, those honours given to some of the heroes differ from "divine honours. 'Tis not therefore fit to confound these things, nor to advance "men above themselves and all mankind besides, and to degrade the gods by "worshipping them with the same worship wherewith we adore men. *Alexander* "himself would not suffer any private man to usurp the regal dignity and honours "due to himself, though he gained 'em by the unjust suffrages of the people; much "more justly therefore may the gods be angry, if any mortal man assume to him-"self divine honours, or accept of them from others. However, let *Alexander* be "esteemed, as in truth he is, by many degrees the most valiant of them that are "valiant, the greatest king amongst all other kings, and amongst generals the most "worthy to command. But as for thee, *Anaxarchus*, 'tis thy duty above any other "to instruct *Alexander* in those things that have been spoken, and to deter him from "the contrary; for thy conversation he daily makes use of in order to improve in "wisdom and in learning. Neither does it become thee to be the beginner of this "discourse, but rather to remember, that thou art not advising *Cambyses* or *Xerxes*, "but

[w] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 9. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii. c. 7. & 8. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 6. [x] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 11. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii. c. 18. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7.

" but the ſon of *Philip*, deſcended from *Hercules* and *Achilles*, whoſe anceſtors came
" out of *Argos* into *Macedonia*, and maintained their empire, not by arbitrary power,
" but by ruling according to the laws and cuſtoms of the *Macedonians*. But divine
" honours were not conferred upon *Hercules* himſelf by the *Grecians* while he was
" living; nay, nor when he was dead, before the oracle at *Delphos* commanded
" that he ſhould be worſhipped as a god. But if there be but few that are in the
" country of the *Barbarians*, we ought to entertain the ſame ſentiments with them.
" And I earneſtly intreat thee, *Alexander*, to remember *Greece*; for whoſe ſake this
" expedition was undertaken by thee, in order to add *Aſia* to *Greece*; and now con-
" ſider, whether, when you return thither, you can be able to compel the free people
" of *Greece* to adore you as a god, or, excepting them of *Greece*, you can impoſe
" this diſhonour and ſlavery upon the *Macedonians* only, or whether it be fit that
" quite different honours be there allowed you, ſeeing the *Grecians* confer only thoſe
" that are human, according to the cuſtom and manner of the *Greeks*, when, at the
" ſame time, only the barbarians worſhip you as a god, after the manner of barba-
" rians. But if it be objected, that *Cyrus* ſon of *Cambyſes* was the firſt of all mor-
" tal men that was adored by men as a god, and that, ſince that time, this adora-
" tion has continued amongſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*; yet you are to conſider, how
" his pride was curbed by the *Scythians*, a poor and indigent people; and how
" other *Scythians* again reduced *Darius* to more ſober thoughts of himſelf; and the
" *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians Xerxes*; and *Clearchus* and *Xenophon Artaxerxes*,
" only with ten thouſand men; and *Darius* now overcome by *Alexander*, at a time
" when no divine honours were decreed him [b]." *Alexander* was highly provoked at this ſpeech, and the more for that the *Macedonians* could not forbear applauding it; however, he ordered the buſineſs to go on, and ſettled the ceremonial of his adoration thus: When he drank to a perſon, it was expected, *that the gueſt ſhould immediately riſe up, adore him, and, having received a kiſs from the king, ſhould depart.* The eldeſt and moſt conſiderable of the *Perſians* complied firſt; in doing which they followed their old cuſtom, and were prehaps not diſpleaſed at the embaraſſment of the *Greeks* (X). *Leonatus*, one of the king's friends, as *Arrian* has it; or, as *Curtius*

[b] ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 2.

(X) All who have treated this ſubject agree, that the *Perſians* were as ready to comply with *Alexander*'s motion for adoring him, as the *Greeks* were averſe to it; yet we are not to ſuppoſe from thence, that the former were as prone to idolatry as the latter; if we ſhould, it would be a very great error: And therefore, to preſerve that conſiſtency which is neceſſary between the ſeveral parts of this work, we have thought fit to add this note, in order to explain the conduct of the *Perſians*, and to acquit them of that groſs adulation which has been charged upon them by ſome raſh and inconſiderate writers. Bowing down to, and even proſtrating one's ſelf before a prince, ever was, and ſtill is, held in the eaſt an act of civil reverence, and no more. The *Perſians* therefore, as *deiſts*, paid theſe profound marks of ſubmiſſion to their king, not as ſuppoſing him a *deity*, but from a perſuaſion that he derived a ſupreme authority from god. It may be, and indeed it is probable, the *Perſians* did not explain this matter, either to *Alexander* or thoſe about him; but contented themſelves with ſatisfying the king by their actions, and themſelves by their thoughts (65). The *Greeks* proceeded upon notions directly oppoſite. They were *poly-theiſts*, and tho' they every day did a thouſand ridiculous things in their public worſhip, yet, to pay divine honours to a man, was too groſs for them; and therefore, as is frequently the caſe, they acted right upon wrong principles; for with reſpect to the ground of this ſubmiſſion, the king and they were agreed in their ſentiments. He ſought to be taken for ſomething more than man, and they, with good reaſon, refuſed to acknowledge him ſuch. As the *Perſians* could not but have the higheſt contemp for their idolatay in all its ſhapes, ſo, without queſtion, they were well pleaſed to ſee their zeal for idols embaraſs the *Macedonians* with their natural prince, which ſo ſtrongly tended to put him into their hands. There is one objection which may poſſibly be made to this account, and ought therefore to be anſwered: It is this; There are various inſtances in ſcripture, where bowing down to, or, as it is uſually phraſed, worſhipping, a man, is prohibited as idolatrous (66); whence it might be inferred, that, amongſt the *Perſians*, who were deiſts as well as the *Jews*, this practice was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, lawful; but if we conſider, that theſe prohibitions never extend to the caſe in queſtion, but are always directed againſt worſhipping private men, on a ſuppoſition of their being cloathed with ſome divine character, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that theſe marks of civil reſpect to ſupreme magiſtrates were always accounted innocent, and very conformable to the divine law. Thus *Daniel* complied with all the cuſtoms of the *Perſian* court, bowed himſelf when he entered the royal preſence, and ſaluted with the uſual compliment, *O king, live for ever* (67)! In a word, as the intent of the mind renders all actions either good or evil, ſo, in the preſent caſe, the *Perſians* did that without idolatry, which was flat idolatry in thoſe *Greeks* that did the ſame thing: becauſe the former honoured *Alexander* only as a man, the latter, whatever they conceived of him, paid him that reſpect which they thought only due to a god.

(65) *Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol.* II. *p.* 72. (66) *Acts* xiv. 14. *Rev.* xxii. 9. (67) *Dan.* vi. 21.

tius reports, *Polysperchon*, observing a *Persian* touch the floor with his chin, laughed at it, and bid him hit it a little harder; for which *Alexander* caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and, as he lay on the floor, told him, *he made as ridiculous a figure as him whom he had despised.* When it came to the turn of *Callisthenes*, he pledged the king, and then came for his kiss. *Alexander* being deeply engaged in discourse with *Hephestion*, did not perceive he had missed any part of the ceremony; but *Demetrius* one of his friends told him, that the philosopher had not adored him. The king thereupon put him back with his hand; and *Callisthenes* going out, was heard to say, *So then, I have only lost a kiss* [c]. But the king afterwards revenged himself more severely, as we shall shew immediately, that we may not again interrupt the thread of our narration (Y).

A new conspiracy against him.

While the minds of men were yet warm, the murder of *Clytus* unforgot, and the king's affectation of foreign manners continually provoking his natural subjects, a new conspiracy was discovered, which very narrowly missed taking effect. The king had nearest his person fifty *Macedonian* youths of the first quality, who, according to the rules of waiting, continually attended him in the field, at his exercises, when at table, and when he retired to his rest. Among these there was one *Hermolaus* the son of *Sopolis*, who had contracted a violent antipathy to his master; the occasion this: One day, when he attended *Alexander* in the chace, a boar crossed him as he rode before the king; whereupon the young man, eager in his sport, struck the boar with a spear, and killed him on the spot. *Alexander*, provoked at losing an opportunity of shewing his dexterity, ordered the boy to be whipped in the sight of all his companions, and his horse taken from him. *Hermolaus*, almost distracted with the deep sense of the disgrace he had suffered, complained of it in the most moving terms to *Sostratus* the son of *Amyntas*, one of his companions, alledging, that he should never be at peace till he had revenged on *Alexander* the injury that had been done him. *Sostratus*, who loved him tenderly, came easily into his measures; and they two having formed the design, aftewards drew in *Antipater*, *Epimenes*, *Anticles*, and *Philotas*, all youths of quality like themselves and squires of the body to the king, to be concerned with them. The event of their consultations was, that when it came to be *Antipater*'s watch, they should kill *Alexander* in his sleep. It does not appear, that any of the conspirators relented when the very day came; nor is it probable that the king could possibly have escaped, if an unforeseen accident, or, as some would have it, a miracle, had not interposed and defeated all their purposes. *Aristobulus* in his memoirs relates it thus: There was a certain *Syrian* woman who attended the camp of *Alexander*, and who frequently acted and spake as if beside her senses. This woman pretended to foretel future events,

[c] Arrian. l. iv. c. 12. Curt. l. viii. c. 20. Justin. ubi supra.

(Y) *Arrian* represents *Callisthenes* a man exceeding proud of his knowledge, and, in point of vanity, very little behind *Alexander* himself. His temper was morose; but he had a vehement and persuasive elocution (68). *Aristotle* made a right judgment of him and his abilities, when he said, *He was an excellent orator, but had no judgment.* The same great man foresaw what would one day be the fate of this philosopher; for, hearing him treat *Alexander* with that unbecoming harshness which was too natural to him, he could not help repeating what *Thetis* in *Homer* says to *Achilles*,

Methinks I see thee dying, see thee dead.

He is reported to have been a great declaimer, and that on this account he was chiefly admired by *Alexander*. Once at an entertainment the king commanded him to make an extempore oration in praise of the *Macedonians*, which he did with such facility, in terms so just and proportionate to their atchievements, that all who were present, in token of their approbation, threw their garlands upon him, excepting *Alexander*, who contented himself with repeating these lines from *Euripides*;

Without surprize I hear thy language flow;
For happy subjects pleasing words bestow.

He then commanded *Callisthenes* to point out the errors and mistakes of the *Macedonians*, that they might the better know how to correct them. The orator laying hold of this opportunity, immediately entered into a long and bitter invective against the *Macedonians* in general, and against *Philip* of *Macedon* in particular, to whose greatness he applied these lines;

When civil broils declining states surprize,
There the worst men to highest honours rise.

This imprudent declamation lost him the hearts of his auditors; to which also the king's observation contributed not a little. *Callisthenes*, says he, *has not shewn so much of his eloquence, as of his ill will to the* Macedonians, *in this speech* (69). But, however, he might lose himself on this occasion, when he came to oppose the king's assuming divine honours, he was again cried up, and all the *Macedonian* youth followed him as the patron of liberty and the teacher of true philosophy; so much does a man's character depend on his going with, or going against, the people's humour.

(68) *Arrian. l.* iv. *c.* 10.

(69) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

a events; but she delivered her predictions in so odd a way, that, till their accomplishments compelled people to take notice of them, she was laughed at and ridiculed; but when by degrees the falling out of things she had foretold had gained her some degree of credit, the king, who had always a leaning to these sorts of things, directed that she should never be restrained from entering his presence. It happened, that the night the conspirators had fixed on for the execution of their design, *Alexander* drank pretty late with his friends. As he was retiring from the place where they were drinking to his own apartment, this woman threw herself in his way, and, in one of her frantic fits, bid him go back and drink all night, in which, 'tis said, he obeyed her. However it was, so it fell out, that he did drink all that night, which
b rendered the conspirators scheme abortive. The next day *Epimenes* the son of *Arseas*, who was one of the number, discovered the whole to *Chariclus* his friend, and this *Chariclus* communicated it to *Eurylochus* the brother of *Epimenes*; *Eurylochus* immediately addressed himself to *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, who informed the king of it; upon which directions were immediately given, that all who were named by *Eurylochus* should be immediately apprehended and examined apart. They did not make any difficulty of confessing the whole design; and each of them named those who were in it. Some time after, *Hermolaus*, according to the *Macedonian* constitution, was brought before the army, and there charged with intending the murder of his sovereign. Instead of a defence, the young man, with great serenity of mind and chearfulness of coun-
c tenance, said, "That a man of spirit, who was born free, could never tamely sup-
" port the indignities which had been offered him by the king. He alledged also,
" that not himself only, but his country, had been grosly injured; that *Philotas* had
" been murdered without proof; *Parmenio* assassinated without pretence; numbers
" put to death on slight suspicions; *Clytus* butchered in drink; the *Median* habit
" and customs preferred to those of *Macedon*; edicts issued to esteem a *man* a *god*,
" while that man plunged himself in drunkenness, luxury, and other vices, scanda-
" lous to himself and detrimental to the state. From all which, by giving him
" death, he sought to set himself and the *Macedonians* free." His speech ended, himself and his accomplices were stoned by the army [d]. As all the *Macedonian*
d youth were auditors and admirers of *Callisthenes*, and *Hermolaus* his particular friend, he was charged with this conspiracy and apprehended. *Arrian* seems to be in some doubt, whether the apprehension of *Callisthenes* was founded on any proofs, which, however, *Ptolemy* in his memoirs affirmed, or was seized merely from the malice and spite of *Alexander*. We have a better authority on this head, than either *Arrian* or *Ptolemy*, which yet is not sufficient to determine it. This authority is a passage in a letter from *Alexander* to *Antipater*, as follows, "The young men were stoned
" to death by the *Macedonians*; but for the *sophist*, i. e. *Callisthenes*, I will take care
" to punish him, and them too who sent him to me, who harbour those in their
" cities who conspire against my life." *Plutarch* tells us, that *Aristotle* was threat-
e ned by these insinuations; however, certainly the king grew very inexorable, and at the same time very suspicious. As to *Callisthenes*, what became of him it is impossible to determine. *Aristobulus*, who was an eye-witness of all he wrote, affirms, that he was carried about in chains, till he died of a natural death. *Ptolemy*, who was also an eye-witness of all he recorded, asserts, that he was first rack'd, and then crucified. Besides these we have many other stories about him, which, as they are all uncertain, we think, we may safely omit, especially, as we shall have occasion to speak of him again in another place [e].

He forms new designs.

When the season of action approached, embassadors from *Scythia* arrived, whose errand was to inform the king, that their monarch, to whom he had sent embassa-
f dors, was dead, and that his brother had succeeded him, that this new prince was willing to receive his commands, would give him his daughter in marriage, if he thought fit, and, if he desired it, would come to wait upon him in person. *Alexander* answered them in terms of friendship, but declined a *Scythian* alliance. *Pharaimanes*, king of the *Chorasmeni*, came about the same time to *Alexander*'s camp, with a body of fifteen hundred horse. He informed him, that his territories bordered on the *Euxine* sea, and offered his service, both for providing his army with necessaries, and furnishing himself whatever quota the king should think fit, in case he intended to turn his arms on that side. With this *Alexander* was perfectly well

[d] Arrian. l. iv. c. 13. 14. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. l. viii. c. 23. [e] Arrian. l. iv. c. 15.

pleaſed, commended the king, entered into an alliance with him, and recommended him to *Artabazus*, preſident of the provinces bordering on his dominions; however, as to the expedition propoſed, he declared, that his intentions were firſt to reduce the *Indians*, and then to return into *Greece*; after which he propoſed to make uſe of this prince's offer, and with his whole forces to invade the countries bordering on the *Euxine* ſea. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed *Pharaimanes*, and immediately prepared for the carrying of his own projects into execution [f], tho' they were far from being pleaſing either to his council or to his army (Z).

He re-enters Sogdia.

HE firſt directed his march to the banks of the river *Oxus*, and then determined to enter the country of the *Sogdians*, on account of their refuſing to yield obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. *Polyſperchon*, with ſome other generals and a conſiderable body of forces, he left in *Bactria*. The reſt of his army he divided into five columns; the firſt under the command of *Hephæſtion*; the ſecond under *Ptolemy Lagus*; the third was commanded by *Perdiccas*; the fourth by *Canus* and *Artabazus*; the laſt he led *himſelf*. The reſt of the corps ſpread themſelves over the country, reducing all the caſtles and other fortreſſes they met with, and which were held by the enemy. The body commanded by *Alexander* marched on to *Maracanda*, where ſhortly after the reſt of the columns arrived; the whole province being reduced under his ſubjection. *Spitamenes*, however, who was at the head of the revolted *Sogdians*, retired towards *Scythia*, and having procured a ſupply of ſix hundred horſe, he ſuddenly entered *Bactria*, ſurpriſed a caſtle, where he put the governor and gariſon to the ſword, and then advanced to the very ſuburbs of *Zariaſpa*; but, not having a force ſufficient, he could not beſiege the town. However, ſome *Macedonian* horſemen, who had been left there ſick, finding themſelves now a little better, immediately mounted and followed him. The *Scythians* were ſo terrified at their approach, that they abandoned all their booty; but while the *Macedonians* were employed in collecting it together, *Spitamenes* prevailed on his *Scythians* to take poſt in a wood behind them, from whence perceiving the victors to return carleſly and without order, they ſuddenly iſſued, and cut them off to a man. As ſoon as the news of this defeat came to *Craterus*, he immediately marched againſt the *Maſſagetæ*, who, when they heard of his approach, fled towards the deſert; but were hotly purſued by him; and they, and others of the ſame nation to the number of about a thouſand horſe, were overtaken juſt at the edge thereof, and a ſharp conflict happening thereupon, the *Macedonians* were victors. Of the barbarians about one hundred and fifty were ſlain; the reſt eſcaped into the deſert, *Craterus* and his ſoldiers not being able to purſue them farther. In the mean while *Artabazus* begging to be diſcharged from his government of *Bactria*, by reaſon of his advanced age, his petition was granted; and *Alexander* ſubſtituted *Amyntas* the ſon of *Nicolaus* to ſucceed him, and having left *Cænus* there, with his own and *Meleager*'s troops, beſides four hundred of the auxiliary horſe, all the pikemen on horſeback, and the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians* under *Amyntas*, the chief command over all theſe was given to *Canus*, who ordered them to winter in *Sogdia*, partly for gariſons to defend the country, and partly to encounter *Spitamenes*, if he ſhould attempt to make any inroad there during the winter. But *Spitamenes*, notwithſtanding that all places were filled with *Macedonian* gariſons, and that it would be a difficult matter for him to make a retreat, if he had occaſion, reſolved at once to turn his whole power

[f] ARRIAN. l. iv. CURT. l. viii.

(Z) Whoever peruſes the critical notes in the beſt editions of *Arrian* and *Plutarch*, will perceive, that ſome miſtakes are imputed to the former, and many to the latter, in the accounts they give us of theſe marches, and other tranſactions of *Alexander*, yet whoever reads *Strabo*'s geography, wherein theſe matters are treated more largely, tho', generally ſpeaking, with conformity enough to the deſcriptions of the writers above-mentioned, and compares them with authentic relations of the ſtate of the *Uſbeck Tartars*, and of the north-eaſt provinces of the preſent *Perſian* empire, will find, that theſe cenſures are, for the moſt part, very indifferently founded; and that theſe ancient writers are very far from being in the wrong. This deſerves particular regard in reſpect of the tranſactions we are now coming to; for it is certain, that the countries are well deſcribed, and that what is ſaid of fortifying rocks, and making granaries under ground, are not either dreams or fictions. On the contrary, if an *European* army were again to make war in theſe countries, the hiſtory of their actions would not only tranſcend any thing recorded by *Arrian*, but, in all probability, appear more romantic to us than any of the ſtories of *Curtius* himſelf, who, on a careful and impartial peruſal, will appear not to have erred ſo much in facts, as in his manner of relating them, attending more to the method and elegance, than to the certainty and accuracy of his hiſtory.

a power against *Cænus* and his forces, imagining he would penetrate the most easily into the country that way; and when he approached *Gabæ*, a fortified place belonging to the *Sogdians*, seated on the borders between them and the *Massagetæ-Scythians*, he drew in four thousand *Scythian* horse to join his forces, that they might make an irruption into *Sogdia*. These *Scythians* being extreme poor, as having neither cities, nor fixed and certain habitations, nor possessing any thing which they were afraid to lose, were easily induced to join their forces with any nation. *Cænus*, having intelligence of *Spitamenes*'s approach, marched forth with his army to meet him; and a sharp battle thereupon ensued, in which the victory fell to the *Macedonians*. The barbarians lost above eight hundred horse, and *Cænus* about twenty-five horse and twelve
b foot in this conflict. The *Sogdians* who survived this day's action, as also many of the *Bactrians*, leaving *Spitamenes* in his flight, came to *Cænus*, and, having surrendered themselves into his power, swore fidelity to him. But the *Massagetæ* and other *Scythians*, after the loss of the battle, having seized upon the baggage of the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians* their allies, accompanied *Spitamenes* in his flight into the desert; but when they came to understand, that *Alexander* was preparing to scour these places, they slew *Spitamenes*, and having cut off his head, sent it as a present to *Alexander*, hoping by this action to make him cease his pursuit after them. This is *Arrian*'s account; as for that of *Curtius*, it is so little consistent therewith, that we are under a necessity of giving it by itself, and leaving it to the reader, whether he will credit
c the foregoing very probable, or that very surprizing, story [g] (A).

The Sogdian rock besieged and taken.

At the opening of the spring, the king marched into *Sogdia*, in order to besiege a fortress built on a rock, to which *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian* had conveyed his wife and family, as to a place impregnable. It was indeed the last resource of the rebels, and *Alexander* rightly judged, that, unless he could reduce it by force, it would afford them a constant retreat, and so spin out the war to an excessive length. When he arrived

[g] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 18.

(A) *Spitamenes* had a wife on whom he doated, and as the dangers and fatigues she was exposed to in accompanying him where-ever his misfortunes drove him, were become troublesome to her, she employed all her charms to prevail with him to desist from flying any farther; and as he had already experienced *Alexander*'s clemency, to try to appease the anger of an enemy he could hope no otherwise to escape. She had three sons by him, who were pretty well grown up. These she brought to his embraces, and begged he would at least take pity of them; and, to enforce her prayers, she told him *Alexander* was not far off. But he thinking he was betrayed, and not advised, and that it was the confidence she had in her beauty, which made her not care how soon she came into *Alexander*'s power, drew his sword, and would have killed her, if her brothers had not happily interposed. However, he commanded her to be gone out of his sight, threatning her with death if she offered to come into his presence; and that he might not be sensible of her absence, he passed the night with his concubines; yet as his passion for her was great, it was the more inflamed by the distaste he took to their company. He therefore gave himself intirely again to her, comparing her never to speak to him more on that account, but willingly undergo with him whatever fortune did allot them; since, for his own part, he had rather die than surrender himself. Hereupon she excused herself, telling him, that she had advised him only to what she thought was most for his interest, and admitting she had talked like a woman, yet it was with a faithful intention; however, for the future she would conform to his pleasure. *Spitamenes*, won by this counterfeit complaisance, gave a great entertainment on account of their reconciliation, where having loaded himself with wine and good chear, he was brought half asleep into his apartment. As soon as his wife perceived he was in a sound sleep, she drew a sword she had under her garment for the purpose, and cut off his head, and, all besmeared with the blood, gave it to a servant who was privy to her crime; and, being attended by him, came in this bloody condition to the *Macedonian* camp, where she sent word to *Alexander*, *she had something of importance to communicate to him, and which he must hear from her own mouth*. The king immediately ordered her to be introduced, and observing her to be stained with blood, imagined she came to complain of some affront offered her; he therefore asked her what she had to say? Hereupon she called for the servant that waited in the entry, who, having *Spitamenes*'s head under his garment, gave the guards a suspicion, and, upon their searching him, he pulled out the head and shewed it; but the bloodless paleness had so disfigured its features, that it was a hard matter to distinguish whose it was. *Alexander* being informed that it was a man's head that he brought, went out of his tent, and inquired into the matter; which he accordingly told him. The king's mind was now perplexed with variety of thoughts; for, on the one hand, he looked upon it as a considerable piece of service, that he who was first a refugee, and had afterwards proved a traitor, and was like to have delayed the execution of his great designs, was killed; but then again he detested the barbarous action of her having thus treacherously murdered her husband, who had deserved well of her, and by whom she had several children. At last the foulness of the fact got the better of the service it did him, so that he sent her word to be gone from the camp, lest the *Greeks* more humane minds and gentler manners should be corrupted by the example of so barbarous an action (70).

(70) *Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 12.

arrived at the place, he found it ſtrong beyond his apprehenſion; for the rock was a not only rugged and ſteep, but ſo ſlippery alſo, that it was almoſt impoſſible to aſcend it; beſides, it was covered with ſnow, which melted afforded the beſieged plenty of water, their granaries being filled with corn; ſo that there was as little probability of ſtarving them by a blockade, as reducing them by a ſiege; yet *Alexander* reſolved to attempt it by the method laſt-mentioned. To this he was the more ſtrongly urged by the anſwer ſent him, when he ſummoned the place; for the commandant then told him, That when he had a corps of ſoldiers with wings, he might expect to take the place. In order to puſh matters as far as they would go without loſs of time, of which the *Macedonians* were always frugal, he cauſed a proclamation to be made, offering the ſoldier who ſhould firſt gain the rock twelve talents, and prizes of an inferior, but ſtill great, value to thoſe who ſhould mount after him: The laſt being to have three hundred darics, which amounted to about three hundred pounds. On the publication of this reward, no leſs than three hundred of the *Macedonians* offered themſelves for this Service. Theſe men taking with them their tent pins and ſtrong ropes, went to make their Attempt on that ſide of the rock which was leaſt acceſſible, on a ſuppoſition, that there they ſhould find the leaſt oppoſition. In this conjecture tho' they were not deceived, yet in the very getting up they loſt thirty of their number, whoſe bodies were never found, being, by the height of their fall, deeply interred in the ſnow; for the manner in which they aſcended the rock was thus: They ſtruck their iron-pins into ſuch places as would afford them faſtening, and having fixed ropes to theſe pins, they aſcended by thoſe ropes; whenever therefore either the pins or the ropes gave way, the *Macedonians* fell, and, as we obſerved before, were loſt in the ſnow. Thoſe who got up ſafely making the appointed ſignal from the top of the rock, *Alexander* ſummoned the place a ſecond time, giving the beſieged to underſtand, that he had now a corps of winged ſoldiers. The *Macedonians* above, in compliance with the ſignal from below, making a loud ſhout and clattering their weapons, the gariſon were ſo much affrighted, that, without making any inquiry as to the number of thoſe who were got up, they ſurrendered the place at diſcretion. *Oxyartes* was abſent when this fortreſs fell thus into the hands of the king, who entertained his wife and family with that civility and honour for which he was ſo juſtly famous. The daughter of *Oxyartes*, whoſe name was *Roxana*, was eſteemed the moſt beautiful Woman in *Aſia*, after the death of the wife of *Darius*; and ſhe had the good fortune to ſubdue the heart of *Alexander*, who hitherto had not given any ſigns of an amorous diſpoſition. Some writers ſay, that he ſaw this lady at a feaſt, and that he was ſo taken with her beauty, that he immediately ordered bread to be divided between them, according to the *Macedonian* method of eſpouſing; but *Arrian* ſays nothing of this. He only tells us, that *Alexander*, falling violently in love with his captive, was yet a man of ſo much honour and temperance, that he would not make uſe of the privilege of war, but openly and generouſly eſpouſed the lady; of which *Oxyartes* having advice, he inſtantly came and rendered himſelf, and was received with all the teſtimonies of kindneſs and reſpect [h].

As alſo another fortreſs held impregnable.

After the reduction of *Sogdia*, *Alexander* determined to march into the country of the *Paratacæ*, where there was another fortreſs on a rock held to be abſolutely irreducible. This was called the rock of *Chorienes*, becauſe one of the principal noblemen of the country of that name had retired thither for ſhelter, and had with him a very numerous gariſon, well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions. The ſloping height of this rock was near five miles, its circuit near fifteen; but it was every-where ſo ſteep and craggy, that, except by a narrow way wrought by art, it was abſolutely inacceſſible. The whole was ſurrounded by a deep and broad ditch. Theſe difficulties ſerved only more ſtrongly to determine *Alexander* to overcome them; he therefore provided inſtantly for the ſiege, by cutting down a vaſt number of trees, of which ladders were made for deſcending the ditch, it being dry. One half of his army was employed all day in this labour; the other half, by three diviſions, wrought all night in the ditch itſelf, where they began to drive huge piles, and to cover them with hurdles, and other proper materials for eſtabliſhing a ſolid bridge, over which the army might march to the aſſault. At firſt thoſe in the fort derided their attempt; but when they ſaw them proceed briskly in it, and found, that them-

[h] Arrian. l. iv. c. 20,—24. Curt. l. viii. Plut. in vit. Alex.

themſelves, with all their advantage of ſituation, were not able to injure them with their miſſive weapons, by reaſon of their contrivances to cover themſelves in the ditch, they began to be diſmayed; ſo that at length *Chorienes* ſent to deſire that *Oxyartes* would come and confer with him; which was accordingly granted. *Oxyartes* having aſſured him, that nothing was inacceſſible to the ſpirit and induſtry of the *Macedonians*; and that, on the other had, there could not be a more generous or merciful enemy than *Alexander*, he ſo wrought on *Chorienes*, that, with ſome of the principal perſons who were with him, he deſcended the rock, and went to wait on *Alexander* in his camp. The king received him ſo obligingly, that he preſently ſent back ſome who accompanied him, to direct the gariſon to yield up the place; which was performed without delay. *Alexander* then aſcended with five hundred armed foot, to take a view of the place, which afforded him great ſatisfaction, on account as well of its capaciouſneſs and conveniency, as of its extraordinary ſtrength. However, in reſpect of *Chorienes*, he left no gariſon there; but having enrolled him in the number of his friends, committed it again to his charge. This nobleman, to give ſome teſtimony of the ſenſe he had of ſuch honourable treatment, finding *Alexander*'s army was much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, diſtributed corn, wine, and ſalt-meat for two months to all his ſoldiers, and at the ſame time declared, that he had not exhauſted the tenth part of his own ſtores. This made the favour appear ſtill greater in the king's eyes, ſince it demonſtrated the ſurrender of *Chorienes* to have proceeded ſolely from the ſenſe of *Alexander*'s generoſity, and not of any neceſſity he was under (B).

Catenes and *Auſtanes* were now the only rebels remaining in this country. Againſt theſe *Craterus* was diſpatched, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot; and a battle enſuing, the barbarians were entirely routed, *Catenes* ſlain, and *Auſtanes* taken alive, and put in chains. All things being now in a ſtate of quiet, *Alexander* advanced over mount *Caucaſus*, as his ſoldiers called it, and in ten days time reached the city of *Alexandria*, which he had founded. There he diſplaced the governor, becauſe he had been wanting in his duty; and leaving here ſuch of his *Macedonian* foot as were unfit for further ſervice, he, after pompous ſacrifices to *Minerva*, advanced to the river *Cophenes*. Thence he diſpatched a herald to *Taxiles* and the other princes on this ſide of the river *Indus*, directing them to come forth and meet him, as he advanced towards their territories; which they accordingly performed, bringing with them the moſt valuable preſents which their dominions would afford; *Taxiles*, in the name of the reſt, making him a promiſe, that they would preſent him with

The war transferred towards the Indus.

[i] Arrian. l. iv. c. 24, 25.

(B) The accounts given us by *Curtius* of the *Sogdian* rocks are really irreconcileable to probability, or to themſelves. The commander of the firſt rock he calls *Arimazes*. He deſcribes the rock itſelf as if it were hollow within; and as he is fond of any opportunity of digreſſing, deſcribing, and exerciſing his talent in rhetoric, ſo on this occaſion he introduces *Alexander* making a ſpeech to thoſe who were to mount the rock, obliges us with their anſwer, and afterwards enters into a long and pompous detail of the difficulties ſurmounted by them in ſcaling of this rock. Laſt of all he tells us, that when *Arimazes* came down and ſubmitted himſelf to the king, with thirty of the principal perſons who had taken ſhelter with him, he ordered them to be firſt whipped, and then crucified, notwithſtanding that he was in great doubt of their throwing his handful of men down who had ſcaled the top of the rock; a proceeding directly oppoſite to common ſenſe and reaſon (71). In the province of *Naura* he tells us, that *Alexander* beſieged another prodigious rock, of which *Siſimithres* was governor. This man, he ſays, had two ſons by his own mother; which, he informs us, was a thing cuſtomary in that country; and that this wife and mother of his witheld him, by their arguments, from ſurrendering the place, when his friend *Oxyartes* had taken pains to come and treat with him. At laſt, however, *Siſimithres* yielded himſelf, his family, the people under his command, and the rock, to *Alexander*, who treated him with great humanity (72). A little after *Curtius* tells us of the king's entering into a province governed by one *Cohortanus*, who treated the king with great magnificence; and that his daughter *Roxana* coming in at this feaſt, the king fell paſſionately in love with her, and being immediately betrothed to her afterwards married her (73). Here are a multitude of miſtakes, if we credit the beſt *Greek* authors; for *Roxana* was not the daughter of *Cohortanus*, but of *Oxyartes*; nay, this *Cohortanus* is met with nowhere elſe. In all probability he was the ſame with the *Chorienes* of *Arrian*. As for *Siſimithres*, he is mentioned by *Plutarch*, who tells us, that *Alexander* aſked *Oxyartes*, if this man was a man of courage? To which he anſwered, No. Then, ſaid the king, the rock is our own, if it were indeed impregnable in its nature (74). Theſe paſſages are evidently diſcordant, and therefore we have not inſerted them in the text, that they might not perplex or impede the reader in his proſpect of *Alexander*'s conqueſts.

(71) *Curt. l.* vii.. *c.* 39. (72) *Idem ibid. l.* viii. *c.* 9, 10. (73) *Idem ibid. l.* viii. *c.* 16. (74) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

with twenty-five elephants [k]. *Curtius* tells us, that this *Indian* king, or his son, whom he calls *Omphis*, presented *Alexander* with twenty-six elephants, and three thousand bulls, a crown of gold, and a considerable sum of coined silver; which presents, as they bespoke the respect and kindness of the giver, had such an effect on the mind of the conqueror, that he not only restored the king his own presents, but added a thousand talents to him [l]. *Plutarch* has the same story with respect to these thousand talents; but, in all probability, they were extracted from some of the memoirs of *Alexander*, written rather to surprise and amaze mankind with fictitious adventures, than really to inform them of what he did [m]. *Hephæstion*, with part of the army, was sent, with king *Taxiles* and the rest of the *Indian* Princes, absolutely to reduce the country as far as the river *Indus*; and on their coming thither, they were directed to make the necessary preparations for the king's passing over with all his forces. *Hephæstion* executed this commission with little trouble, only one of the petty princes in the country presuming to make any resistance; and he being slain, and the city, where he had fortified himself, taken by storm, it struck such a terror as kept all the adjacent country in great quiet. *Alexander*, in the mean time, bent his march, with the rest of his forces, towards the river *Choe*, by some called *Choaspes*, on the banks of which he found a rough and barbarous people, whose cities he prepared to reduce. The first he attacked was surrounded by a double wall; and yet the people therein were so hardy, that they issued out into the field and offered him battle. *Alexander*, with his horse and light-armed troops, immediately engaged them, and, after a short and smart conflict, compelled them to take shelter in the place; he was, however, slightly wounded in the shoulder. *Ptolemy* son of *Lagus* and *Leonatus*, two of his principal captains, shared the same fate. He then caused the place to be invested, and the next day attacked the first wall where he thought it weakest. The inhabitants made a vigorous defence; but finding it absolutely ineffectual, they at last retired within the inner wall, and while the *Macedonians* were preparing to attack that also, they opened their gates on the other side towards the mountain, whereby many of them made their escape, tho' numbers were slain by *Alexander*'s soldiers, who were so enraged at his being wounded, that they gave no quarter. The king then ordered the city to be razed, and afterwards proceeded to *Andaca*, a most considerable city in those parts. This was rendered to him upon terms, and he left *Craterus* there with the heavy-armed forces, to reduce all the rest of the country and to settle it. Himself, with the horse and light-armed troops, continued their march to the river *Euæspla*, where the chief strength of the *Aspii*, the principal nation in those parts, was assembled. After two days hard march they drew near the city, which the enemy immediately fired and withdrew towards the mountains, whither, however, the *Macedonians* pursued them, and cut off great numbers in their rear. Here it was, that *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* gave a shining proof of his bravery; for he attacked the general of the *Aspii*, who was posted on a little hill, and in a single combat slew him. The barbarians, on the other hand, fought desperately to preserve his body, till that *Alexander*, at the head of some dismounted horse, ascended the hill, and, charging them in flank, obliged them to retire without carrying off their dead general. He passed next over one of these mountains, and advanced to the city *Arigæus*, which he found burnt and deserted; but *Craterus* having now rejoined the army, he left him there with orders to repair it, and people it with such of the Inhabitants of the country as were willing to dwell therein, and such invalids as were glad to have a place to dwell in. The king still advanced, till encamping at the foot of a mountain, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* informed him, that he discerned a great camp of the barbarians, and a multitude of fires therein. *Alexander* thereupon divided his army into three bodies; the first under the command of *Leonatus*; the second under *Ptolemy*; and the third commanded by himself. All three advanced towards the enemy; which when the barbarians perceived, trusting to their numbers, they rushed into the plain; but their violence putting them into confusion, tho' they behaved bravely, and fought stoutly, yet the *Macedonians* had the victory in the centre, where *Alexander* commanded, after putting vast numbers to the sword. *Ptolemy* was constrained to attack a considerable body of the enemy posted upon a hill. He, marching up that side of it which was most accessible, without attempting to surround it at the bottom, constrained

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Curt. l. viii. c. 39. [m] Plut. in vit. Alex.

the

a the enemy to fly, and, by leaving them an open paſſage, tempted them to fly the ſooner. *Leonatus* on his ſide alſo prevailed; but the victory was bloody every-where. According to *Ptolemy*'s memoirs, the enemy loſt forty thouſand men, and two hundred and thirty thouſand head of cattle; which *Alexander* perceiving to excel thoſe of *Greece*, both in ſize and beauty, he cauſed the largeſt and faireſt to be choſen out and ſent them into *Macedon*, where they might ſerve to mend the breed, and to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts. After this battle he continued ſome time encamped, that *Craterus* might have time to join him; which when he had done with the heavy-armed foot, *Alexander* began immediately to project a new expedition for reducing the *Aſſaceni*, who were ſaid to have twenty thouſand horſe, thirty thouſand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to take the field [n].

The city of Magaza with much difficulty taken.

In order to reach theſe *Aſſaceni*, *Alexander* was forced to paſs through the territories of the *Guræi*, which he did with his horſe and light armed troops, and croſſed a very rapid river in that country, not without much difficulty, on account of the ſwift current of the water, and of round ſlippery ſtones at the bottom, whereon neither man nor horſe could tread with ſafety. The *Aſſaceni*, when they were well aſſured of this, retired into the city and abandoned all thoughts of defence of the plain and open country. This capital of theirs is by *Curtius* called *Mazaga*, by *Strabo Magoſa*, by *Diodorus Maſſaca*, by *Arrian Maſſaga*. It was certainly a well-fortified city, from the pains that it coſt *Alexander* to reduce it; and if *Curtius* took the deſcription he gives us from any author who had really ſeen it, we might reaſonably eſteem the ſiege thereof one of the boldeſt enterprizes that *Alexander* ever undertook. The government of this country, at the time *Alexander* invaded it, was in the hands of a woman, as *Plutarch*, *Curtius*, and *Juſtin* agree; the latter calls her *Cleophes*. She was according to them the wife of *Aſſacenus*, but *Arrian* ſays nothing of her, though he ſeems to acknowledge that the fact was ſo [o]. This lady had very providently entertained a body of ſeven thouſand mercenary *Indians*, who, from the upper *India*, came to put themſelves into the place, and, as *Plutarch* tells us, they alſo hired themſelves out for the defence of other cities. Theſe *Indians*, perceiving that the army of *Alexander* was far from being numerous, perſuaded the gariſon to iſſue out, and try their fate in the field, that ſo, if it were poſſible, a ſiege might be avoided. This was accordingly done, and *Alexander* rightly conceiving, that if the battle was fought immediately under the walls of the city, the enemy would reap great advantages therefrom, drew up his phalanx a mile behind his horſe and archers, cauſing theſe to advance before the enemy, and then, as if amazed or diſmayed, to retire towards thoſe. His ſtratagem had its deſired effect, the *Indians*, conceiving highly of their own valour, followed the *Macedonians*, as if they had already defeated them; but when they drew near the hill where *Alexander* had poſted his phalanx, the horſe and archers attacked them in both wings, and the king with his foot charged in the centre. Thus the *Indians* were broke at the firſt ſhock, and expoſed to great ſlaughter in their retreat to the city, though they behaved with great bravery, and taught *Alexander* to conceive better of them, than of any of the nations he had yet met with. Immediately after this victory, *Alexander* cauſed the city to be inveſted, and going to take a view of the works which he had ordered to be erected before it, he had the misfortune to be wounded in the leg. *Curtius* inlarges mightily upon this accident; he informs us, that the king, notwithſtanding this wound, continued his obſervations on horſeback, without ſuffering it to be bound up; that afterwards, feeling himſelf exceedingly pained, he was forced to have it dreſſed, but continued, however, giving the neceſſary directions, till all things were done that he deſired; being, however, ſo ſenſible of pain, that he could not help ſaying, *Though I am called the ſon of* Jupiter, *I feel like other men the ſmart of wounds and the pain of diſeaſes* [p]. *Arrian* tells us, that he was wounded indeed, but that the very next day he ordered his engines to be brought to batter the place. A bridge being made, the king gave directions that it ſhould be immediately aſſaulted, which was accordingly performed, with that vigour and vivacity ſhewn by the *Macedonians* upon all occaſions. The *Indians*, however, repulſed him with conſiderable loſs. The next day the city was ſtormed again with the like ill ſucceſs. On the third day *Alexander* cauſed a large wooden tower to be drawn before the breach, and a draw-bridge to be let fall from thence, that his men might paſs over the more eaſily. This was a good contrivance, and

[n] Arrian. ubi ſupra.
[o] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 26. Curt. lib. viii. c. 34. Justin. lib. xii. c.
[p] Plut. in vit. Alex. Justin. lib. xii. c. 7. Curt. lib. viii. c. 35.

and answered the end; but, the soldiers rushing forwards in too great numbers, the bridge broke, and they fell all into the ditch, where the defendants from the wall plied them with stones, arrows, and darts, so that *Alexander* was forced to send *Alcetas* with a fresh body of troops to bring them off. The fourth day a new bridge was made, and the soldiers again attempted the place, but to no purpose. The mercenary *Indians*, as long as their general survived, behaved themselves so gallantly, that *Alexander* was not likely at all to gain the city; but he being killed by a dart from one of the engines, and many of the soldiers disabled by their wounds, the rest were desirous of treating with *Alexander*, which they did by a herald; and for the sake of avoiding unnecessary effusion of blood, the king granted them these terms, as *Arrian* affirms, that they should safely march out of the city, and serve under him upon the same terms they did there. On these conditions they accordingly marched out, and armed as they were, encamped on a hill at some distance from *Alexander*'s camp. In the evening *Alexander* received advice, that these *Indians* were determined to march off in the night, that they might not be obliged to serve amongst the *Macedonians* against their brethren. Upon this he surrounded their camp with his own soldiers, and cut them all to pieces [q]. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a very distinct account of this business, and treats it as the blackest act of perfidy that ever was committed; he does not indeed say, that the *Indians* were to be taken into the service of *Alexander*, but that they had leave to march out of the place, and that when they were marched out, the king followed them, and fell upon them. This engaging them to cry aloud, that he had violated his oath, and to call upon the gods to revenge it; he equivocally answered, that he had given his oath that they should come safely out of the city, but not that they should remain friends to the *Macedonians*: in consequence of which impious distinction, he killed them and their wives too, who bravely fought to defend their husbands [r]. *Plutarch* allows, that this barbarous action left an indelible stain upon his memory [s]. The city of *Massaga* was soon after taken, and therein, according to *Arrian*, the mother and daughter of *Assacenus*; according to all other authors, his widow. *Curtius* says, that she went out at the head of a procession of noble ladies, carrying golden goblets of wine in their hands; and that she procured to herself, not only pardon, but the continuance of her dignity, rather from her excellent beauty, than from her eloquence, or from any inclination of pity in the king. He adds, that she had some time after a son, who, whatever father he had, was called *Alexander* [t]. *Justin* is still more plain, he says, that she procured this indulgence by prostituting herself to *Alexander*, and that the *Indians* ever after were pleased to style her the *royal whore* [u]; *so far, it seems*, Alexander *travelled to find a more steady and settled virtue, than was known in the schools of* Greece.

Ora *taken, and* Bazira.

The next undertaking of *Alexander* was the siege of *Ora*, in order to which he detached *Attalus*, *Alcetas*, and *Demetrius*, to invest it, while in the mean time *Cœnus* marched to besiege *Bazira*, another strong city. Neither of these places surrendered on the arrival of the king's forces, as it had been supposed they would; but on the contrary, made all the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence; so that *Cœnus* was forced to turn his siege into a blockade, and the king himself was constrained to go in person to the siege of *Ora*. This city was surrounded with a strong wall, and had in it a considerable garison of mercenary *Indians*; yet *Alexander* quickly reduced it, seizing all the elephants therein for the use of his army. The inhabitants of *Bazira*, when they were informed of this, took the advantage of a dark night to pass by the troops left by *Cœnus* to block up the city, and escaped to the mountains behind them. From these hills the inhabitants of *Bazira*, associating themselves with such as were willing to defend their liberty to the last, withdrew to a certain rock, which, if not impregnable by its situation, they thought might be rendered so by their own skill and courage [w].

The siege of Aornus *resolved on.*

The rock of the *Aornus* was in circuit two hundred furlongs, or not much less than twenty-five of our miles. It's height even in its lowest parts eleven furlongs, the way leading to it artificial, and very narrow: On the top of it there was a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood; the rest arable land with a fountain, furnishing abundance of excellent water. There was a report among the inhabitants of the adjacent country, that *Hercules* himself had besieged this place in vain.

[q] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 27. [r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. [s] In vit. Alex. [t] Curt. lib. viii. c. 35. [u] Justin. ubi supra. [w] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 27—28. Diodor. ubi supra. Curt. lib. viii. c. 36. Justin. lib. xii. c. 7.

a vain. *Arrian* delivers it as his opinion, that this report was without foundation; but it is more than probable, that the report itſelf was raiſed after *Alexander* had taken it, in order to magnify his exploit. However it was, after making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for preſerving the country in peace behind him, he marched to *Embolina*, the neareſt city, from whence he afterwards advanced to the rock itſelf. While he was preparing all things for the ſiege, an old man and his two ſons, who had long lived in a cavern near the ſummit of the rock, came to offer their ſervices to *Alexander*, to ſhew him a private way of aſcending it; which propoſition was readily embraced, and *Ptolemy*, with a conſiderable body of light-armed troops, were ſent with him; with orders, in caſe they ſucceeded, to intrench themſelves ſtrongly upon the rock, with b the wood which the old man was to direct them to, before they had attempted to attack the *Indians*. *Ptolemy* exactly executed all that had been given him in charge, and when he had ſo done, cauſed a lighted torch to be erected in his camp upon a pole, as a ſignal to *Alexander*, that they were ſafely got up.

The rock of Aornus reduced.

THE king gave immediate orders for a body of troops to attempt the paſſage, whereby the rock was ordinarily aſcended, from which, however, they were repulſed by the *Indians* with great ſlaughter. Then the king ſent an *Indian*, whom he could truſt, with letters to *Ptolemy*, directing him at ſuch time as he attacked the rock next, to iſſue from his camp, and fall upon the enemy behind. But in the intermediate ſpace, thoſe who defended the rock attacked *Ptolemy* with great vigour, and were, c though with much ado, at laſt repulſed. This, however, did not hinder that general from obeying the orders that were ſent him; for when *Alexander* renewed the attack, the next day he on his ſide came out of his camp with a part of his ſoldiers, and attacked the enemy in the rear: the *Indians* repelled the *Macedonians* on both ſides, and though *Alexander* did himſelf aſcend as far as *Ptolomy*'s poſt with a detachment of choſen men, yet ſtill all they could do was ineffectual, ſo that the king was forced to turn his thoughts another way; he ſaw clearly, that the great advantage of the *Indians* was the ſtreightneſs and declivity of the way by which they were attacked; in order therefore that his forces might fight upon more equal terms, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled up the cavities between the plain d where the enemy was encamped, and the higheſt of his advanced poſts. When the *Indians* underſtood his deſign, they deſpiſed it as a thing impracticable; but when they ſaw with what ardor this work was carried on, and felt the effects of it from the miſſive weapons which were now thrown among them by the *Indians*, they began to change their ſentiments, inſomuch, that they ſent deputies to propoſe terms of ſurrender, which when *Alexander* had heard, he preſently ſuſpected their true deſign was to amuſe him till they made their eſcape; upon which he withdrew his guards from the avenues, and as ſoon as he knew that the *Indians* were deſcended, he with ſeven hundred light-armed foot from *Ptolemy*'s poſt, took poſſeſſion of the deſerted rock, and then made a ſignal for his forces to fall upon the flying Enemies. They, e ſetting up a loud ſhout, ſo terrified the fugitives, that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and were beat to pieces; of the remainder, the greater part were cut off in the roads. Thus, as *Alexander*'s ſoldiers boaſted, that rock was taken, before which *Hercules* himſelf had been foiled. Certain it is, that the king ſacrificed there with great pomp, and left a gariſon under the command of *Siſicottus*, who had formerly ſerved *Beſſus*; but had now for ſome time been in *Alexander*'s army, and behaved with much fidelity [x]. From hence he marched again into the territories of the *Aſſaceni*, where the brother of the deceaſed king had taken up arms; however, when he came he found the cities deſerted, and the country totally abandoned. Finding therefore that little could be done there, he made it his buſineſs to find out and ſeize ſuch elephants, as the *Indians* had been forced to leave in the plain country; and after a march of ſixteen days, he arrived at the river *Indus*, where *Hephaſtion* and *Perdiccas* had already provided a bridge of boats for the paſſage of the army [y] (C).

Arrian

[x] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 28. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. CURT. lib. viii. c. 36--38. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7. [y] ARRIAN. lib. iv. cap. ult. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. CURT. ubi ſupra.

(C) *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that, after the taking the rock of *Aornus*, the king was adviſed that one *Aphrices*, an *Indian*, lay not far diſtant with an army of twenty thouſand men and fifteen elephants, in order to oppoſe his paſſage. But before the king had time to think of reducing him, the *Indians* themſelves, whether out of hatred to their general, or in hopes of *Alexander*'s favour, our author pretends not to determine, put their commander to death, and brought his head and armour as

Alexander *passes the rivers* Indus *and* Hydaspes. *Year after the flood* 2672. *Before Christ* 327.

Arrian is very nice in his account of *Alexander*'s passing this river; but neither the importance of the thing, since he passed it without opposition, or the nature of this work, which would be rendered tedious thereby, allow us to dwell here upon matters which must be retouched, when we come to the history of *India*. The king refreshed his army for thirty days in the countries on the other side of the river, which were those of his friend and ally *Taxiles*, who at this time performed all that he had promised to the king giving him thirty elephants, and joining his army now with seven hundred *Indian* horse, to which, when they were to enter upon action, he afterwards added five thousand foot; the true reason of this seems to have been his enmity to *Porus*, a famous *Indian* prince, whose territories lay on the other side of the river *Hydaspes*. During this recess, the king sacrificed with great solemnity, receiving also embassadors from *Ambisurus*, a very potent prince, and from *Doxareas*, who was also a king in those parts, with tenders of their duty and considerable presents (D). These ceremonies over, *Alexander* appointed *Philip* governor of *Taxila*, and put a *Macedonian* garison into the place, because he intended to erect an hospital there for the cure of his sick and wounded soldiers. These things once performed, he ordered the vessels, of which his bridge had been composed when he passed the *Indus*, to be taken to pieces, that they might be brought to the *Hydaspes*, where he was informed, that *Porus*, with a great army, lay encamped to hinder his passage. When he approached the banks of this river with his army and the auxiliaries under the command of *Taxiles*, he found that the people he had to do with were not so easily to be subdued, as the *Persians* and other *Asiatics*. The *Indians* were not only a very tall and robust, but also a very hardy and well-disciplined, people; and their king *Porus*, a prince of high spirit, invincible courage, and great conduct. It was about the summer solstice when *Alexander* reached the *Hydaspes*, and consequently its waters were broader, deeper, and more rapid than at any other time; for in *India* the rivers swell, as the sun's increasing heat melts the snow, and subside again as winter approaches; *Alexander* therefore had every difficulty to struggle with. *Porus* had made his dispositions so judiciously, that *Alexander* found it impossible to practice upon him, as he had done upon others, and to pass the river in his view; wherefore he was constrained to divide his army into small parties, and to practice other arts, in order to get the better of so vigilant a prince [z]. To this end, he caused a great quantity of corn and

[z] Arrian. lib. v. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Justin. lib. xii. c. 8. Curt. lib. viii. c. 42.

as a present to the king (74). *Curtius* calls him *Eryces*; but he varies little in the rest of the story; it should seem that he was the general of some mercenary *Indians* (75). How *Arrian* came to omit this event, we cannot pretend to say, unless we suppose that he doubted the truth of it, because it was omitted in the memoirs of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*.

(D) There is not the least notice taken in *Arrian* of the *Taxiles* here spoken of, being another *Taxiles* than him mentioned before. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Curtius*, however, are positive that it was the son of him heretofore mentioned, and that the name of this man was *Mophis* or *Omphis* (76); and that he refused to take upon him the name of *Taxiles*, which was common to all the kings of the country, till *Alexander* commanded him so to do, and put the crown upon his head, which he did with great willingness, being extremely pleased with this extraordinary mark of submission (77). *Strabo* tells us, that the city of *Taxila*, which was the capital of this kingdom, was seated between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaspes*; that it was extremely well built, governed by good laws, the country round about being extremely fruitful and well planted; the same author tells us, that this kingdom was as large as *Egypt* (78), which is also confirmed by *Plutarch*; he adds, that at the first interview between *Alexander* and *Taxiles*, the latter, who was reputed a very wise man, addressed him thus: *To what purpose should we destroy the subjects of each other, if it be not your design to deprive us of our fruits and our water, which, as they are the only things necessary to preserve the lives of men, are only worth fighting about? As to what the world calls riches, if I am better provided than thee, thou shalt share with me with all my heart; but if thou art already richer than I, I am not so proud as to refuse being obliged to you, or so base as to think of being ungrateful for your favours.* To which *Alexander* replied, *Do not think*, Taxiles, *that by these fair speeches you shall avoid contending with me; I will no more be overcome in civility than war; and therefore, do what you will, I will oblige you still more.* Which promise of his he accordingly made good, not only by bestowing on the king great presents, but also by making large additions to his dominions (79). After this, *Arrian* and indeed all other authors agree, that *Alexander* proceeded to reduce *Nysa*, a famous city said to be built by *Bacchus*, at this time governed by its own laws, and living in a state of freedom: We did not think fit, however, to enter into a detail of what passed between *Alexander* and the deputies from this city in the text, because *Arrian* himself, though he has related it at large, seems to doubt very much of the fact, or rather to look upon it as a fable (80). To say the truth, there are so many things of importance belonging to the history of *Alexander*, that we are willing to pass by, as briefly as we may, such romantic stories as these, that we may not omit things at once more pleasing and more profitable to the reader.

(74) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. (75) *Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 39. (76) *Diodor. l.* xvii. (77) *Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 39. (78) *Strab. Geogr. l.* xv. (79) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (80) *Arrian. l.* v. *Diodor. Curt. Justin Plut. &c.*

a and other provisions to be brought into his camp, giving out, that he intended to remain where he was till the river fell, and, by becoming fordable, should give him an opportunity of forcing a passage: This did not, however, hinder *Porus* from keeping up very strict discipline in his camp, which when *Alexander* perceived, he frequently made such motions as seemed to indicate a change of his resolution, and that he had still thoughts of passing the river. The main thing the *Macedonians* stood in fear of was the elephants; for the bank being pretty steep on the other side, and it being the nature of horses to start at the first appearance of those animals, it was foreseen, that the army would be disordered, and incapable of sustaining the charge of *Porus*'s troops. But after some time, that the kings had amused each other, *Alexander*, who hated b inactivity, determined to pass at all events; yet, before he took that resolution, he contrived a method of passing with the least danger possible, which was this: There was at the distance of one hundred and fifty stadia from his camp, a rocky promontory projecting into the river, thick covered with wood, and over-against this promontory there lay a pretty large uninhabited island almost over-grown with wood. The king therefore conceived within himself a project of conveying a body of troops from this promontory into that island, and upon this scheme he built his hopes of surprising *Porus*, vigilant as he was. To this end, he kept him and his army constantly alarmed for many nights together, till he perceived that *Porus* apprehended it was only done to harass his troops, and therefore no longer drew out of his camp, but trusted c to his ordinary guards: Then *Alexander* resolved to put his designs in execution. A considerable body of horse, the *Macedonian* phalanx, with some corps of light-armed foot, he left in his camp under the command of *Craterus*; as also the auxiliary *Indians*, giving these orders to be observed in his absence: That if *Porus* marched against him with part of his army, and left another part with the elephants behind in his camp, *Craterus* and his forces should remain where they were. But if it so happened, that *Porus* withdrew his elephants, then *Craterus* was to pass the river, because his cavalry might then do it safely. *Alexander* having marched half the way, or about nine of our miles, ordered the mercenary troops, under the command of *Attalus* and other generals, to remain there; and directed them, that as soon as d they knew he was engaged with the *Indians* on the other side, they should pass in vessels provided for that purpose in order to assist him. Then taking a round-about road, that the enemy might not perceive his design of reaching the rock, he marched as diligently as he could towards that post. It happened very fortunately for him, that a great storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, rose in the night, whereby his march was perfectly concealed, his vessels of thirty oars put together, and his tents stuffed and stitched, so that they passed from the rock into the island, without being perceived, a little before break of day; the storm ceasing just as he and his soldiers were ready for their passage. When they had traversed the island, they boldly set forward to gain the opposite shore in sight of *Porus*'s out-guards, who instantly posted e away to give their master an account of this attempt. *Alexander* landed first himself, and was followed as expeditiously as possible by his forces, whom he took care to draw up as fast as they arrived. When they began their march again, they found that their good fortune was not so great as at first they esteemed it; for it appeared now, that they had not reached the continent at all, but were in truth in another island much larger than the former. They crossed it as fast as they could, and found that it was divided from the *terra firma* by a narrow channel, which, however, was so swelled by the late heavy rain, that the poor soldiers were forced to wade up to the breast; when they were on the other side, the king drew them up again carefully, ordering the foot to march slowly, they being in number about six thousand, f while himself with five thousand horse advanced before. As soon as *Porus* received intelligence that *Alexander* was actually passing the river, he sent his son, with two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppose him. But they came too late, *Alexander* was already got on shore, and even on his march. When the *Macedonian* scouts perceived them advancing, they informed the king, who sent a detachment to attack them, remaining still at the head of his cavalry in expectation of *Porus*. But when he found that this party was unsupported, he instantly attacked them with all his horse, and defeated them with the slaughter of many, and the loss of all their armed chariots, the son of *Porus* being slain in the fight. The remainder of the horse returning to the camp with this disastrous account, *Porus* was in some confusion; however, he took very quickly the best and wisest resolutions his

his circumſtances would allow, which were, to leave a part of his army with ſome of his elephants to oppoſe *Craterus*, who was now about to paſs the river alſo, and with the reſt to march againſt *Alexander* and his forces, who were already paſſed. This reſolution once taken, he marched immediately out of his camp at the head of four thouſand horſe, thirty thouſand foot, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants. He advanced as expeditiouſly as he could, till he came into a plain, which was firm and ſandy, where his chariots and elephants might act to advantage; there he halted, that he might put his army in order, knowing well that he need not go in queſt of his enemy. *Alexander* ſoon came up with his horſe, but he did not charge *Porus*; on the contrary, he made a halt, and put his troops in order, that they might be able to defend themſelves in caſe they were attacked. When he had waited ſome time, his foot arrived, whom he immediately ſurrounded with his horſe, that after ſo fatiguing a march, they might have time to cool and breathe themſelves before they were led to engage. *Porus* permitted all this, becauſe it was not his intereſt to fight, and becauſe he depended chiefly upon his order of battle, the elephants covering his foot, ſo that the *Macedonians* could not charge them. When *Alexander* had diſpoſed his foot in proper order, he placed his horſe on the wings, and obſerving that he was much ſuperior in them to the enemy, and that the cavalry of *Porus* were eaſy to be charged; he reſolved to let the foot have as little ſhare as poſſible in this battle. To this end, having given the neceſſary directions to *Cænus* who commanded them, he went himſelf to the right, and with great fury fell upon the left wing of *Porus*. The diſpute, though ſhort, was very bloody; the horſe of *Porus*, though they fought gallantly, were quickly broken; and the foot being by this means uncovered, the *Macedonians* charged them. But the *Indian* horſe rallying, came up to their relief, yet were again defeated. By this time the archers had wounded many of the elephants, and killed moſt of their riders, ſo that they did not prove leſs troubleſome and dangerous to their own ſide than to the *Macedonians*; whence a great confuſion enſued, and *Cænus*, taking this opportunity, fell in with the troops under his command, and intirely defeated the *Indian* army. *Porus* himſelf behaved with the greateſt intrepidity and with the moſt excellent conduct: He gave his orders, and directed every thing as long as his troops retained their form; and when they were broken, he retired from party to party as they made ſtands, and continued fighting till every corps of *Indians* was put to the rout. In the mean time *Craterus* had paſſed with the reſt of the *Macedonian* army; and theſe falling upon the flying *Indians*, encreaſed the ſlaughter of the day exceſſively, inſomuch, that twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe were killed, all the chariots hacked to pieces, and the elephants not killed were taken: Two of *Porus*'s ſons fell here, as alſo moſt of his officers of all ranks. As for himſelf, *Alexander* gave ſtrict directions that no injury might be done to his perſon; he even ſent *Taxiles* to perſuade him to ſurrender himſelf, and to aſſure him, that he ſhould be treated with all the kindneſs and reſpect imaginable; but *Porus* diſdaining this advice from the mouth of an old enemy, threw a javelin at him, and had killed him, but for the quick turn of his horſe. *Merce* the *Indian*, who was alſo in the ſervice of *Alexander*, ſucceeded better; he had been the old acquaintance of *Porus*, and therefore, when he intreated that prince to ſpare his perſon, and to ſubmit himſelf to fortune and a generous victor, being weary and almoſt choaked with thirſt, *Porus* ſtopped his elephant, alighted, and, having refreſhed himſelf with a little water, deſired his friend to conduct him to *Alexander*. As ſoon as the *Macedonian* knew that *Porus* was coming, he went with ſome of his friends to meet him. At this interview, *Alexander* was greatly ſurpriſed; the *Indian* king was ſeven foot high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aſpect, and in his air and behaviour preſerved ſuch an unconquered ſpirit, that *Alexander* was charmed with him, inſomuch that he deſired *Merce* to ask him, *How he would pleaſe to be treated? Porus* anſwered, *As a King*; which when it was reported to *Alexander*, he ſaid, *That for my own ſake I ſhall do. And therein* returned Porus, *is comprehended all that I can ask.* This ſo well ſuited the genius of his conqueror, that we may ſay, the condition of this *Indian* king ſuffered nothing by the loſs of the battle. *Alexander* gave him his liberty immediately, reſtored him ſhortly after to his kingdom, to which he alſo annexed provinces almoſt equal to it in value. Neither was *Alexander* a loſer by his munificence, for *Porus* remained his true friend, and conſtant ally [a].

Alexander,

[a] Arrian. lib. v. c. 14, 15, 16. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. viii. Justin. lib. xii.

His proceedings in the conquest of India.

Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named *Nicæa*, which seems to have been
a the same which *Plutarch* says was built to the memory of his famous dog *Peritas*; the other on this side of the river, where his camp had been, which he called *Bucephala*, in honour of his horse who died here, as *Arrian* says, of mere old age, being on the verge of thirty. All the soldiers who fell in the battle he buried with great honours, offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous shews on the banks of the *Hydaspes*, where he had forced his passage. After this short recess from war, he, at the head of his horse and light-armed troops, entered the territories of the *Glausæ*, in which there were thirty-seven good cities and a multitude of populous vil-
b lages; all which were delivered up to him without fighting; and as soon as they were given unto him, he presented them to *Porus*; and having reconciled him to *Taxiles*, he sent the latter home to his own dominions. About this time embassadors arrived from *Abissares*, professing, that himself and his kingdom were at his devotion; among these embassadors was his brother who brought a large present and forty elephants. *Alexander* directed *Abissares* to repair to him in person, and having given orders to *Philip* to march with a body of troops to reduce the *Assaceni* who were revolted, himself with the rest of his army marched to the river *Acesines*, which being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely
c rapid, having great rocks in the midst of its channel, he passed it with much difficulty, making use both of his vessels and his skins. However, those on the latter escaped best, for when they struck against the rocks, the very force of the blow threw them off again; whereas the like accident dashed the vessels to pieces. On the other side of this river lay the territories of another *Porus*, whose conduct had been very fluctuating during the course of this war; for at some times he had thoughts of submitting himself to *Alexander*, at others he determined to oppose him, at last he abandoned his dominions, and led away with him those soldiers who ought to have defended them. *Alexander* in pursuit of him passed the *Hydraotes*, another *Indian* river, and having now conquered the whole kingdom of this other *Porus*, he gave it to *Porus* his ally [b].

The Indians *confederate against him.*

In the midst of all this success, *Alexander* received advice that the *Cathei*, *Oxydracæ*, and the *Malli*, the most warlike nations in *India*, were confederated against
d him, and had drawn together a great army. The king immediately marched to give them battle. In a few days he reached the city of *Sangala*, seated on the top of a hill, and having a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate *Indians* lay encamped, having three circular lines of carriages locked together, and their tents pitched in the centre. It was evident enough to the *Macedonians*, that the forcing of these people would be a work of great difficulty; however, *Alexander* resolved immediately to attack them; in pursuance of which resolution, he encamped as near as possible to their first intrenchment of carriages, and having taken a view of it, chose out a place which he thought the most proper for an attempt to be made on. The
e *Indians* made a noble defence, but at last the first line of their carriages was broken, and the *Macedonians* entered. The second was stronger by far, yet *Alexander* attacked that too, and after a desperate resistance, forced it; the *Indians* without trusting to the third, retired into the city, which *Alexander* would have invested; but the foot he had with him not being sufficient for that purpose, he caused his works to be carried on both sides as far as the lake, and on the other side of that, ordered several brigades of horse to take post; he likewise commanded the engines to be brought up for battering the walls, and in some places employed miners. The second night he received intelligence that the besieged, knowing the lake to be fordable, intended making their escape through it. Upon this he ordered all the carriages
f which had been taken on forcing their camp to be placed up and down the roads in order to hinder their flight, giving directions to *Ptolemy*, who commanded the horse on the other side of the lake, to be extremely vigilant, and to cause all his trumpets to sound, that the forces might repair to that post where the *Indians* made their great effort. These precautions had all the effect he could wish; for of the few *Indians* who got through the lake, and passed the *Macedonian* horse, the greater part were killed on the roads; but the gross of their army was constrained to retire through the water again into the city. Two days after the place was taken by storm, in which seventeen thousand *Indians* were killed, seventy thousand taken prisoners,

[b] Arrian, Diodor. Justin. Curt. Plut. in vit. Alex.

ſoners, with three hundred chariots, and five hundred horſe. *Alexander* is ſaid to a
have loſt but a hundred men in the ſiege, but he had twele hundred wounded, and
amongſt them many perſons of diſtinction. This done, he ſent *Eumenes* his ſecretary
with a party of horſe to acquaint the inhabitantants of the cities adjacent of what had
befallen the *Sangalans*, with a promiſe that they ſhould be kindly treated, if they
ſubmitted; but they were ſo much affrighted at what had happened to their neighbours,
that all *Eumenes*'s good words and promiſes were loſt upon them, inſomuch, that aban-
doning all their cities, they fled into the mountains, chuſing rather to expoſe them-
ſelves to wild beaſts, than to thoſe invaders, who treated their countrymen ſo cruelly.
When the king was adviſed of this, he ſent detachments of horſe to ſcour the roads,
and theſe finding aged, infirm, and wounded people, to the number of about five b
hundred, put them to the ſword without mercy. Perceiving that it was impoſſible
to retrieve the inhabitants of this country, he razed *Sangala*, and gave the territory to
the few *Indians* who had ſubmitted to him. Theſe points once ſettled, he prepared
to paſs the river *Hyphaſis*, having nothing in view, as *Arrian* tells us, but ſtill to ſeek
out new enemies, when he had ſubdued the old ones [c].

His reſolution to paſs the Hyphaſis.

The chief reaſon which induced the king to think of this expedition was, the in-
formations he had received of the ſtate of the countries beyond this river. He was
told, that they were in themſelves rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants were not
only a very martial people, but alſo very civilized; that they were governed by the
nobility, who were themſelves ſubject to the laws; and that, as they lived in happineſs c
and freedom, it was likely they would fight obſtinately in defence of thoſe bleſſings.
He was farther told, that among theſe nations there were the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and
moſt uſeful elephants bred and broke; he was fired with an earneſt deſire of reducing
ſuch bold and brave people under his rule, and of attaining to the poſſeſſion of the
many valuable things that were ſaid to be amongſt them. As exorbitant as his per-
ſonal ambition was, he found it impracticable to infuſe any part of it into the minds of
his ſoldiers, who were ſo far from wiſhing to triumph over new and remote coun-
tries, that they were highly deſirous of leaving thoſe they had lately conquered, and
returning to their own. When therefore they were informed of the king's intentions,
they privately conſulted together in the camp on the ſituation of their affairs; at d
this conſultation, the graveſt and beſt of the ſoldiery held down their heads, wept
and lamented their misfortune, that the king ſhould make uſe of them, not as lions,
who fall fiercely on thoſe by whom they are injured, but as maſtives, to fly upon
and tear ſuch as were ſhewn them for enemies by their maſter; the reſt were not
altogether ſo modeſt, they expreſſed themſelves roundly againſt the king's humour
of leading them from battle to battle, from ſiege to ſiege, and from river to river;
proteſting, that they would follow him no farther, nor laviſh away their lives any
longer to purchaſe fame for him. *Alexander* was a man of too much penetration not
to be early in perceiving that his troops were very uneaſy; he therefore harangued
them from his tribunal, and, if we might depend upon them, *Arrian* and *Curtius* e
both have given us the ſubſtance of that harangue; but they differ widely from each
other, and the frame of each of the ſpeeches agrees exactly with the genius of the
author, in whoſe works we find it. That in *Arrian* is grave, ſolid, and at the ſame
time very ſpecious; whereas that in *Curtius* is copious, florid, and full of ſtrong
rhetorical figures, which ſerve rather to amaze than to perſuade: We may therefore
reaſonably ſuppoſe, that *Arrian* and *Curtius* compoſed each his harangue; as to that
of *Alexander*, it turned probably on the ſame general heads with theirs, and conſiſted
in a warm repreſentation of the glory that would redound to them, if, after conquer-
ing *Aſia*, they went on to ſubdue the habitable world; a recapitulation of the victories
they had already gained, and large promiſes of vaſt rewards and gratifications, if
they continued to be the companions of his labours, and enabled him to maintain the
character of invincible, which as the ſon of *Jupiter* the oracle of *Hammon* had beſtowed
upon him. His eloquence was great, and the love his army had for him was yet very
ſtrong; however, they did not relent, but remained ſullen and ſilent, and at laſt turned
their eyes on *Canus*, an old experienced general, whom *Alexander* loved, and in whom
the army confided. He had generoſity enough to undertake their cauſe, and to tell
Alexander frankly, that men endured toil and labour in hopes of repoſe; that the
Macedonians were already much reduced in their numbers; that of thoſe who remained,
the

c Arrian. lib. v. c. 25. Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi ſupra.

the major part were invalids, and that they expected, in conſideration of their former
a ſervices, he would now lead them back to their native country; an act which of all
others would contribute moſt to his own great deſigns, ſince it would encourage the
youth of *Macedon*, and even of all *Greece*, to follow him in whatever new expedi-
tion he ſhould pleaſe to undertake, whether to the *north* or to the *ſouth*, againſt the
Indians beyond *Hyphaſis*, or the unknown nations bordering on the *Hyrcanian* ſea.
The king was far from being pleaſed with *Cœnus*, and much leſs ſatisfied with the
diſpoſition of the army, which continued buried in a deep ſilence. He therefore diſ-
miſſed the aſſembly; but the next day he called another, wherein he told the ſoldiers
roundly, that he would not be driven from his purpoſe, that he would proceed in
b his conqueſts with ſuch as would follow him voluntarily; as for the reſt, he would
not detain them, but leave them at their liberty to go home to *Macedon*, *where they
might publiſh, that they had left their king in the midſt of his enemies*. Even this expe-
dient had no ſucceſs, his army was ſo thoroughly tired of long marches and deſperate
battles, that they were unanimouſly determined to go no farther, either for fair ſpeech-
es or foul. The king thereupon retired to his tent, where he refuſed to ſee his
friends, and put on the ſame gloomy and diſcontented temper which reigned among
his forces. For three days things remained in this ſituation; at laſt the king ſudden-
ly appeared, and as if he had been fully determined to purſue his firſt deſign, he
gave orders for ſacrificing for the good ſucceſs of his new undertaking, *Ariſtander*
c reported after the ſacrifices were over, that the omens were altogether inauſpicious;
upon which the king ſaid, *That ſince his proceeding farther was neither pleaſing to the
gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return*. When this was rumoured among
the army, they aſſembled in great numbers about the royal tent, ſaluting the king
with loud acclamations, wiſhing him ſucceſs in all his future deſigns, giving him at
the ſame time hearty thanks; *For that he, who was invincible, had ſuffered himſelf
to be overcome with their prayers* [d] (E).

Alexander

[d] ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25--29. DIODOR. lib. xvii. Olymp. cxiii. 2. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. ix. c. 5--10. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 8.

(E) *Diodorus Siculus* inſiſts largely on the battle between *Alexander* and *Porus*; he tells us, that king was ſo wounded, that he fell from his chariot to the ground, that he loſt in the engagement twelve thouſand men, and that of the *Macedonians* there fell two hundred and eighty horſe and ſeven hundred foot: After this he deſcribes the countries through which *Alexander* paſſed, and the ſingularities obſerved in them. He aſſerts the *Hyphaſis* to be ſeven furlongs over and ſix fathoms deep; and he tells us, that *Alexander* was informed, that if he continued his march, he would meet with a deſart twelve days journey over, and then the river *Ganges*, the largeſt and deepeſt in *India*; on the other ſide of which, he would find *Xandranes* king of the *Gangarides* at the head of an army of twenty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, two thouſand chariots, and four thouſand elephants. The king looking on this ſtory to be a mere romance, ſent for *Porus*, and charged him to tell him the truth, who aſſured him, that the thing was ſo, and that he was not impoſed on. Theſe accounts, joined to the hardſhips they had endured, induced the *Macedonians* to refuſe to be led farther, which at firſt exceedingly diſpleaſed the king; but when he found they could not be moved, he conſented to return, having firſt given orders that they ſhould firſt erect twelve altars, each fifty cubits high, to draw a trench round his camp fifty foot broad and forty deep, caſting up out of the earth, which was dug from thence, a very ſtrong retrenchment on the inſide; every foot ſoldier was likewiſe directed to provide two beds of five cubits; and all the cavalry, beſides theſe beds, were ordered to put up a manger twice as big as the ordinary ſize; theſe things were done to amuſe poſterity, and to make them believe that *Alexander* had led an army above the common ſtandard of men into *India* (81).—*Plutarch* ſays expreſsly, that the battle with *Porus* took off the edge of the *Macedonian* courage, and made them unwilling to meddle any more with the *Indians*, eſpecially when they heard that beyond the *Ganges* the kings of the *Gangarides* and *Præſians* had aſſembled eighty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, eight thouſand armed chariots, and ſix thouſand fighting elephants. Our author aſſures us, that this was no vain report; for that *Andracottus*, who was then a youth, and ſaw *Alexander* in his camp, lived afterwards to conquer all theſe countries with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, and made *Seleucus* a preſent of five hundred elephants at once; which prince was often heard to ſay, that if *Alexander* had purſued his deſign, he would in all probability have ſucceeded, the king then reigning in thoſe parts being hated for his cruelty, and deſpiſed for the meanneſs of his birth. We have alſo from *Plutarch* an account of *Alexander*'s cauſing arms of an extraordinary bigneſs, mangers of an exceſſive largeneſs, and bits for bridles of unuſual ſize to be left behind in his camp, when he was compelled by his ſoldiers to think of returning (82).—*Strabo* in his deſcription of *India* agrees very well with *Diodorus*, relating almoſt the ſame things which he does: We have in both ſtories of venomous ſerpents, of a nation putting children to death for want of comelineſs and well-proportioned limbs, and dogs ſo ſtrong, and of ſuch ſpirit, that they encounter lions, with many other tales of the like nature taken from *Oneſicritus*, who was indeed the captain of *Alexander*'s galley, but had the honour alſo to outlye every author that meddled with his hiſtory, which was in truth no ordinary performance (83).——*Curtius* in

(81) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (82) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.* (83) *Strab. Geogr. lib.* xv.

The king is prevailed on to return.

Alexander, having once resolved to make the *Hyphasis* the limits of his conquests, divided his army; and having ordered twelve altars to be erected equal in height, and exceeding in breadth redoubts of an ordinary size, he caused sacrifices to be offered on them; and having exhibited public shews after the *Grecian* manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of *Porus*, and then began his march towards the river *Hydraotes*; from thence he marched on to the *Acesines*, where he found the city which he had directed *Hephæstion* to build, to which he invited all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and left also therein such of his mercenaries as were infirm, and desired to reside there. *Abissares*, a petty king, who had submitted to him in his march this way, and whom the king had ordered to repair to him, sent deputies to excuse himself on account of sickness, which excuse the king was pleased to accept, because that prince had sent the thirty elephants which he had promised, and offered to submit to whatever terms the king should impose. *Alexander* therefore ordered *Arsaces*, president of the province adjoining to his dominions, to inspect his conduct; and having settled the tribute he should pay, marched on to the river *Hydaspes*, where finding the new cities, *Nicea* and *Bucephala*, somewhat damaged by the great rains which had fallen in his absence, he ordered his soldiers to repair them, gave the necessary directions for the security of his conquests, and then addressed himself to the care of the preparations necessary for passing down the river *Indus* into the ocean [e] (F).

The

[e] Arrian. lib. vi. c. 1—3.

in the main agrees pretty well with the authors mentioned in this note; however, he differs in certain circumstances; some of no great moment, and some which deserve notice. He makes the distance from the *Hyphasis*, which he stiles *Hypasis*, and the *Ganges*, eleven days journey; he calls the king of the *Gangaridæ Aggrannes*, and says he had twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, three thousand chariots, and three thousand elephants In relating the sedition in the *Macedonian* camp, he hath inserted rhetorical speeches of excessive length; as to the extraordinary altars, arms, and beds, he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* (84).—*Justin* gives a short, but very magnificent detail of the battle with *Porus*, whose character he has raised more in a line or two, than many authors in pages; he places the *Gangaridæ* amongst the nations conquered by *Alexander*, and says, that when he came with his army to engage the *Cuphites*, the *Macedonians* perceiving they were to fight with two hundred thousand horse, intreated him to spare the small remains of the forces his father had made use of, and allow them the moderate favour of carrying home their mangled carcasses to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors; to which reasonable request he at length with much ado assented (85).—*Polyænus* amonst many instances of *Alexander*'s wisdom and military skill mentions several which happened in his *Indian* war, amongst others the passage of the river *Hydaspes* and the battle with *Porus*; the success of the former of which he attributes to the king's invention, and the victory obtained over the latter to the masterly disposition *Alexander* made of his troops before the engagement (86). This we have fully explained in the text, and it is without question one of the noblest acts which stands recorded of this conqueror.

(F) *Alexander*'s design was to sail down the *Hydaspes* to its junction with the *Accesines*, and then through the *Accesines* into the *Indus*, and through the last mentioned river to the ocean. As the king was a diligent inquirer into whatever regarded natural history, when he first arrived in these parts, he from general informations took up a very odd opinion; it was this, that he had found out the source of the *Nile*. The grounds of this mistaken notion were these: *Alexander* had seen in the river *Indus* crocodiles, and on the banks of the *Acesines* such beans growing as in *Egypt*; putting these things together, he fancied that this great river, rolling on into vast deserts, lost in them its name; but entering again the well-inhabited country of *Ethiopia*, was there called the *Nile*, and thence rolled down with the same name into *Egypt*. He was confirmed in this odd conjecture by *Homer*'s calling the Nile, from its entering *Egypt* to its fall into the sea *Egyptus*; for this seemed to imply, that the same river running through different countries, acquired different names. At last he became so confident, that amongst other things which he wrote to his mother *Olympias*, he set down this; that he had found the springs of the *Nile*. But inquiring farther, and receiving full satisfaction that the *Indus* did not lose itself in any desart, but by two large mouths entered the ocean, he caused the passage before-mentioned to be struck out. It may to some seem strange, that we have insisted so largely upon a point which at first sight may seem trivial; our reason is this: Many have erred in the like manner with *Alexander*, though few have had the good sense to retract their errors like him, even when they have discovered them. The matter here stated is a fact, and a fact attended with very curious circumstances, sufficient to direct us in all cases of a like nature, and to engage us not to depend too much on the conjectures of the greatest men, and the greatest travellers, but to rely on them only for facts (87). A little before this his embarkation died *Cænus*, *Alexander*'s old captain, and who had dared to take upon him the arduous employment of being the army's orator against the will of their prince; *Curtius* tells us, that *Alexander* was afflicted at his death, but that he could not help saying, *That he had made too long a speech, considering the short time he had to live*, with other things to the same purpose; However, he was interred with great solemnity, and if *Alexander*'s sorrow was not over sincere, we may be sure that of the army was unfeigned; for they had now lost their best friend, as well as a most experienced general. *Diodorus* (88) and *Curtius*, in what they say of the king's passing down these rivers, vary in some respects from *Arrian*, and in others

(84) *Curt. lib.* ix. *c.* 2. *& seq.* (85) *Justin. lib.* xii. *c.* 8. (86) *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* iv. *c.* 3. 5. 4. 9. (87) *Arrian. lib.* vi. *c.* 1. (88) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.

Embarques his army.

a THE care taken by *Alexander* for the execution of this project, ſhewed much more prudence than the project itſelf, he had ordered vaſt quantities of timber to be felled in the neighbourhood of the *Hydaſpes*, through which he was to ſail into the *Indies*; he had cauſed the veſſels with which he had paſſed over rivers to be brought thither; and had aſſembled a vaſt number of artificers, capable of reparing, re-building and equipping his fleet, which, when finiſhed, and in a condition to be launched, conſiſted of eighty veſſels of three *banks* of *oars*, and of leſſer ſhips and tranſports about two thouſand. As for thoſe who were to manage this fleet, he collected them out of the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Carians*, and *Egyptians* following his army, and who were held to be perfectly well verſed in all the branches of the *nautic art*. As for the b diſpoſition of the army, it was ſettled thus; the archers, *Agrians*, the light-armed foot, and ſome horſe, he took on board the fleet; *Craterus*, with a body of horſe and foot, marched on the right-hand *bank*; *Hephæſtion*, with the major part of the army, and two hundred elephants, on the left-hand. *Nearchus* was admiral of the whole fleet; and *Oneſicritus* captain of the royal galley. When all things were ready, the army embarqued about break of day, the king, in the mean-time, ſacrificing to the gods, according to the rites uſed in his own country, and to thoſe of that country where he now was. Then he himſelf went on board, and cauſing the ſignal to be given by ſound of trumpet, the fleet began to move. *Craterus* and *Hephæſtion* had marched ſome days before. From the third day, we are informed by *Arrian*, c *Alexander* came to that part of the river which was over-againſt their camps. Here he had information, that the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli* were raiſing forces to oppoſe him; whereupon he determined to reduce them, for he made it a rule with him in the courſe of his voyage, to compel the inhabitants on both ſides the river to yield him obedience; but, before he arrived on the coaſts of the people before-mentioned, he himſelf ſuſtained no ſmall danger; for coming to the confluence of the *Aceſines* with the *Hydaſpis*, from whence both rivers roll together into the *Indus*, the eddies, whirlpools and rapid currents ruſhing with tremendous noiſe from the reſpective channels of thoſe rivers into the great one formed by them both, at once terrified thoſe who navigated his veſſels, and actually deſtroyed many of the long veſſels, with all who were d aboard them; the king himſelf being in ſome danger, and *Nearchus* the admiral not a little at a loſs. As ſoon as this danger was over, and the fleet and army had once more joined, he went himſelf on ſhore, and having ordered his elephants, with ſome troops of horſe and archers, to be carried a-croſs, and put under the command of *Craterus*, he then divided his army on the left-hand bank into three bodies; the firſt commanded by himſelf; the ſecond by *Hephæſtion*; the third by *Ptolemy*. *Hephæſtion* had orders to move ſilently through the heart of the country five days march before the king, that if, on *Alexander*'s approach, any of the barbarians ſhould attempt to ſhelter themſelves, by retiring into the heart of the country, they might fall into the hands of *Hephæſtion*'s forces. *Ptolemy Lagus* was commanded to march three days behind e the king, that if any eſcaped his army, they might fall into *Ptolemy*'s hands. As for the fleet, it had orders to ſtop at the confluence of this river with the *Hydraotes*, till ſuch time as theſe ſeveral corps ſhould arrive[f].

He reduces the Malli.

Alexander himſelf, at the head of a body of horſe and light-armed foot, marched through a deſart country againſt the *Malli*, and ſcarce affording any reſt to his ſoldiers, arrived on the third day at a city into which they had put their wives and children for ſecurity, and a good gariſon for their defence. Theſe people having no apprehenſion that the king would attempt to march through a barren country, were all unarmed and in confuſion. Many of them therefore were ſlain in the field; the reſt fled into the city, and ſhut the gates. But this only protracted their fate for a f ſmall time; for the king having ordered the city to be inveſted by his horſe, attacked it, and, with ſome loſs, took both it and the caſtle by ſtorm, putting all he found therein to the ſword. He ſent at the ſame time *Perdiccas* with a conſiderable

f ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 6 & ſeq. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

others contradict him; but there is no need of troubling the reader with particular accounts, becauſe they are matters of ſmall importance, and ſuch as have in them more of the wonderful, than of the credible or the uſeful (89).

(89) *Curt. l.* ix. *Arrian. l.* vi. *c.* 2.

ſiderable detachment, to inveſt another city of the *Malli* at ſome diſtance; but when he arrived, he found it abandoned; however he purſued the inhabitants who had but lately left it, and ſlew numbers of them on the road. After this the king took ſeveral other cities, not without conſiderable reſiſtance; for the *Indians* ſometimes choſe to burn their houſes and themſelves therein rather than ſurrender. He ſeems, in reſpect to this nation, to have acted with more than ordinary reſentment, hunting them rather as beaſts, than fighting with them as men, and taking pains to cut off not only ſuch as reſiſted him, but thoſe who fled into woods and deſarts to eſcape him. At laſt he marched to their capital city, and finding that abandoned, he proceeded to the river *Hydraotis*, where he found fifty thouſand men encamped on the oppoſite bank. He heſitated not to enter the river, tho' he had with him b
only an inconſiderable party of horſe; and the *Indians* were ſo affrighted at his preſence, that even with all theſe troops, they retired; but when they ſaw how few accompanied the king, they returned, and charged him; but by this time the reſt of his forces were paſſing the river, ſo that the *Indians* were conſtrained to retire to a city which lay behind them, which *Alexander* inveſted that very night. The next day he ſtormed the city with ſuch violence, that the inhabitants were compelled to abandon it, and to retire to the citadel, where they prepared to make a very reſolute defence. The king inſtantly gave orders for ſcaling its walls, and the ſoldiers prepared to execute thoſe orders as faſt as they could; but the king, who was impatient, catching hold of a ladder, clapped it againſt the wall, and mounted it c
himſelf, covering his body with his ſhield, *Peuceſtas* following him, after him *Leonatus*, all by the ſame ladder. *Abreas*, a man of great courage, who on that account had double pay allowed him, mounted by another. The king having gained the top of the battlements, cleared them quickly of the defendants, killing ſome of them with his ſword, and puſhing others over the walls; but, when he had done this, he was in more danger than ever, for the *Indians*, from the adjacent tower, galled him with their arrows, tho' they durſt not come near enough to engage him. His own battalion of targeteers mounting in haſte to ſecond him, broke the ladders; which when *Alexander* perceived, he threw himſelf down into the caſtle, as did alſo *Peuceſtes*, *Leonatus* and *Abreas*. As ſoon as the king was on the ground, the *Indian* d
general ruſhed forward to attack him, whom the king ſlew preſently with his ſword, as he did ſeveral of thoſe who followed him; upon which the reſt retired, and contented themſelves with throwing ſtones and darts at him at a diſtance. *Abreas* was ſtruck into the head with an arrow, and fell upon the ſpot, and ſhortly after another ſtruck through the king's breaſt-plate into his body. As long as he had ſpirits he defended himſelf valiantly, but, through a vaſt effuſion of blood, loſing his ſenſes, he fell upon his ſhield. *Peuceſtas* then covered him with the ſacred ſhield of *Pallas* on one ſide, as did *Leonatus* with his own ſhield on the other, tho' they were themſelves dreadfully wounded. The ſoldiers on the out-ſide, eager to ſave their prince, ſupplied their want of ladders, by driving large iron pins into the walls. By the e
help of this contrivance, many of them aſcended, and threw themſelves over, where ſome covering the body of the king, compelled the *Indians* to retire, and others having pulled down the bars, broke down a gate between two towers, and thereby gave admittance to their companions. The ſoldiers, in the heat of their reſentment, put all that they found to the ſword, women and children not excepted. Then they took up the king, and bore him away upon his ſhield to the camp. There he continued for ſome time in ſo weak a ſtate, that his recovery was very doubtful. The news of this accident having reached the camp on the river ſide, where was the head quarters of the whole army, it ſtruck ſuch a pannic, that they ſcarce knew what to do; for they immediately reckoned that he was dead; and when, from time to f
time, they were informed that he grew better, they attributed this to the arts of the general officers who were about him, nor would they ſuffer themſelves to be convinced, even when they received advice that he was returning to the army. The king was perfectly ſenſible of all the miſchiefs which might attend theſe fears and apprehenſions of his ſoldiers: As ſoon therefore as his health would permit, he cauſed himſelf to be put on board his galley, and rejoined his forces. When he came to the camp, and ſhewed himſelf, both on horſeback and foot, the ſoldiers gathering round him, eagerly kiſſed not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his robes, and reſumed in a moment that courage and alacrity which had hitherto rendered them invincible. The officers however of the firſt rank, who were *Macedo-*

nians

a *nians* by birth, after the first compliments were over, did not spare to tell the king, that he had done very much amiss in hazarding his person after such a manner. At which *Alexander*, who was no longer a lover of truth, was very much displeased; but received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greatest kindness, an old *Bœotian*, who told him, to sooth his vanity, That such extraordinary attempts became a hero [g] (G).

THE *Malli* being by this time convinced, that nothing but submission could save the same remainder of them, sent their deputies to beseech *Alexander* to forget what was past, and to accept of the dominion of their country, which they offered him. At the same time arrived deputies from the *Oxydracæ*, to tender their submis- b sion. They had formerly entered into an alliance with the *Malli*, to oppose *Alexander*, and put a stop to his conquests; and in order thereto, they assembled a great army, with which they proposed to have joined the forces of the *Malli*; but *Alexander*'s marching through a desart, and thereby entering the country of the last-mentioned people, when they did not in the least expect it, rendered this project impracticable; and the ruin which then fell upon the *Malli*, induced this other *Indian* nation to seek their safety by a timely compliance with the king. Their deputies therefore acquainted him, that, not out of any disrespect to his person, but merely from the love of liberty, they had hitherto declined submitting to him; but that now they were ready to accept of such terms as he should please to give them. c *Alexander* commanded, that they should send him no less than a thousand of the principal men among them to serve in his army, and to remain as hostages for the fidelity of the rest. As for the *Malli*, he added them to *Philip*'s province, commanding him to have a strict eye over them. While he continued in this camp at the confluence of the *Hydraotes* with the *Acesines*, for the recovery of his health, and in expectation of *Perdiccas*, the thousand men he had demanded of the *Oxydracæ* arrived, together with five hundred chariots of war, properly harnessed and equipped; which being over and above his demand, and a free gift of the people, he was so pleased therewith, that he gave the whole thousand men leave to return home, adding, that the faith of so generous a nation was a full security for their obedience. d These affairs settled, he employed his thoughts, first about augmenting his fleet, to which end he caused several new vessels to be built, as also in erecting a city; to which he was led from the commodious situation afforded by the confluence of two great rivers. *Oxyartes*, the father of his wife *Roxana*, came hither to pay his respects to him, and was kindly received, having the government of *Paropamisis* bestowed upon him, the old governor having been displaced for male-administration. To this province, that he might further gratify his father-in-law, the king joined all the country, from the falling of the *Acesines* into the *Indus*, to the sea joining *Python*, with him in commission; then having transported *Craterus* and his forces cross the river, and giving him such directions as he thought fit, *Alexander*, with a larger e part of his army than before, embarqued on board his fleet, and continued his voyage,

The Malli *and* Oxydracæ *submit.*

[g] ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 12. 13. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CURT. l. ix. c. 14. &seq. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 9.

(G) *Arrian*, speaking of the king's misfortune, vindicates his own credit, and that of his history. He tells us, that it is not certain, whether a physician or *Perdiccas* opened the king's wound, and drew out the arrow; but he assures us, that a great effusion of blood happened at that time, and that the king's fainting saved his life; for the blood then stopping, gave them time to apply medicines and bandages, for want of which he must otherwise have perished. He then acquaints us, that many strange things relating to this accident are to be found in historians, who drawing their materials from romantic memoirs, were in danger of deceiving posterity, if no stop were put to that way of writing. He proceeds to give many instances of the flights of such kind of writers, and then returning to the fact before us, takes notice, that it was the vulgar opinion, that *Alexander* received his wound before the capital of the *Oxydracæ* (90). It is not easy to pronounce what was *Diodorus*'s opinion; for in many copies we have *Syracusians* instead of *Oxydracians*. However, it is most probable, that he held that which *Arrian* (91) calls the vulgar opinion, in which he is followed by *Curtius* (92). *Plutarch* is right as to the place; but he is among the number of those authors, who report, that the king received a blow with a club upon his helmet, which so stunned him, that a mist seeming to fall over his eyes, he fell down; but recovering his spirits, rose again, and continued fighting till he was shot in the breast (93); yet *Ptolemy*, who could not but be well informed, wrote expressly, that he was only wounded in the breast (94). We might insist here on many other particulars, which, to avoid prolixity, we chuse to omit. These are sufficient to shew what care ought to be taken in writing the history of *Alexander*, and how dangerous it is to trust any author too much.

(90) *Arrian. l.* vi. *c.* 2. (91) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. (92) *Curt. l.* ix. (93) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (94) *Arrian. ubi supra.*

yoyage. He had received information, that the kingdom of *Musicanus*, which lay at no great distance, was one of the richest and most populous in *India*. He was therefore highly incensed, that this prince should neither have sent embassadors to make his submission, nor have taken any other method to bespeak his favour; and for these reasons would not hear of making any stop or stay till his fleet arrived on the coasts of this kingdom. *Musicanus*, surprised at his sudden visit, immediately went forth to meet him, with all his elephants in his train, and having offered him presents of the highest value, delivered himself and realms into his hands, and acknowledged his offence; which kind of behaviour always weighed much with *Alexander* towards obtaining whatever was requested. Having therefore pardoned him, and admired at the wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, he delivered the government of both again into his hands; but, lest he should attempt any innovation when he was at a distance, he ordered *Craterus* to build a castle in the city, and himself tarried there to see it finished. This done, he left a strong garison therein; because this fort seemed extremely commodious for bridling the neighbouring nations, and keeping them in subjection. Then, with his archers and *Agrians*, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, he marched against a neighbouring prince named *Oxycanus*, and invaded his dominions; because he neither came forth to meet him, nor sent embassadors with the surrender of himself and country. He took two of his chief cities at the first assault, in one of which the king himself was taken prisoner. *Alexander* gave the spoils of them to his soldiers, and carried away his elephants; whereupon all the other cities belonging to *Oxycanus* immediately submitted without blows. So much did the courage and fortune of *Alexander* prevail against the *Indians* in those parts. After this he led his forces against *Sambus*, whom he had before declared governor of the *Indian* mountaineers; but who had fled, when he heard that *Musicanus* was dismissed in a friendly manner, and had his dominions restored; for he was at enmity with *Musicanus*. When *Alexander* approached the capital city of his province, called *Sindomana*, the gates being set open, the friends and domestics of *Sambus* came forth to meet him, with presents of money and elephants, assuring him, that *Sambus* did not retire out of his territories by reason of any sinister designs against him, but for fear of *Musicanus* after his inlargement. Having then received the homage of these, he attacked, and won a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many of the *Brachmans* as fell into his hands, having charged them with being the authors of this rebellion. About this time he received advice, that king *Musicanus* was revolted; whereupon *Python* the son of *Agenor* was dispatched with a body of troops sufficent to reduce that kingdom again, which he performed effectually, distributing garisons throughout all the country and bringing with him, on his return to the camp, *Musicanus* in chains. *Alexander* directed that prince to be carried back into his own dominions, and there crucified, together with all the *Brachmans* who were about him, and had instigated him to this revolt [h] (H).

The

[h] Arrian. l. vi. c. 15. & seq. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

(H) *Diodorus*, from the embarkation of *Alexander*, to his entering the territories of *Sambus*, hath abundance of passages which are not to be found in *Arrian*. The reason seems to be, because they are either ill-founded or trivial (95). *Curtius* however hath transcribed the same tales very carefully, and, as usual, with some improvements (96). But what is not a little odd, neither of these writers have obliged us with any distinct account of *Alexander*'s war with *Musicanus*, tho' they have both mentioned it slightly. *Strabo* treats of it accurately, as indeed he does of every thing, of which, by his subject, he is led to treat at all. He informs us, that the subjects of this prince were a very wise and polite people; and therefore we need not wonder, that they could not long brook slavery (97). As to *Oxycanus*, *Diodorus* and *Curtius* are also very concise; however, they differ with *Arrian*, for they expresly affirm that the king was slain; whereas, he says, he was taken prisoner. *Diodorus* calls him *Porticanus*, and he is called so likewise in the best edition of *Curtius*. As to *Sambus*, whom *Diodorus* calls by the same name, but who is called by *Strabo Sabutas*, by *Plutarch Sabbas*, *Curtius*, who calls him *Sabus*, insists very largely (98), all authors agree, that the revolt of this prince was, by *Alexander*, charged upon the *brachmans*, whom he punished most severely for it, till such time as he became acquainted with their wisdom and generous notions; for then, if we may believe *Plutarch*, he reverenced and used them kindly, especially on account of an excellent maxim in government taught him by *Calanus*, one of the principal philosophers of the country; which happened thus: *Calanus*, through the intreaty of *Taxiles*, came, contrary to the custom of the *Indian* sages, to visit the king; and when *Alexander* desired to receive

(95) *Diodor. ubi supra.* (96) *Curt. ubi supra. Strabo. Geog. l.* xv. (97) *Diodor. Curt. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.* (98) *Ubi supra.*

a THE king of *Pattala*, a noble island in the river *Indus*, came and submitted himself to *Alexander*, who restored him his dominions, promising to come shortly and visit him, and directing him to furnish all his army and fleet with provisions. The king then dispatched *Craterus* with a considerable body of horse and foot to escort the invalids through the countries of *Aarachosia* and *Drangia* into *Caramania*, where they were to embark for *Macedon*, the elephants also being committed to his care. As to the rest of his army, part of it, under the command of *Python*, marched on one side of the river; another part, under *Hephæstion*, on the other side; the rest remained on board with the king, who, as soon as his affairs would permit him, b continued his voyage to *Pattala*. When he came thither, he was exceedingly surprised to find that the prince who had lately submitted to him, was fled with almost all his subiects, leaving the cities empty, and the fields destitute of husbandmen. The king thereupon dispatched some light-armed troops, in order to make prisoners; which having done, and brought them to the camp, the king kindly dismissed them, ordering them to tell their countrymen, that they might safely return to their habitations; for that he would do them no injury whatsoever. Perceiving that, at the point of the island *Pattala*, the river *Indus* divided itself into two vast branches, he ordered a haven and convenient docks to be there made for his ships; and when he had careened his fleet, he sailed down the right-hand branch towards the c ocean. In his passage however he sustained great difficulties through the want of pilots, and at the mouth of the river *Indus* very narrowly missed being cast away; yet all this did not hinder him from pursuing his first design, tho' it does not appear that he had any other motive thereto, than the vain desire of boasting he had entered the *ocean* beyond the *Indies*; and this is confirmed by what he performed when he did enter the *ocean*; for, having consecrated certain bulls to *Neptune*, and thrown them into the sea, performed libations out of golden cups, and thrown them also into the ocean, he came back again, having only surveyed two little islands, one at the mouth of the *Indus*, and one seated farther in the ocean [i] (I).

Alexander sails into the ocean.

ON his return to *Pattala*, he found, that the commands he had issued when he left that place, were, in a great measure, complied with; that the fort was in a d defensible condition, and the dock capable of being made use of. He then resolved to sail down the other branch of the *Indus* into the *ocean*, that he might see whether it were safer and more commodious for his fleet than that which he had already tried; nor did he fail of offering very plausible reasons for his conduct in this respect. He was informed, that the season of the year would not permit a favourite design of his to

He resolves to leave the navy and proceed by land.

[i] ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 18, 19. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

receive from him some mark of his extraordinary science, he called for a dry hide, and throwing it upon the floor, first trod on this side, and then on that; which made it continually rise in one place, as it became flat in the other. At last he set his foot in the middle, which made the whole hide lie even; thereby instructing *Alexander*, that to keep so great an empire quiet, he ought to reside in its centre, and not make expeditions into remote countries, to endanger the rest of his dominions (99).

(I) When *Alexander* sailed down the right hand branch of the *Indus*, he found its mouth to be there two hundred furlongs broad. Here the flux and reflux of the sea, with which himself and his principal commanders were unacquainted, exceedingly amazed them (100). *Curtius* has described their surprise in too rhetorical a manner, and for it has been severely censured (1), At this mouth of the river there lay an island, called by *Arrian Cillutas*; by *Plutarch Scillustis* (2). *Curtius* has given it no name. Here his fleet anchored, while himself sailed out farther to sea, and took a view of another island; after which he returned to his fleet, offered sacrifices on that island where he had left them, and afterwards sailed again beyond the other island, that he might boast of his daring exploits in the ocean. He then sacrificed once more to the gods, and besought them, says *Plutarch*, that no other man might exceed the bounds of his expedition (3); which carries in it little probability. What is said in the text of his sacrificing for the safety of *Nearchus*, who was to sail from thence through the *Persian* gulf to the mouth of the river *Euphrates*, is reasonable and just. It is said, when this design was first undertaken by *Nearchus*, that *Alexander* affected a degree of coldness. He who feared nothing for himself, had a mind to pass for one who was apprehensive of all things for his friends, and who could scarce think of exposing them to the peril of such a voyage, when he was not to share with them their dangers in person. But *Nearchus* overcame all these real or pretended scruples, by assuring the king, that he believed it very practicable for him to fulfil all that had been proposed; and, on the other hand, *Alexander* was himself extremely cautious in providing for the safety of his fleet, by all the methods that human wit could devise, or human labour execute, as we have shewn in the text, therefore need not expatiate further on it here. The curious and inquisitive reader may, if he pleases, inform himself further on this head, from the authors mentioned at the bottom of the page (4).

(99) *Plut. ubi supra.* (100) *Arrian. l.* vi. *c.* 19. (1) *Curt. l.* ix. *c.* 31. (2) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Strab. Geog. l.* xv. *Arrian. Hist. Ind.*

to be executed; which deſign was this: He had reſolved to ſend *Nearchus* with his fleet by the ocean, through the *Perſian* gulf, up the river *Tigris*, to meet him and his army in *Meſopotamia*; but the poſſibility of this voyage depending on the ceaſing of the *Eteſian* winds, there was a neceſſity of laying up the fleet, till the ſeaſon ſhould prove favourable. *Alexander* therefore ſailing through this branch of the *Indus*, ſought on the ſea-coaſts for *Bays* and *Crecks*, where his fleet might anchor in ſafety; he cauſed alſo pits to be ſunk, that they might fill with freſh water for the uſe of his people, and took all imaginable precautions for preſerving them in eaſe and ſafety, till the ſeaſon would allow them to continue their voyage. In this he ſucceeded to his wiſh; for he found this branch of the river *Indus* at its mouth, ſpread over the plain country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger; he therefore appointed *Leonnatus*, and a part of his army, to carry on ſuch works as were neceſſary, and cauſe them to be relieved, as occaſion required, by freſh troops. Then having given his laſt inſtructions to *Nearchus*, he departed with his army, in order to march back to *Babylon* by land. Before his departure, there wanted not ſome who had ſo much love for him, and concern for his army, as to inform him that nothing could be more raſh or dangerous than this reſolution. They acquainted him that the country through which he was to travel was a wild uncultivated deſart, where his ſoldiers would be doubly expoſed to the danger of dying for hunger, and to the peril of being loſt through heat and thirſt; they added, that *Semiramis*, when ſhe fled out of *India*, endeavouring to lead her army this way, brought but twenty of them home; and that *Cyrus* doing the ſame thing, eſcaped with but ſeven. This was ſo far from having the deſired effect, that it more than ever determined *Alexander* to this very method; for it was his peculiar vanity to deſire not only to overcome all nations, but even nature herſelf, and to atttempt and perform thoſe things which none but himſelf would have dared to think of. He remained therefore fixed to his firſt purpoſe, and as ſoon as he had put things in order, marched at the head of a convenient body of troops to reduce the *Oritæ*, who had been hitherto free, and who had never vouchſafed either to make ſubmiſſion, or to court his friendſhip; their territories lay on the other ſide the river *Arabis*, which river *Alexander* croſſed ſo ſpeedily, that they had no intelligence of his march, and ſo made an eaſy and quick conqueſt of the whole country, though not of the inhabitants, for moſt of them fled into the deſarts. Their capital he found to be ſo well ſituated, that he reſolved to take it out of their hands, and to cauſe a new and noble city to be erected there, the care of which he committed to *Hephæſtion*; then he received the deputies of the *Oritæ*, and the *Gadroſi*, and having aſſured them, that if the people returned to their villages, they ſhould be kindly treated, and having appointed *Apollophanes* preſident of the *Oritæ*, and left a conſiderable body of troops under *Leonnatus* to ſecure their obedience, he began his arduous march through *Gadroſia*. The moſt ſober writers of the affairs of *Alexander* find themſelves conſtrained to launch out a little into rhetorical deſcriptions of this more than *Herculean* labour, which the king impoſed upon himſelf and his ſoldiers, merely that he might have the reputation of ſurpaſſing all the heroes of antiquity; we ſhall, as the nature of our work requires, give as diſtinct, but at the ſame time as ſhort an account of it as we may [k].

The miſeries ſuſtained by the Macedonians.

The road itſelf was expoſed to many inconveniencies: For, firſt, it was very uncertain; ſecondly, it was extremely troubleſome on account of its lying through deep and looſe ſands, riſing in many places into hillocks, which forced the ſoldiers to climb, and at the ſame time ſunk under their feet: Thirdly, there were no towns, villages, or places of refreſhment to be met with, ſo that after exceſſive marches, they were forced to encamp among theſe dry ſands. As to proviſions, they hardly met with any during thir whole march; the ſoldiers were therefore forced to kill their beaſts of carriage; and ſuch as were ſent to bring ſome corn from the ſea ſide, were ſo grievouſly diſtreſſed, that though it was ſealed with the king's ſignet, they cut open the bags, chuſing rather to die a violent death for diſobedience, than to be famiſhed. But *Alexander*, when he was informed of the matter, freely pardoned them, conceiving that his own commands were diſpenſed with by the neceſſities of nature; he was likewiſe forced to overlook the excuſes that were daily made him for the loſs of mules, horſes, *&c.* by exceſſive heat, which were in truth eaten by the ſoldiers, and their carriages broke in pieces to avoid farther trouble. As for

[k] Arrian. lib. vi. c. 21—27. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

water,

water, their want of it was a great misfortune, and yet their finding it ſometimes
a in plenty was a greater; for as by the firſt they periſhed thro' thirſt, ſo by the latter they were burſt, thrown into dropſies, and rendered incapable of travel. Frequently they met with no water for the whole day together; ſometimes were diſappointed of it at night, in which caſe, if they were able, they marched on, ſo that it was common with them to travel thirty, not ſeldom they were forced to march forty, ſometimes they were conſtrained to go fifty, nay, and ſixty miles without encamping; numbers through theſe hardſhips were conſtrained to lag behind; and of theſe, numbers, not to ſay few, for indeed ſcarce any ever joined the army again, but were left behind, and periſhed; ſo that of all others, this was the moſt dreadful misfortune that had ever befallen them, which however they ſuſtained with the more
b patience from the example of their king, who not only ſupported all theſe evils with invincible patience, but even carried his courage and ſelf-denial farther, and performed ſuch things as nothing but the authority of the authors who relate them could engage us to credit (K). When he arrived at the capital of *Gadroſia*, he allowed his fatigued army ſome reſt. Here he removed *Apollophanes* for non-execution of his orders. *Thoas* was the ſucceſſor aſſigned him, and he dying ſoon after, *Sibyrtius* had the government given to him. About this time *Alexander* was informed that *Philip*, whom he had left preſident in *India*, had been murdered by the mercenary ſoldiers, but that moſt of theſe had been put to death by the *Macedonians*; which occaſioned his writing to *Endemus* and *Taxiles* to take upon them the adminiſtration of affairs there, till ſuch time as he ſhould ſend another preſident. The king then began his march
c into *Caramania*, a very plentiful country, where the troops made themſelves amends for the hardſhips and fatigue they had ſuſtained. Here the king again halted to give time to thoſe who were appointed to meet him to come thither. *Craterus* firſt joined him with the troops and elephants; then came *Staſanor*, preſident of the *Arians*, and *Phariſmanes* the ſon of *Phrataphernes*, governor of *Parthia*; they brought with them camels, horſes, and other beaſts of burthen in vaſt numbers; for they foreſaw, that the king's march through *Gadroſia* would be attended with the loſs of moſt if not all the cavalry, and beaſts belonging to his army. Their care in this reſpect was highly commended, as alſo that of *Craterus*, who ſeized *Ordones* a *Perſian* nobleman, who had been practiſing to raiſe a rebellion [1].

THE king's return into *Caramania* made a vaſt alteration in the affairs of his em- *The male adminiſtration of governors puniſhed by the king.*
pire; for as from the moment he entered it, he heard and redreſſed all grievances, ſo the people from all the neighbouring provinces, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed
d in his abſence, came readily to inform the king of their griefs. *Clitander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon*, who had ſince the death of *Parmenio* commanded in chief the forces quartered in *Media*, came hither with their troops; and were hardly arrived, when they were accuſed of many flagrant crimes, ſuch as ſuppreſſing the *Perſian* religion,

[1] ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 27. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra.

(K) Theſe extraordinary acts of *Alexander* are recorded by *Arrian* after this manner. As the forces continued their march through theſe ſands, which reflected the burning rays of the ſun upon them, it was neceſſary that they ſhould ſend out parties daily to ſeek for water; the king though ready to faint away with thirſt, marched on foot at the head of his troops, that his officers and ſoldiers, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, might the more patiently endure thoſe hardſhips which their general ſhared in common with them. In the mean while, ſome light-armed ſoldiers, who were diſpatched to ſearch for water, found a ſmall quantity not far from the army in the channel of a brook almoſt dried up, but it was very muddy: However they drew it up, and bringing it in a ſhield, preſented it to the king as a choice gift: He received it, and returning due thanks to thoſe who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground in preſence of the army. This action of his encouraged the ſoldiers, as much as if every man had drank a ſhare of that water, which he refuſed to taſte; and his extraordinary ſelf-denial is no leſs praiſe-worthy than the noble example he ſhewed of a wiſe and conſummate general. Another accident happened here, which, if it had not been ſpeedily remedied, might have occaſioned the loſs of the whole army; for the ſands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the ſurface reduced to a level, their guides themſelves were at a loſs how to conduct the army any further. In this difficulty *Alexander* was forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himſelf with a few choice horſe, went before to point out the road; but their horſes quite ſpent with heat, were moſt of them left behind; inſomuch that only he, with five of his followers, paſs'd through the ſands to the ſea-ſhore ſafe on horſeback. However on their arrival there, they dug nigh the coaſt, and found plenty of water ſweet and clear; whereupon he ordered the army thither, and after that travelled ſeven days along the ſea-coaſt, and always found plenty of water. Then his guides aſſuring him they knew the way again, they left the ſea, and led the army into the inland parts (95).

(95) *Arrian. lib.* vii. *c.* . *Plut. in vit Alex.*

extorting

extorting vaſt ſums of money from the people, raviſhing women, and in ſhort a giving a looſe to their paſſions in all things. *Clitander* and *Sitalces* being fully convicted, were immediately put to death; but *Heracon*, baffling his accuſers, was acquitted, yet the inhabitants of *Suſa* preferring a new charge againſt him, he was ſeized, convicted, and executed; which effectually fixed the affections of the people in all the provinces to *Alexander*, and at the ſame time obliged all the magiſtrates acting under him to behave as became them. The king after a ſhort receſs continued his march through *Caramania*, not with a *Bacchanalian* ſolemnity, as ſome authors, and particulary *Plutarch*, have reported, but gravely, and in good order; as *Arrian* aſſures us from *Ptolemy* and *Ariſtobulus*, who in their memoirs contradicted the vain re- b lations which others took pains to propagate (L). In his march, *Nearchus* his admiral joined him, and gave him an account that all under his command were in perfect ſafety, and in an excellent condition; with which the king was mightily pleaſed, and having treated him with ſingular marks of favour and reſpect, ſent him back to the navy. Some informations having reached the king's ear of great diſorders committed in *Perſia* during his abſence, he immediately ſet out with a body of horſe, and light-armed troops, for *Paſſargadæ*, where was the tomb of *Cyrus*. It was a ſmall, but neat pile of building, with a fine plantation about it; and near it a convenient houſe for ſome of the magi, who were appointed to take care of it. In the tomb itſelf lay the body of *Cyrus* in a coffin of gold, placed on a bed of ſtate, the appartment being in every reſpect royally furniſhed. This place to his great concern c and amazement he found rifled, all things valuable taken away, except the coffin, which was ſtrangely battered and bruiſed. All the inquiry he could make produced no diſcovery of the authors of this villainy; for the magi either could not or would not declare by whome it was done. All that in ſuch a caſe therefore the king could do, was to direct that every thing ſhould be reſtored to the ſtate it was in before this accident, which accordingly was done, and *Ariſtobulus* was appointed to ſee thoſe orders exccuted. *Orſines* a *Perſian* acted at this time as governor of *Perſia*, not by any appointment from the king, but of his own head, the governor ſettled there by *Alexander* dying while he was in *India*; this *Orſines* was charged by the people with many grievous crimes, particulary with putting many perſons of diſtinction to death, d merely to gratify his own reſentments. Upon which accuſations, after due proofs exhibited, he was condemned to be crucified. This ſtory by ſome authors is related in a very different manner, as if not he, but *Alexander* himſelf, had been the criminal; however, there ſeem to be no juſt grounds for any ſuch charge, and therefore we may juſtly wonder that modern writers of great credit have given into it, and thence taken occaſion to charge *Alexander* with a vice which the beſt authors tell us he vehemently deteſted (M). *Peuceſtas*, who had ſaved the king's life when he

(L) *Diodorus Siculus*, after having given us a dreadful picture of the miſerable condition of *Alexander*'s army, when it returned out of *India*, tells us expreſsly, that as ſoon as they entered a rich and plentiful country, the king cauſed them to celebrate a feaſt to *Bacchus*, himſelf leading the dance, and the army following dreſſed in the *Bacchanalian* mode, ſeven whole days being ſpent in rioting and drunkenneſs (96). *Plutarch* heightens this ſcene a good deal, and runs into a long deſcription of the pomp and ſplendor of this romantic cavalcade (97). *Curtius* exceeds *Plutarch*, and diſplays his rhetoric in a very pompous detail of this *Dionyſian* feſtival. At the cloſe of his account he has added ſome political reflections, which do indeed ſhew that ſuch a march was exceſſively fooliſh and ridiculous, but at the ſame time bear ſo hard on the probability of the fact, that one would think they were ſufficient to overthrow it. He obſerves, that if but one thouſand men of courage had attacked this drunken and diſſolute rout, they muſt at leaſt have defeated, and might have eaſily cut them all to pieces (98). *Arrian* however aſſures us, that *Ptolemy* and *Ariſtobulus* who accompanied the king in his march, ſaid nothing in their memoirs of the celebrating any ſuch feſtival (99). The great Sir *Walter Raleigh* (100), and the learned dean *Prideaux* (1), both mention this march, without giving their readers the leaſt notice, that there is reaſon to doubt what ſome authors have delivered about it. Nay, the latter actually quotes *Arrian* in ſupport of this paſſage, which however he flatly contradicts. This ſhews the neceſſity of ſeparating the relations of different authors; if we intend to inſtruct, and not to confound readers; and this ſhews too the uſe of a hiſtory written truly from what is delivered by the ancients, and not after the collections of the moderns, who are too apt to regard the ſymmetry and beauty of their own works, to interſperſe thoſe doubts which neceſſarily ariſe from the conſideration of divided authorities. We thought this no leſs neceſſary to be ſaid in defence of our own work, than proper for the information of the reader, ſince we preſume not to diſſent from the opinions of men of ſo great worth as *Raleigh* and *Prideaux*, but for the ſake of ſiding with truth and juſtice, which no authority ought to overbear.

(M) *Curtius* tells us, that *Orſines* the *Perſian* was lineally deſcended from *Cyrus*; that he met the king with a moſt prodigious train of carriages filled with al

(96) *Diodor. lib.* xvii. (97) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (98) *Curt. lib.* ix. *prop. fin.* (99) *Arrian. lib.* vi. *c.* 28. (100) *Hiſtory of the world, Book II. ſect.* 22. (1) *Connection of the Old and New Teſtament. P.* 1. *B.* 8. *A. A. C.* 325.

a he fought againſt a whole gariſon, was appointed governor of *Perſia*. Which dignity was no ſooner conferred upon him, than he laid aſide the *Macedonian* garb, and put on the *Median* habit, being the only one of *Alexander*'s captains, who by complying with the manners of the people he governed, acquired their affection. *Baryaxes* a *Mede*, who had put on the royal tiara, and aſſumed the regal ſtyle, being brought priſoner hither by *Atropates*, governor of *Media*, with thoſe who had counſelled him to revolt, was with them by order of the king put to death: After which *Alexander* marched to *Perſepolis*, the ruins of which when he had a while conſidered, he is ſaid to have expreſſed great concern for what he had done. In theſe marches, *Calanus* the *Indian*, who had accompanied *Alexander* at his intreaty, finding himſelf decli-
b ning in health by reaſon of a flux which hung upon him, beſought the king that a funeral pile might be prepared, which with ſome difficulty was granted. The ſage, now ſo weak as to be carried in a litter, cauſed himſelf to be placed therein on the top of the pile, after having taken an affectionate leave of the *Macedonians*, particularly of *Lyſimachus*, who was his diſciple, and ſtretching himſelf at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midſt of the flames[m].

Endeavours to unite the Macedonians *and* Perſians.

The king having diſpatched *Atropates* to his government, marched himſelf to *Suſa*, where *Abulites* and his ſon *Oxathres* being charged with great crimes in the adminiſtration of public affairs, were put to death. Afterwards the king gave an extraordinary looſe to pleaſure, reſolving to make himſelf, his officers and ſoldiers, an
c amends for the difficulties they had hitherto undergone, purpoſing at the ſame time ſo effectually to unite his new-conquered with his hereditary ſubjects, that the jealouſies and fears which had hitherto tormented both ſhould no longer ſubſiſt. With this view he took himſelf two wives of the royal blood of *Perſia*, *Barſine*, or *Statira*, the daughter of *Darius*, and *Pariſatis*, the daughter of *Ochus*. *Drypetis*, another daughter of *Darius*, he gave to *Hephaſtion*; *Amaſtrine* the daughter of *Oxyartes*, the brother of *Darius*, married *Craterus*; and to the reſt of his friends, to the number of eighty he gave other ladies of the greateſt quality. All theſe marriages were celebrated at once, *Alexander* himſelf beſtowing fortunes on them; he directed likewiſe that the numbers of his officers and ſoldiers who had married *Aſiatic* wives ſhould be taken; and though they appeared to be ten thouſand, yet he gratified
d each of them according to his rank. He reſolved next to pay the debts of his army, and thereupon iſſued an edict, directing every man to regiſter his name, and the ſum he owed; with which the ſoldiers complying ſlowly from an apprehenſion that there was ſomething elſe behind, he ordered tables heaped with money to be ſet in all the quarters of the camp, and cauſed every man's debts to be paid on his bare word; without ſo much as making any entry of his name; though the whole ſum came to twenty thouſand talents. on ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed them-

[m] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 3, 4, 5. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

all ſorts of proviſions and refreſhments; to which he added preſents of great value, and four thouſand talents in ready money. He was alſo, as the ſame author tells us, extremely liberal to *Alexander*'s friends; but paſſed by *Bagoas* the eunuch, whom this author makes *Alexander*'s catamite, without affording him any taſte of his bounty. Nay, when he was put in mind of him by his friends, he anſwered, that he loved the king, and honoured his counſellors and captains; but as for ſuch infamous fellows as *Bagoas*, he contemned and deſpiſed them; upon this the eunuch determined to deſtroy him, and for that purpoſe hired certain mean wretches to forſwear themſelves by vouching upon their oaths certain ſtories which he taught them. Himſelf took pains to poiſon the king's mind with the moſt malicious tales, and the moſt cruel ſuggeſtions againſt this innocent and worthy man, whom at length he took this opportunity to deſtroy: The king going to viſit the tomb of *Cyrus*, which we have elſewhere deſcribed, found it robbed of every thing valuable. *Bagoas* ſeeing *Alexander* ſurprized, immediately ſaid, he wondered not at all at it, for that ſome governors were ſo rich, that their houſes would not contain their wealth; and that in all probability *Orſines* would not have parted with his money ſo freely, if he had come by it very honeſtly. Then *Bagoas* put his falſe witneſſes upon accuſing *Orſines*, and on their teſtimony he was condemned and executed. *Curtius* tells us, that as he went to death, *Bagoas* ſtruck him; and that thereupon *Orſines* ſaid, *I have heretofore been informed that the* Perſian *empire hath been governed by women; but that it ſhould be ruled by an eunuch, is a new thing* (2). We are not able to trace any part of this ſtory in any of the hiſtories remaining of *Alexander*'s life, excepting this of *Curtius*. *Arrian* ſays expreſsly, that *Orſines* was put to death for ſacrilege, oppreſſion and cruelty (3). *Plutarch* ſpeaking of the robbery committed in *Cyrus*'s tomb, ſays, that *Alexander* put to death *Polymachus*, a man of quality, and native of *Pella* in *Macedonia* (4) As to the fact, we can ſay no more; but as to the dying words, they certainly belong to *Curtius*, for *Orſines* could not poſſibly uſe them. He muſt have remembered the empire ruled by a nameſake of this very eunuch; nay, he muſt have remembered this very eunuch in the higheſt favour with *Darius*. Let the reader decide of the reſt as he thinks fit.

(2) *Curt. lib.* x. (3) *Arrian. lib.* vi. *cap.* 30. (4) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.*

ſelves in an extraordinary manner, he beſtowed crowns of gold. *Peuceſtas* had the firſt; *Leonatus* the ſecond; *Nearchus* the third; *Oneſicritus* the fourth; *Hephæſtion* the fifth; and the reſt of his guards each of them one. After this he made other diſpoſitions proper for conciliating, as he ſuppoſed, the differences among all his ſubjects. He reviewed the thirty thouſand youths, whom at his departure for *India* he had ordered to be taught *Greek*, and the *Macedonian* diſcipline; expreſſing high ſatisfaction, that the fine appearance they made rendered them worthy of the appellation he had beſtowed on them, viz. *Epigoni*, *i. e.* ſucceſſors. He promoted alſo, without any diſtinction of nation, all thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully and valiantly in the *Indian* war. When all theſe regulations were made, he gave the command of his heavy-armed troops to *Hephaſtion*, and ordered him to march directly to the banks of the *Tigris*, while in the mean-time a fleet was equipped to *Eubæus* for carrying the king and the troops he retained with him down to the ocean [n].

The Macedonians *mutiny.*

It is clear from this ſhort expedition, that *Alexander* began to have a great taſte in maritime affairs, which had been too much neglected by his predeceſſors, his father *Philip* only excepted. It is ſaid, that he meditated a voyage to the coaſts of *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*, and thence round the whole continent of *Afric* to the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*. However, of this there ſeems to be no great certainty; but that he really intended to ſubdue the *Carthaginians*, and make ſome attempt on *Italy*, is more than probable. When he arrived with his fleet in the ocean, he directed his courſe to the mouth of the river *Tigris*, which he entered, and ſailed up to the camp of *Hephaſtion*, without meeting either with any extraordinary obſtacle, or himſelf performing any thing worth recording, except that he directed certain engines to be removed, which the *Perſians* had placed in the river to render it leſs navigable; for he conceiving this to be a cowardly and ſcandalous practice, worthy of the old maſters of the river, though not of him, would not permit theſe incumbrances to remain any longer, and therefore ſet the river free. When the king came to *Opis*, a city ſeated on the *Tigris*, he iſſued an edict, purporting that ſuch of the *Macedonians*, as through infirmity or wounds, were incapable of ſerving longer, or who through the hardſhips they had undergone, were unwilling to make any more campaigns, might have their diſcharges, and return home; but that ſuch as choſe rather to remain with him, ſhould receive ſo great encouragement, that thoſe in their own country ſhould envy their condition; this was certainly intended to pleaſe the ſoldiers, and to make them perfectly eaſy: It had however a quite contrary effect; for as ſoon as the army was informed of his intent, they began immediately to clamour in an unuſual manner, and to tranſgreſs all the bounds both of reaſon and duty; inſomuch that when the king mounted his tribunal, they aſſembled round it, demanded, *That they might all be diſcharged, reproached the king with the favours he had done to the* Barbarians, *bid him take his dancing boys and conquer nations*; and ſome of them had the inſolence to tell him, *That his father* Hammon *and he might go and ſubdue the world by themſelves.* It was upon this occaſion that the king performed the moſt ſhining action in his whole life; he leaped from his tribunal, and calling to his guards, made them ſeize one by one thirteen of the ring-leaders, whom he pointed out, and ordered to be put to death upon the ſpot; this ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt, that they were all ſilent; whereupon the king remounted his tribunal, and in an eloquent ſpeech, ſhewed the juſtice of his own conduct, and the folly of theirs. When he had done ſpeaking, he leaped again from his tribunal, and retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes, nor admitted any of his friends for two days; on the third he called the *Perſian* nobility round him, promoted them to the principal commands in the army, and permitted ſuch of them as were become his relations by marriage to kiſs him. In the mean-time the *Macedonians* ſtood moſt of them about the tribunal, like ſtatues; but when they were told that the king was forming a *Perſian* army after the *Grecian* manner, and that he intended to give the title of the royal regiment to a *Perſian* corps of horſe, they ran like diſtracted people to the palace; and ſurrounding it, laid down their arms, offered to deliver up the authors of the ſedition, and proteſted that they would remain there day and night, till the king had pity on them. When *Alexander* was informed of this, he came to the gate in order to ſpeak to them; but when he ſaw their arms upon the ground, and their dejected looks, he melted into tears, and loſt the power of ſpeaking. A quarter of an

[n] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 6. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. x.

a an hour paſt in deep ſilence; at laſt *Callines*, an ancient man, who had ſerved in an auxiliary troop of horſe, broke it: *Thy* Macedonians, *O king!* ſaid he, *are full of grief, becauſe you have ſtyled the* Perſians *your kindred, and have ſuffered them to kiſs you, while they were excluded.* The king anſwered, *I now make you all my kindred, and henceforward will have you reputed ſo.* *Callines* thereupon ſtepping forward, kiſſed him, as did every one of the *Macedonians*. After this *Alexander* gave a ſolemn feaſt, at which were preſent nine thouſand perſons. The *Macedonians* ſat next the king, next them the *Perſians*, and after them perſons of all nations. This vaſt company eat together, and drank all out of one golden cup, to the proſperity and perpetual affection of all the nations over whom *Alexander* was king °.

b THE *Macedonians* who were ſent home as invalids, amounted to ten thouſand: they had each of them their pay, and a talent apiece given them over for their expences; *Craterus* was appointed their commander, and *Polyſperchon* nominated to aſſiſt him; orders were likewiſe ſent into *Macedonia*, directing that theſe old ſoldiers ſhould have great reſpect paid them, and themſelves and their children enjoy large privileges; their ſons however by *Aſiatic* women the king retained, appointing them ſchools and maſters at his own expence. The ſeverity with which he puniſhed ſuch of the governors as had offended during his abſence, as it extremely pleaſed the people in general, ſo it frightened ſuch as were guilty, as thoſe who were executed, inſomuch that many of them fled. Amongſt the reſt, *Harpalus*, who had done ſo

t once before; but now, to ſecure himſelf effectually, he took five thouſand talents out of the king's treaſury, and having collected about ſix thouſand mercenary ſoldiers he left them at *Tenarus*, and went himſelf to *Athens*; from whence, after ſome time, being obliged to withdraw, he returned to his troops, and was killed by *Thimbro*, one of his intimate friends. As for *Alexander*, having cured the army of ſedition, he was plagued with diſputes among his friends. *Hephæſtion* his favourite eſpecially preſumed to far on his kindneſs towards him, and had once the inſolence to remove *Eumenes*, the king's ſecretary, and the man of the cleareſt head in his whole army, out of his lodgings, for the ſake of a muſician belonging to himſelf; whereupon *Eumenes* went to the king, and in the height of his paſſion told him,

d *That the way to be in his favour now was to lay down their arms, and turn fidlers.* The king was very angry with *Hephæſtion*, and after having reproved him ſharply, obliged him againſt his will to be reconciled to *Eumenes*. Then the king continued his march through *Media*, in which, as *Arrian* informs us, it was ſaid that he received from *Atrobates* a troop of female warriors, who were ſuppoſed to be *Amazons*; but the ſame author tells us, that no author of any dignity had preſumed to publiſh ſuch a ſtory in his writings; he therefore rejects it as a fiction, as we alſo do, nor ſhall we trouble the readers with what other authors relate of *Thaleſtris*, her corps of female warriors, and her deſiring *Alexander* to get her with child; tales fitter for a romance, than for any thing which bears the name of hiſtory, much leſs the hiſtory of *Alexan-*

e *der*, the moſt proſperous captain of the *Greeks*, once the moſt eminent and deſerving people in the world. The cauſe of the king's march this way is not expreſſed by *Arrian*, or indeed by any other author; but it may with probability be imputed to *Harpalus*'s flight, and the danger there was, that the reſt of the royal treaſures might be diſſipated; however it was, the king continued his rout to *Ecbatana* by pretty quick marches P.

Alexander *marches into* Media.

ON his arrival at that noble capital, he offered ſacrifice to the gods, and exhibited ſolemn ſports and plays, making alſo a royal banquet on that occaſion; but the joy and mirth, as well of the king as of his army, was very ſhortly interrupted by *Hephæſtion*'s falling ſuddenly very ill, and appearing to be in great danger of death.

f Authors are not agreed as to the occaſion of his ſickneſs; ſome expreſsly affirming that he over-drank himſelf; others, that he took a ſurfeit; however on the ſeventh day of his illneſs mortal ſigns appeared, of which when the king had notice, he immediately quitted the place of exerciſe, where he was at that time, and went to ſee him; but he came too late, for before he reached his lodgings, *Hephæſtion* was dead. It is ſaid, that his phyſician having preſcribed him a low diet, he refuſed to comply with it, eat a boiled capon, and drank freely of ſome wine which he liked that day; whereupon his fever returning with greater violence than ever, carried him off. The king expreſſed very deep concern for the loſs of his friend, and did him all

The death of Hephæſtion.

° ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. CURT. & JUST. ubi ſupra. P ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 13. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xviii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN lib. xii.

all the honours that he could possibly devise. *Plutarch* says, he ordered ten thousand a talents to be spent on his monument; *Arrian* mentions the same sum spent in his obsequies at *Babylon*: As for what *Ælian* tells us, that he razed the castle of *Ecbatana*, crucified *Hephæstion*'s physician, and forbad the sound of the flute, or of any other musical instrument in his camp; it really deserves no credit [q]. One thing *Arrian* informs us relating to this business, which is more probable, and at the same time more curious, and better worth relating, *viz.* that all the great officers in *Alexander*'s army devoted themselves and their arms to *Hephæstion* at the motion of *Eumenes*, who took this method of shewing, that, far from being pleased at the death of a man who had differed with him, he was deeply concerned at it [r]. In the neighbourhood of *Ecbatana* dwelt the *Cossæans*, a race of rude and barbarous b people, sheltering themselves in the *Median* mountains, and whom some writers affirm never to have been subdued by the *Persian* kings. Against these people on account of their having committed some new robberies, *Alexander*, though it was winter, resolved to march, which accordingly he did, dividing his army into two bodies, one under his own command, the other under that of *Ptolemy Lagus*. The *Cossæans*, as soon as they entered their country, fled to their old hiding places, supposing they would be now, as they had been heretofore, so many inaccessible fortresses; but they were quite mistaken, for *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* continually pursued them, and at the head of the light-armed foot clambered up the rocks, and either compelled those who had taken shelter there to come down, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, c and left them to starve. Whereupon the *Cossæans* in despair sent deputies to submit themselves to *Alexander*'s mercy. Some authors have affected to call this expedition man-hunting, and tell us, that *Alexander*, having slain many thousands of these poor people, called it offering a sacrifice to the manes of *Hephæstion*. But if, as all authors agree, the *Cossæans* were no better than a race of highland robbers, who presuming on the natural strength of their country, thought to plunder such as passed through the skirts of it with impunity; with what propriety can the king's punishing these criminals be styled man-hunting; as to his sacrificing to the manes of *Hephæstion*, we are told, that at *Babylon* he offered ten thousand beasts of different kinds to him; yet even this is taken from romance writers; for neither *Ptolemy* nor *Aristobulus* men- d tion any such thing; what credit then ought we to give this story of sacrificing men? If we may be indulged a conjecture, we can offer some account of the origin of this tale. It is highly probable, that some of *Alexander*'s officers might propose the undertaking of this expedition to cure his grief, and in all likelihood some rhetorical flourisher in his memoirs after *Alexander*'s death, took from thence a hint of calling this a sacrifice to the manes of *Hephæstion*, and, as is natural enough, some dull writer or other transcribed this flourish for truth. *Arrian* often complains of such things, and *Eratosthenes* had before exposed them; we may therefore justly wonder when we find modern writers transcribing these improbable stories without giving their e readers the least caution, or putting them in mind that they are taken from writers of doubtful credit. If the following a different method hath something lengthened this history, the judicious perusor will not complain, since it is certainly of equal importance to be acquainted with the authority on which facts are founded, as to be told the facts themselves [s]. But to return to *Alexander*; while he was at *Ecbatana*, he gave orders for felling a great quantity of timber in the mountains for building a navy, with which he designed to examine the *Hyrcanian* or *Caspian* sea, and to make himself as thoroughly acquainted therewith, as he now was with the coasts of the ocean, and the passage into the *Tigris* by the *Persian* gulph. These directions given, and the necessary orders distributed for the quiet administration of affairs in the province, he set f out for *Babylon*.

Alexander *marches to* Babylon.

In his march from *Ecbatana* to the last mentioned city, he gave directions for collecting whatever *Grecian* statues or other curiosities had been brought by *Xerxes* or any of his officers in any of their expeditions out of *Greece* into the *Persian* dominions, and ordered they should be carefully sent back. He likewise gave audience to many embassadors, not only from the states of *Greece*, but also from *Barbarian* princes, who came to congratulate him on his safe return from his *Indian* expedition, giving them not only courteous and obliging answers, but also gratifying them in whatever requests they made

[q] Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. ii. c. 41. [r] Arrian. ubi supra.. [s] Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. x. Plut. in vit. Alex. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

made him. When he drew near *Babylon*, the magi are said to have sent a deputation, requesting the king not to enter that city, because they foresaw that it would be fatal to him. Others say, that they were afraid to deliver the message they were charged with to the king himself, but that they applied themselves to *Nearchus*, who was then at court, and informed him of the king's danger; however it was, all agree that the king had notice of these predictions of the magi, and that at first they made great impression on him; but that when he had heard the *Grecian* philosophers reason upon this subject, he began to slight such things, and to return to his first resolution of marching directly to *Babylon*. When the *Chaldeans* found this, they offered the king another peice of advice, which was this; that if he would needs enter *Babylon*, he should march round it, and so enter it with his face towards the east. To this the king assented; but when he attempted to put it in execution, he found it impracticable, for the country, on the other side of *Babylon*, being a deep impassable marsh, he was constrained to return, and to enter it with his face to the west. This with some other presages, and unlucky omens, some of which fell out, and others were remembred about this time, gave the king great uneasiness (N). However, when he had been some time in *Babylon*, he resumed his former spirit, and began to bend his thoughts to the execution of certain vast designs he had formed, such as the conquest of the *Arabians*, the draining the *Babylonian* fens, and making a basin at *Babylon* capable of containing a thousand gallies. As to the first of these designs, he directed proper inquiries to be made concerning the country, people, and most proper time for invading *Arabia*. For his third project, he instanly assigned a number of ship-builders, architects, and labourers to carry it on; and as to the second, he went in person down the *Euphrates*, about fourscore of our miles, to examine the canal called *Pallacopas*; by which the waters of the *Euphrates* were let out in order to judge the better of the propolals he should receive for remedying these evils which fell so heavy upon *Assyria*. From thence he passed to the mouth of the canal, and so to the *Arabian* confines, where finding an agreeable situation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of *Greek* mercenaries. Then he determined to sail back through the marshes, having the city on his left hand. To shew the skill he had acquired in naval affairs, he directed the royal gally himself; but as he was upon deck for this purpose, his *tiara* and *fillet*, which, according to the eastern mode, he wore to denote his regal dignity, were blown off by the wind. The *tiara* only its weight was carried to the bottom of the river; but the *fillet* was born by the winds

(N) The presages referred to in the text are thus related by *Arrian*. *Aristobulus* tells us a strange story which happened to one of *Alexander*'s men in this manner: When *Apollodorus* the *Amphipolitan*, one of the king's friends, who had been deputed to preside over the army, which was left for the security of the province, *Mazeus* being then governor, met him at his return from *India*, and perceived how severely he had treated several governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother *Pythagoras*, one of those augurs who gave answers by inspecting the intrails of beasts, and consulted him about his own safety. *Pythagoras* asked him in answer to his letter, of whom he principally stood in fear, that he might divine accordingly? and when he replied, that he chiefly dreaded *Alexander* and *Hephæstion*, and when he saw the laps or fillets of the liver wanting, he wrote a letter, and sent it sealed to his brother *Apollodorus* then at *Ecbatana*, wherein he assured him he need not stand in fear of *Hephæstion*, for he would shortly be taken off by death. And *Aristobulus* tells us, that *Apollodorus* received this letter the day before *Hephæstion*'s decease: Then *Pythagoras* again consulting for *Alexander*, and finding the fillets of the liver wanting thereto, wrote to the same purpose a second time to *Apollodorus*. He never so much as endeavoured to conceal the matter, but freely communicated the whole story to the king, as a testimony of his sincere good will towards him; and intreated him to beware of the danger which threatened, *Alexander* hereupon commended him for his fidelity, and when he entered into *Babylon*, he demanded of *Pythagoras* by what means he was informed of those things which he had written to his brother concerning him? and being answered, that the livers of the sacrifices offered for that purpose were defective; he again enquired what that portended? to which the *Augur* replied, some great mischief. However, the king was so far from being offended at him, that he respected him the more for relating the whole matter to him simply and sincerely. *Aristobulus* tells us, that he received this story from *Pythagoras*'s own mouth, who also afterwards inspected the intrails for *Perdiccas* and *Antigonus*, and gave the same responses, and the events happened accordingly; for *Perdiccas* was slain making war against *Ptolemy*, and *Antigonus* lost his life in a battle against *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*, at the river *Ipsus*. A strange story is also related concerning *Calanus* the *Sage*, to this effect: When he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death, he kissed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except *Alexander*, and when he drew near the king for that end, he refused to kiss, and take his leave of him then; but told him, he wou'd find him again at *Babylon*, and do it there. These words were not at all regarded at that time by those who heard them; but the decease of *Alexander* afterwards at *Babylon* brought them fresh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death (5).

(5) *Arrian. lib.* vii. *c.* 18.

winds to the ſepulchre of one of the *Aſſyrian* kings, and there it ſtuck upon the reeds. A ſailor ſeeing this, and being deſirous to ſhew his zeal and courage in his maſter's ſervice, jumped into the water, ſwam to the monument, and recovered the fillet. But being afraid that it might be wet as he ſwam back again, he put it upon his head, which was believed to increaſe the preſage already held ominous enough [a]. Some writers have informed us, that this ſailor on his coming on board had a talent given him as a reward for his boldneſs, but that he was immediately put to death; but what *Ariſtobulus* ſays, beſides the credit it derives from his ſaying it, is much more probable viz. that he was rewarded with a talent for ſaving the fillet, and ſcourged for his indiſcretion in puting it on his head. When the king returned to *Babylon*, he found there *Peuceſtas* who was come from *Perſia* with twenty thouſand regular troops, beſides a conſiderable corps of *Coſſeans* and *Tapurians*, nations lately reduced. *Philoxenus* alſo arrived with an army out of *Caria*, *Menander* with a body of troops from *Lydia*, and *Menidas* with ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe. Embaſſadors from *Greece* alſo arrived, who approached the king with garlands on their heads, and preſented him with golden crowns, intending thereby to offer him divine honours, a thing which had been fatal to his father, and proved no leſs ſo to the ſon. He was extremely deſirous of forming the *Perſian* troops on the *Macedonian* model, and having firſt appointed them officers of that nation, he next determined to incorporate them into his grand army. For this purpoſe having directed a review, he aſſiſted thereat for ſome time with great pleaſure; but finding himſelf on a ſudden very dry, he quitted his throne to go and take ſome refreſhment. A mean fellow, who was a priſoner, but ſometimes permited to go without chains, ſeeing the royal ſeat empty, paſſed briskly through the eunuchs, and ſat himſelf down on the throne. When the king was informed of this, he ordered the man to be ſeized, and examined whether any body put him upon this, or what was his motive, if he did it of his own accord. The man anſwered, that himſelf only was to blame, and that he did it from a levity of mind, for which he could not account. On this account the thing was held ſtill the more ominous, and the unhappy wretch for his unaccountable preſumption, immediately put to death. A few days after this, when he offered the accuſtomed ſacrifices for the ſucceſs of his affairs, and had added ſome new ones, by the advice of his ſoothſayers, he feaſted his friends, and continued the banquet till late at night. He is alſo ſaid to have given the fleſh of the ſacrificed beaſts to his army, and ordered wine to be diſtributed among them, according to their numbers in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to have retired from the banquet to his bed-chamber, but was met on his way by *Medius*, one of his friends at that time in high favour, who intreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the ſports and entertainments in his apartments would not diſpleaſe him. The royal diary gives us an account that he eat and drank with *Medius*, and then retired to reſt, and when he awaked, and had waſhed and refreſhed himſelf, he again ſupped with *Medius*, and drank till late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had waſhed, he eat a little, and lay down there, becauſe he had ſome ſymptoms of a fever. Afterwards he was carried in a chair to the temple, and there ſacrificed after his uſual manner, and this he repeated ſeveral days; and when the ſacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpoſe for him, till the evening. In the mean time he iſſued out orders to the captain of his troops to make ready for a march in four days time, and even nominated thoſe who ſhould travel on foot; but thoſe that were to go on board the fleet with him were to prepare themſelves againſt the fifth day. After this he was carried to the river, and being put on board one of his gallies, was conveyed to ſome pleaſant gardends on the other ſide, where after he had waſhed, he went to reſt. The next day he again bathed, and performed his accuſtomed ſacrifices, which done, he entered his chamber, and held diſcourſe with *Medius*, having given orders to his officers to attend him in the morning. He then ſupped moderately, and being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. However, the next morning he again waſhed and ſacrificed, and ordered *Nearchus* and the reſt of his captains to prepare for ſailing the third day. The next day he waſhed and ſacrificed as before, but his fever ſtill continued; notwithſtanding which he again called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage, and having bathed, his fever increaſed towards the evening. The next day he

[a] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 22. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

a he was carried into a houſe adjacent to the bath, where he performed his uſual ſacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following he was with great difficulty carried to ſacrifice; however, he ſtill continued to renew his orders, and notwithſtanding he grew manifeſtly worſe, could not be reſtrained from ſacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and the inferior ones to wait at the gates, and growing ſtill worſe, he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace; and his chief officers approaching near to pay their attendance, he made ſigns, that he knew them, but was not able to ſpeak, nor pronounce any thing articulate; and thus he remained all that night. b The day following his fever ſtill increaſed, and all that night and the next day continued ſtrong and violent. The army by this time began to ſuſpect that the king was dead; and as all crowds are violent in the purſuit of whatever they believe, they openly publiſhed this opinion of theirs, and when it was contradicted by thoſe about his perſon, ſome of the ſoldiers had the aſſurance to force into the royal apartments, and even into that where the king lay. He was by this time ſpeechleſs, and ſcarce able to ſtir; however he raiſed himſelf up, and made ſhift to extend his hand for them to kiſs; which when they had done, they retired. A little after *Python*, *Attalus*, *Demophoon*, *Peuceſtas*, *Cleomenes*, *Menidas* and *Seleucus* came in. They had watched all night in the temple of *Serapis*, and had propoſed the following queſtion c to the god, Whether *Alexander* ſhould be brought into his temple to recover his health? To which the oracle anſwered, That it would be beſt for him to remain where he was. They had been in the room but a ſmall time when the king expired, ſo that it was conjectured the oracle meant death was beſt for him. This is *Arrian*'s account. As for thoſe of other writers, the reader will find them in a note, it being abſolutely neceſſary to let whatever is ſaid upon that ſubject reſt on the particular credit of him who writes it [z] (O).

Other relations of the king's death. Year after the flood 2676. *Year before Chriſt* 323.

We have ſeen from the before-mentioned relation, as alſo from what we have noted out of other ancient writers, that *Alexander* died a natural death. There was however an opinion propagated very early, that he died of poiſon; and the ſtory is told thus. *Antipater*, ſay they, perceiving that he declined much in the king's favour, that

[z] Arrian. l. viii. c. 24, 25, 26.

(O) *Diodorus Siculus*, ſpeaking of the death of *Alexander*, uſhers it in with an account of his loſing his *Tiara* and *Fillet*, to avert which ill omen, he informs us, the king was injoined to offer certain ſacrifices; which having performed, *Medius* invited him, on his return, to a banquet, where the king drinking off the *Herculean* cup, was immediately ſtruck with exceſſive pains, ſo that he was carried inſtantly to his lodgings. His ſickneſs increaſing, he began himſelf to deſpair of life, and gave his ring to *Perdiccas*. His friends inquiring to whom he left the kingdom, he anſwered, *To the moſt worthy*. He alſo intimated his foreſight of their broils, by ſaying, *He could already view the funeral games which would attend him*. This author mentions the report of *Alexander*'s dying by poiſon, through the contrivance of *Antipater*, with the circumſtances alledged to ſupport that opinion. But he leaves the reader to judge for himſelf on the facts and reaſons produced (5). *Plutarch* relates the manner of his death circumſtantially. He ſays, that after having given an entertainment to *Nearchus*, as he was going from the bath to bed, *Medius* would needs conduct him to a banquet. There, he ſays, the king drank all night, and the next day, which threw him into a fever that carried him off, He expreſly rejects the ſtory of the *Herculean* bowl, and of the king's being taking in an extraordinary manner. As to his being poiſoned by *Antipater*'s contrivance, he mentions it, and all its circumſtances; but openly profeſſes his diſbelief of it. He cites the king's diary, as *Arrian* does; from whence it is clear, that there was nothing haſty or violent in *Alexander*'s death, but that he was taken off by a fever (6). *Curtius* copies the ſame authors with *Diodorus*, but either delivers what they ſay more at large, or amplifies out of his own head. He tells us, that the king directed his body to be carried to *Ammon*; that when *Perdiccas* demanded at what time divine honours ſhould be paid him? he anſwered him, *when you are all happy*. He is poſitive that the king was poiſoned, and affirms that this black affair was ſtifled by the power of his ſucceſſors. This is at leaſt very improbable, for the king died at *Babylon*, *Antipater* commanded in *Greece*, a ſedition followed on the king's demiſe, is it not ſtrange none of the contending parties ſhould mention it then (7)? *Seneca*, ſpeaking of the dreadful effects of drunkenneſs, expatiates on the death of *Alexander*. "He who in ſo many "marches (ſays this elegant writer) ſo many bat-"tles, and ſo many harſh ſeaſons, had vanquiſhed "all the difficulties of time and place; after ſo "many rivers and ſeas traced in ſafety, by intem-"perance in drinking was deſtroyed, and by the "fatal *Herculean* cup was ſent to his grave (8)." *Juſtin* writes more clearly than all the reſt as to the poiſoning which he takes for an indubitable fact. In other circumſtances he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Curtius*. He is clear alſo as to the king's ſpeaking after the ſoldiers had quitted the room; and yet *Arrian* and *Ptolemy*, from the king's diary, ſeem to agree he was ſpeechleſs before they ſaw him. Perhaps he gave his ring to *Perdiccas*, and expreſſed his ſentiments to his friends juſt before he loſt his ſpeech (9).

(5) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. *prop. fin.* (6) *Plut. in vit. Alex. prop. fin.* (7) *Curt. l.* x. (8) *Senec. Epiſt.* lxxxiii. (9) *Juſtin. l.* xii.

that *Craterus* was assigned him for a successor, and that himself was sent for into *Persia*, began to be fearful of the event. He therefore first of all sent his son *Cassander* to apologize for his conduct, with directions, if he found the king inexorable, to take him off; for which purpose, by the contrivance of *Aristotle*, who was in fear that the king would put in execution the threats thrown out against him when *Callisthenes* was in prison, *Cassander* was furnished with some *Arcadian* water of a deadly nature, put up in a vessel made of a mule's hoof, in which alone it could be contained. This water, it is said, *Cassander*, when he thought it necessary, gave to his brother *Iollas*, who was the king's cup-bearer, by whom it was mixed with the wine which the king drank at the banquet given by *Medius*. The whole tale was, in all probability, a contrivance of *Olympias*, who, to give it the greater colour, would not suffer the body of *Iollas*, who died not long after, to remain interred, but cast out his remains, as if she was satisfied that he had a hand in the death of his sovereign. The hatred which *Cassander* expressed towards the family of *Alexander*, hath been also used as an argument in support of the probability of this story; but it has little in it, for, as the reader will see hereafter, this antipathy of *Cassander* may be accounted for as well, if not much better, from later causes. There is another story relating to *Alexander*'s death, which, for its oddity, deserves to be recorded. It is said, that when he found himself past recovery, he desired to be carried to the *Euphrates*, that throwing himself thereinto, posterity might believe, as he came, so he was returned to the gods; but in this he was hindered by his wife *Roxana*, to whom upon that occasion he said, That she envied him the honour of his divine origin. *Arrian*, from whom we have this, tells us, that he inserted it in his history, only that it might appear that he was acquainted with such reports, but that however he gave no credit to them [a].

Remarks on his character.

We are now come to the end of that famous reign which makes so great a figure in all history; but we shall not take upon us to conclude it with any character of *Alexander*, because, in the best authors of antiquity, there are many characters of him already. To these we cannot altogether assent, and it would be perhaps setting our own authority too high, should we attempt to censure them: We shall therefore observe, that in reading these characters, just regard ought to be had to the rank and credit of the several authors who have wrote them. Historians have considered him either as an enterprising and successful prince, the glory of whose great actions scarce suffer the blemishes in his personal conduct to be seen; which is the light *Arrian* has placed him in; or they make his virtues and vices alike conspicuous, which seems to be the view of *Curtius*. Philosophers and moral writers have dealt more strictly with him, and have therefore seldom run into high panegyrics, *Plutarch* only excepted, who, in his orations on the fortune and virtue of *Alexander*, speaks as a rhetorician. The satyrist *Lucian* hath depicted him with great spirit, and with consumate judgment; but he seems to have kept his eye too closely on the latter scenes of his life, when his fortune, not his merit, was at his greatest height. However, it is considered, his character is always shining, as his actions were in themselves very extraordinary. He died, according to the account of *Aristobulus*, in the hundred and fourteenth *olympiad*, when he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and had reigned twelve years and eight months [b]. *Plutarch* agrees pretty well with this [c]; but *Justin* asserts, that he was thirty-three years old and one month, for which questionless he had some, tho' we think, not sufficient authority (P).

As

[a] ARRIAN. l. vii. c. 27. [b] Ap. ARRIAN. l. vii. c. 28. [c] PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. ult.

(P) We propose, in this note, to say somewhat of the historians who have written of *Alexander*'s history, and of those especially from whom we have collected it. We will begin with *Aristobulus*. He was an eminent officer in *Alexander*'s army, and much in his favour, as is evident from his being intrusted with the care of seeing the tomb of *Cyrus* restored to its first condition (10). He wrote memoirs of what he saw, which are much commended, and in a great measure copied by *Arrian*, *Plutarch* and *Strabo*; yet they had not the good luck to please *Alexander*, who reading in them the story of his engagement with *Porus*, threw the book into the river *Hydaspes*. *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacus*, who had once been *Alexander*'s tutor, wrote of his actions; but his work, which was not much approved, hath been long lost. *Bæton*, who acted as engineer in *Alexander*'s army, published an account of *Alexander*'s encampments during his expedition (11). *Callisthenes* the philosopher, the history he wrote of *Alexander* is said to have been excellent so far as it went; yet it is question if whether he wrote any history at all (12). *Chaerchus*, another of his followers, wrote a very false

lous

(10) *Arrian.* l. vii. (11) *Joseph. cont. Appion.* (12) *Arrian.* l. iv. c. 15.

The wives and descendents of Alexander.

a As to the issue he left behind him, we shall speak generally here, and more particularly in the subsequent chapter. By *Barsina* the daughter of *Artabazus*, and the widow of *Memnon*, a lady of great beauty and merit, he had a son named *Hercules*, who was afterwards murdered. By *Roxana* the daughter of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*, he had a posthumous son named *Alexander*, who had for a time the title of king. By *Cleophes* queen of part of *India*, he had a son named *Alexander*, who succeeded his mother in her kingdom. By *Statira* the daughter of *Darius*, he had no children; nor by *Parisatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. As to the former, the very judicious dean *Prideaux* seems to think, that *Arrian* mistook her name when he called her *Barsine*, and that he confounded her with the widow of *Memnon* [d]; but, upon
b looking farther into this matter, we find, that *Arrian* did not confound them, tho' there is a mistake in the name in the present copies; for it appears from the excerpts in *Photius*, that she was called by *Arrian*, not *Barsine*, but *Arsinoe*, which, for aught we know, might be her true name [e]. Of these ladies we have reason to suppose, that *Roxana* was the best beloved, since it appears, that he married her from the dictates of his passion, the rest for reasons of state.

The extent of the Macedonian *empire.*

We have now perfected the history of a reign, which bestowed the epithet of *Great* on him of whom we have been speaking, and extended his empire, in name at least, over the world. This indeed was rather a flight of *Grecian* flattery than any adequate description of his dominions. He was far from being master of the
c world then known, for he possessed but part of *Asia*, a small part of *Afric*, and a still smaller of *Europe*; yet he was the lord of a multitude of fair provinces, the sovereign of many large and powerful kingdoms, and held an empire more extensive than the world had till that time seen. *Macedon* was his hereditary kingdom; a great part of *Thrace* and *Illyria* he had subdued; all *Greece* was under his protection, and the protection of so great a prince always did, and always will include sovereignty. His *Asiatic* conquests reached from the *Hellespont* to the *Indian* ocean, including all that the *great king* possessed, and more. *Egypt* and *Libya* were his; and all the *Greek* islands owned his authority. All these were the acquisition of a few years, and many of them obtained in as little time as he could pass through
d them. We have, in the course of our history, endeavoured to place all these conquests according to the order of time in which they were made, as also according to their vicinity to each other. For the better understanding of the whole, we have subjoined a map of his dominions, wherein is marked the rout of his army, from his first march out of *Macedonia*, to his last coming to *Babylon*; and that this might be still more intelligible, we have, in a note, shewn the value of that map in point of accuracy, and likewise explained its uses (Q). Here then let us quit this subject, with

[d] Connection of the Old and New Testament. p. i. b. viii. A. A. C. 325. [e] Ap. Phot. p. 214.

lous history of his atchievements (13). *Marsyas*, the brother of *Antigonus*, and who commanded the fleet under his nephew *Demetrius*, wrote a complete history of *Macedon*, including the reign of *Alexander*, which was much esteemed; and another treatise of the education of *Alexander*, for which he was exceedingly well qualified, because he was educated with him (14). *Nearchus*, *Alexander*'s admiral, left the journal of his *Indian* voyage, which *Arrian* made use of in his *Indian* history, not without a gentle censure of the author's veracity (15). *Onesicritus*, the captain of *Alexander*'s galley, writ a history, or rather a romance, in relation to his master's atchievements. This man had genius, was a great philosopher, and had a good stile. It is said, that *Alexander* having read this performance, said, He should be glad to come to life again after some time, to see what reception that book met with. Its author, it seems, read part of it once, which contained *Alexander*'s war against the *Amazons*, to *Lysimachus*; And where, I pray, was I, said the king, when all these strange things happened (16)? There is still a manuscript history in *Latin*, which goes under the name of *Valerius*, stuffed with these romantic accounts, and for that reason never printed. As to authors in better repute. *Craterus* is said to have written memoirs of his master's victories, which were also recorded in the commentaries of *Eumenes*, and in the history of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, whom, of all others, *Arrian* commends and follows most. On this account it is, that we prefer his history to all that are now extant; and, amongst other reason, it is valuable for this, that we have it intire, excepting only a passage of no great length in the seventh book. *Strabo*, as he has occasion to mention the provinces conquered by *Alexander*, mentions also abundance of passages of his life, and furnishes us with various particulars, which are not to be found elsewhere. *Diodorus Siculus* hath afforded us much assistance, and would have afforded more, if there had not been so large a chasm in his seventeenth book. *Curtius* we have all along examined, and, where it was necessary, made use of him, as also of *Justin*, *Ælian*, *Polyænus*, and *Frontinus* have been consulted as to particular facts, together with *Lucian*, *Seneca*, and with many others, whose names it is unnecessary to retail to the reader.

(Q) The map which we have given our readers, was drawn by the famous M. *De Lisle*, in the year 1729, for the use of the *French* king. There is therefore all the reason in the world to believe, from

(13) *Curt. l.* ix. (14) *Arrian. Diepresoph. l.* xiv. *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xx. (15) *Arrian. Hist. Indic. Strabon. Geog. l.* xi (16) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

with this remark, that the foregoing history is not collected from any one author, or with a partial regard to any of those it is collected from. We have compared the best writers of antiquity on this subject, and have from them laid down a regular series of events, distinguishing, as far as we were able, the probable from the improbable, the certain from the doubtful; and where we were not able thus to distinguish, we have cited the authorities which hindred us from distinguishing, and have placed the evidence before our readers, that they may decide for themselves. Such is this history of the rise, progress and establishment of the *Macedonian* empire, which, we hope, will be found consistent with the plan laid down of this work, and very different from any other yet extant in our language.

SECT. VII.

The division of the Macedonian *empire.*

State of things at the death of Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* had well nigh proved the dissolution of his empire; for at first the extreme grief of every body hindered them from paying a proper respect to public affairs; and when these high transports of affection were over, their feuds and jealousies had almost occasioned the shedding a deluge of *Macedonian* blood round the dead body of their king. The want of an historian who might be depended on, and the having many on whose works we cannot so well rely, have concurred in throwing a dark veil of obscurity over this part of our history; which, from the best materials we have, and in the best manner we can, we will endeavour to remove. A day or two after the death of the king, his friends assembled in the council-room, and summoned thither all the principal commanders of the army; but the soldiers and people who were not summoned, and who neither ought, nor with any propriety could have any share in such consultations, came in vast crowds, and so blocked up the passages, that many of the great officers could not get in. Proclamation was then made by a herald, that none should presume to approach the assembly, or to remain there, but such as were called by name; which proclamation however was very little regarded; and we mention this as a remarkable instance of the difference between *authority* and *power*. Those who had commanded this proclamation to be made, had assumed the administration; but the people presuming on their own power, and knowing that these governors had none but what they should think fit to lend them, gave little heed to their commands; but, on the contrary, made them give way to their own curiosity, so that numbers of mean rank and little consideration remained at present in the council. *Perdiccas*, as soon as silence could be obtained, ordered the chair of *Alexander* to be brought forth, and having placed the robes and regalia upon it, laid upon them the royal ring, declaring, that he most willingly resigned any authority that might be intended him by

from the known ability of the author, and from the design of his work, that it is excellent in its kind, and was performed with all imaginable accuracy. In this map there is a double description of the countries laid down therein. One by M. *De Lisle*, founded upon astronomical observations; the other according to our modern geographers in general. The reader will have the satisfaction of comparing both, and of seeing all *Alexander*'s marches and conquests, as they are delineated in one and in the other. The situation of places in M. *De Lisle*'s map were, as we have said, determined by observations, where they were to be had, and, where they were not, from the geographical tables of the eastern astronomers, who, by comparison of the situations assigned of places where observations had been made, were judged to come very near the truth. Where both of these were wanting, the distances set down in the relations of travellers in the highest credit were made use of. The inquisitive reader may be further satisfied of the care and nicety with which this map was done, if he will take the trouble of perusing a short, but very full memoir on that subject, written by the author's son-in-law (17). We ourselves have taken some pains in the same way, and have compared the situation of the *Caspian* sea in M. *De Lisle*'s map, by the chart of the same sea drawn by order of the *Czar*, and published in the year 1731, and find them to correspond very well. We have also found, that M. *De Lisle*'s map reconciles the descriptions given by ancient authors, with those which have been delivered to us by the most judicious modern travellers. On the whole therefore we are well satisfied, that what we have just now said, and also what we have advanced in the text, is agreeable to truth, and no more than what every judicious reader will readily discern; to add more on this head therefore would be tedious.

(17) *Recherches Geographiques sur l'etendue de l'empire D'Alexandre, &c. Par M. Bandelot. Mem. de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, 1731.

by the king when this ring was delivered to him. However, he propoſed it as a thing not only expedient, but neceſſary, that the empire ſhould have a head; and when he had demonſtrated this by proper arguments, he told them, that *Roxana* was with child, and that, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, he ought to be acknowledged his father's ſucceſſor. *Nearchus* applauded the deſign of preſerving the regal dignity in the family of *Alexander*; but ſaid, it would be too long to wait for *Roxana*'s delivery, eſpecially as it would be attended with uncertainty. He therefore put them in mind of *Hercules* the ſon of *Alexander* by *Barſina*. The ſoldiers ſignified their diſlike of this by the clangour of their arms. *Ptolemy* then propounded, that the chair of *Alexander* ſhould retain the ſhadow of ſovereignty, and that the ſtate ſhould be governed by a council of officers; but this being diſliked, a motion was made in favour of *Perdiccas*; but he, out of modeſty, refuſed it. At laſt ſomebody mentioned *Aridæus* the brother of *Alexander*, who had always accompanied the king, and was wont to ſacrifice with him. The *Macedonian* phalanx, full of affection, as all brave and honeſt nations are to the hereditary line of their ancient kings, cloſed immediately with this propoſition, and called for *Aridæus*. *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy*, and moſt of the horſe officers, were extremely averſe to this meaſure; and they carried their obſtinacy ſo far, as to retire from the aſſembly, and even to quit the city. However, *Meleager*, at the head of the phalanx, ſupported vigorouſly their firſt reſolution, and threatned loudly to ſhed the blood of thoſe who affected to rule over their equals, and to aſſume a kingdom which no way belonged to them. *Aridæus* they arrayed in royal robes, put him on the arms of *Alexander*, and ſaluted him by the name of *Philip*, that he might be rendered more popular [a]. While things remained in this ſituation, *Meleager* managed affairs about the new-created king, and *Perdiccas* tranſacted all things for the other party. Both pretended vaſt concern for the public, yet, at the bottom, intended nothing ſo much as their own private advantage, each having formed a ſcheme of ingroſſing the adminiſtration, under colour of ſerving the intereſts of thoſe they had drawn, not to favour them perſonally, but their ſpecious pretences. In order to apprehend theſe things clearly, let us view all theſe great ones in their proper lights.

The characters of Perdiccas, Meleager, *&c.*

Perdiccas was a man of high birth, had a ſupreme command in the army, was much in favour with *Alexander*, and ſtrongly confided in by the nobility. *Meleager* had rendered himſelf formidable by uniting the *Macedonians* who compoſed the phalanx in one opinion, and by raiſing one to the kingdom who was wholly under his direction [b]. *Aridæus* was, as we have heretofore ſhewn, the ſon of *Philip* by a dancer named *Philline*; he was of ſmall parts, not by nature, but by the practices of *Olympias*, who by poiſonous draughts had taken care to weaken both his conſtitution and his mind. He had however for his wife *Eurydice* his couſin, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was able to manage pretty well. At preſent alone, and without counſellors, he acted as the times required, he did what *Meleager* would have him, but he declared that whatever he did he did to the advice of *Meleager*, ſo that he made his miniſter accountable for his own ſchemes, and no way indangered himſelf. The *Macedonians* beſides their affection for the royal houſe, began to entertain a perſonal love for *Aridæus*, now called *Philip* on account of his mildneſs and moderation [c]. Beſides theſe who were the principal characters on the ſtage at his time, there was another who through modeſty declined public notice, and was notwithſtanding a prime inſtrument in adjuſting the differences which were now on foot, and made a moſt ſhining figure in public affairs afterwards. This was *Eumenes* the *Cardian*, the late king's ſecretary. He was, as far as we find, little diſtinguiſhed by birth, though his father could not have been a waggoner, as ſome report, becauſe he was *Philip* of *Macedon*'s hoſt, who taking a fancy to his ſon, retained him about his perſon, and having tried his fidelity, at length made him his ſecretary, in which poſt *Alexander* found and continued him. This poſt alone would have rendered him very conſiderable, but the king had raiſed him beſide to the higheſt military commands, he being one of ſo rare a genius as to be alike ſuited to a camp or court, and no leſs capable of commanding in the field, than of giving adviſe in the cloſet. When the marriages were made by the king's directions at *Suſa*, *Eumenes* was in ſome meaſure allied to him, for he had then given him *Artonis*, whom ſome call *Barſine* the daughter

[a] Curt. lib. x. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Justin. lib. xiii. Oros. lib. iii. Plut. in vit. Alex. & Eumen. [b] Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. Curt. ubi ſupra. [c] Arrian. apud. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. xcii. Justin. Curt. ubi ſupra.

daughter of *Artabazus*, and sister to *Barsina*, who was the mother of *Hercules* by *Alexander*. These were the busy actors at this period, *Perdiccas* full of ambition, *Meleager* selfish and revengeful, *Aridæus* or *Philip* weak and timorous, *Eumenes* brave, wise, and inviolably attached to the royal house [d].

The sedition appeased.

The foot under *Meleager* held *Babylon*, had the king's person in their hands, and were cloathed with his authority, which however *Meleager* overstretched when he sent some to seize *Perdiccas*, for that great officer so frighted them with his frowns and words, that they returned *re infecta*, and so made the breach the wider. The cavalry under *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy Lagus*, and other generals, invested the city, or rather shut up the passages thereto, so that presently famine began to appear, and even to be felt. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages fled for safety to *Babylon*, and multitudes, pinched by hunger, issued from the city to seek subsistence in the country. This confusion compelled the phalanx to think of treating, and *Eumenes*, who, as a stranger by birth, had hitherto affected a neutrality, easily brought about an accommodation by blending both schemes together, allowing *Aridæus* or *Philip* the regal title, and vesting the authority in the great officers, of whom *Meleager* was to be held the third. In consequence of this accommodation, all the great officers of the army came to court, especially *Perdiccas* and *Ptolemy*, the former eagerly desiring to assume the sovereignty under the specious title of protector, and the latter secretly aiming at the division of the empire, that under the name of a government he might secure a kingdom to himself. *Perdiccas* soon gained an ascendancy over *Philip*, insomuch that he conducted all things according to his own will, though in the name of that prince. The first design of consequence he aimed at putting in execution was the taking of *Meleager*, in order to which he framed a plot equally subtil and successful; he put some of his own adherents on complaining openly of *Meleager*'s being made equal to *Perdiccas*; this naturally led *Meleager* to expostulate with him; upon which *Perdiccas* with an air of frankness told him, that such incendiaries ought immediately to be punished, and proposed a general lustration of the army, as the only probable method of taking off such disturbers of the public peace. *Meleager* readily came into this, looking upon it as an indubitable testimony of *Perdiccas*'s friendship. But when the horse and foot were drawn into the field, and the king quitting the phalanx, rode along the first line of the right wing with *Perdiccas*; the foot began to be in some terror, and in that terror all their courage forsook them; sometimes they thought of retiring into the city, at others of opposing force by force. *Meleager* of all others was least present to himself, so that after deliberating long, and proposing many things, they resolved on nothing, till *Perdiccas* formed the horse over-against them with the elephants in front. Then taking the king with him, he rode along the first line of the phalanx, and demanded the authors of the late sedition. *Meleager* and his soldiers answered nothing, yet by the dejection of their countenances, they plainly shewed how low their spirits were sunk; this encouraged *Perdiccas* to draw out by force three hundred, who in the late affair had been most active for *Meleager*, whom without more ado he cast to the elephants, and suffered to be trampled to death in the sight of the army; the king looking on rather as a surprized spectator, than as the author of so cruel a deed. As no body pretended to lay hands on *Meleager* himself, he neither spoke nor stirred to save those who had acted by his authority, which answered the end of *Perdiccas*, for on his return to *Babylon* every body shunned and was afraid of him, which had such an effect on his mind, already disordered, that he took sanctuary in a temple, vainly hoping that his enemies would not pursue him to the altar; whereas ambitious men shew no respect to religion, but when it is their tool, and therefore *Perdiccas*, who thought himself not safe while this man lived, ordered him without ceremony there to be slain, which was accordingly performed; and thus the authority of *Perdiccas* was for the present established [e] (A).

[d] Plut. in vit. Eumen. & Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejusd. [e] Diodor. Curt. Justin. ubi supra.

(A) In this note we intend to acquaint the reader with the authors on whose authority we build what is delivered in this section. The first of these is *Arrian*, the same whom we chiefly followed in our history of *Alexander the Great*. He wrote upon this subject a treatise consisting of ten books, which are all unfortunately lost, and what we quote in their stead is no more than a very brief account of their contents preserved by the famous *Photius*, who at the end of his extract hath added a character of this author worthy of the service which he has done to the commonwealth of letters. He tells us, that as an historian he knows none who ought to be preferred before him, his stile, continues he, is strong and

The empire divided.

a To satisfy the ambition of the principal commanders in the army, to provide for the safety of the empire, and to free himself from competitors, *Perdiccas* quickly called a general council, wherein the following distribution of honours and governments was made. *Aridæus*, and the son of *Roxana* now born, and named *Alexander*, were to enjoy the regal authority. *Antipater* had the government of the *European* provinces as general of the army there. *Craterus* had the title of protector. *Perdiccas* had in reality the office, with the stile of general of the houshold troops, in the room of *Hephæstion*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*. *Cleomenes*, a man of infamous character, whom *Alexander* had made receiver-general in *Egypt*, was made *Ptolemy*'s deputy. *Laomedon* had b *Syria*, *Philotas Cilicia*, *Pithon Media*, *Eumenes Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country bordering on the *Euxine* sea, as far as *Trapezus*; but these were not yet conquered, so that he was a governor without a province. *Antigonus* had *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia Major*, *Cassander Caria*, *Menander Lydia*, *Leonatus Phrygia*, on the *Hellespont*. In *Europe*, *Thrace*, the *Chersonese*, and the countries adjoining as far as *Salmydessus* on the *Euxine Sea* were given to *Lysimachus*; the rest of the countries subject to the *Macedonians*, as far as the *Ceraunian* mountains, with all *Greece*, were left to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. As to the rest of the provinces not mentioned in this division, they remained under the governors appointed them by *Alexander*. We have on this account followed our old guide *Arrian*; what other authors c have delivered on this subject, the readers will perceive by a note; for to have inserted in the text the different accounts we have of this matter would have taken up much time, and room, at the same time that it would have perplexed the reader, and interrupted the thread of our narration [f] (B).

This

f Arrian. apud. Phot. ubi supra. Curt. ubi supra.

and uniform, his narration seldom interrupted by digressions; those there are alike pertinent and short. His eloquence never misleads him into any thing forced, or hard to be understood, and while he preserves all the dignity of history, he introduces nothing of that unintelligible sublime, which is the bane of writers of warm imaginations, and who have judgments as warm. Yet in point of elegance his work is no less valuable than in point of veracity; his periods are sweet and perfectly well turned; his language so accurately proper, that it is impossible to say he ever rises above, or sinks below his subject. In a word, there is such a harmony, perspicuity, and noble simplicity in the works of this writer, that to add or take away from them, would be doing visible injury both to the author and reader (1). *Diodorus Siculus* hath written as well and more copiously than any on the matters of which we treat in this section (2). *Curtius* at the close of his work treats very fully of what happened at and immediately after the death of *Alexander*, in which he the rather deserves credit, because what he relates agrees very well with *Arrian*, particularly in the division of the provinces (3). *Plutarch* in the close of his life of *Alexander*, in his lives of *Eumenes* and *Demetrius*, and in many other treatises of his, hath afforded us frequently materials. To these we may add *Justin* (4). We have collated them all; and where they differ have selected what was most probable, and most consistent with other parts of the narration. In most of our collections of general history, this period is remarkably distracted and confused, not so much for want of authorities, as for want of using them; as also from a prejudice against the matter itself, as if the wars of *Alexander*'s successors, till such time as the four capital empires into which his was broken, arose, were of little importance. Whereas the giving a full, distinct, and perspicuous account of such perplexed parts of history, is one of the greatest services a writer can render to posterity; and in support to this observation, we beg leave to remark, that though *Arrian* wrote but seven books of the life of *Alexander*, yet he wrote ten of the division of his empire, notwithstanding he carries his history no lower than *Antipater*'s return to *Europe*; so necessary it appeared to him that the transactions in this period should be well understood. Add to this, that the latter extract in *Photius* is four times as long as the former (5).

(B) The division of *Alexander*'s empire, according to other authors, ran thus: *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that *Perdiccas* confirmed the kingdom to *Aridæus*, gave to *Ptolemy Egypt*; to *Python Media*; to *Eumenes Paphlagonia*, with *Cappadocia*, and the neighbouring countries; to *Cassander Caria*; to *Meleager Lydia*; to *Leonnatus Phrygia* upon the *Hellespont*; to *Lysimachus Thrace*, with the adjacent nations as far as the sea; to *Antipater Macedonia*, with the neighbouring countries; to the rest of the officers he distributed the other provinces in *Asia*; to *Oxyartes Caucasus*, and the *Paropamisis*; to *Sybirtius Arachosia* and *Gedrosia*; to *Stasanor* the *Solian*, *Aria* and *Drangiana*; to *Philip* the prætor *Bactria* and *Sogdia*; to *Phrataphernes Parthia* and *Hyrcania*; to *Peucestes Persis*; to *Tlepolemus Carmania*; to *Atropas Media*; to *Archon Babylonia*; to *Arcesilaus Mesopotamia*; to *Seleucus* the command of the royal cavalry, which *Hephæstion* had first, and *Perdiccas* afterwards; to *Taxiles* and *Porus* each their own kingdoms, as restored and augmented by *Alexander*. The king kept *Perdiccas* with him, and constituted him captain of the guards, and the forces which attended him (6). According to *Justin*, the provinces and chief commands were thus divided, *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Africa*, and part of *Arabia*; *Laomedon Syria*; *Philotas* and his son *Cilicia* and *Illyricum*; *Atropatos*, it should be *Atropates*, *Media* the greater; *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas Media* the less; *Scynus Susiana*; *Antigonus* the son of *Philip Phrygia* the greater; to *Nearchus Lycia* and *Pamphilia*;

(1) *Phot. Bibliothec. Cod.* xcii. (2) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii. (3) *Curt. lib.* x. (4) *Justin. l.* xiii. (5) *Vide Phot Bibl. Cod.* xci. xcii. (6) *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xviii.

Perdiccas *aſſumes regal power.*

This diviſion of the empire, as well as all other things, had the ſanction of the royal name, and ſeemed to be done by authority of king *Philip*; but in truth, it was the mere act of *Perdiccas* and his aſſociates, who ſhared at their pleaſure the empire of their deceaſed maſter, treating his lawful heirs as pageants and cyphers; but we need not wonder at this when we find that *Alexander* himſelf was no leſs ſlighted, for while theſe diſputes were on foot, his body was altogether neglected, and ſeven days elapſed before any orders were given for its embalment. It is ſaid that the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans* who were ordered to perform this office, found the royal corps not only perfectly ſound, and free from corruption, but with ſo lively a countenance, that they were afraid to touch it. Some have conceived that this ſtory took riſe from flattery, and that thoſe who made it their buſineſs to magnify the actions of *Alexander*, as if they were incompatible with mortality, had a mind to carry their ſervile panegyrics ſtill farther, by repreſenting his very dead body as incorruptible. But as thoſe who are beſt verſed in theſe things agree, that without any miracle dead bodies remain ſometimes a conſiderable ſpace without corrupting, the fact may be believed, and the inferences rejected. However it was, *Alexander* was at length embalmed, and *Aridæus*, not the king, but a commander ſo called, was charged with the care of the royal funeral. As they had taken ſo little notice of his body, they made no ſcruple of vacating his will, becauſe it contained in it nothing beneficial for them. What we call his will, was a ſhort memorandum of things he would have done; thoſe were reduced to five points: The firſt concerned the building of a fleet of a thouſand ſtout gallies to be made uſe of againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, who ſhould oppoſe the reduction of the ſea-coaſts of *Africa* and *Spain*, with all the adjacent iſlands, as far as *Sicily*. The ſecond directed a large and regular high-way along the ſea-coaſts of *Africa*, as far as *Ceuta* or *Tangier*. The third ordered the erecting ſix temples of extraordinary magnificence at the expence of fifteen hundred talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arſenals, havens, docks and yards for building ſhips to be ſettled in proper places throughout his empire. By the fifth he propoſed the building in proper ſituations ſeveral new cities in *Europe* and *Aſia*; thoſe in *Aſia* to be inhabited by colonies from *Europe*; and thoſe in *Europe* to be filled with *Aſiatics*, that by blending their people and their manners, that hereditary antipathy might be eradicated, which had hitherto ſubſiſted between ſuch as dwelt in different continents. Laſtly, he had projected the erecting a pyramid equal in bulk and beauty to the biggeſt in *Egypt*, in honour to his father *Philip*. All theſe deſigns, under pretence of their being exceſſively expenſive, were referred to a council of *Macedonians* to be held no body knew when or where. The proceedings of the new government, which was intirely in the hands of *Perdiccas* and *Roxana*, grew quickly very cruel, and of conſequence generally diſtaſteful. Before *Alexander* was well dead, *Roxana* diſpatched letters under his ſeal to *Statira* and *Drypetis*, the daughters of *Darius*, directing them in his name to come to *Babylon*, where when they arrived, ſhe got them into her power, and by the aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, murdered them, that no ſon either of *Alexander* or *Hephæſtion* might give any trouble to her or her ſon *Alexander*. As for *Syſigambis*

philia; to *Caſſander Caria*; *Menander Lydia*; *Leonnatus Phrygia* the leſs; *Lyſimachus Thrace*, and the countries adjacent to the *Pontic* ſea; *Eumenes Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*; to *Seleucus* the ſon of *Antiochus* the chief command of the forces; to *Caſſander* the ſon of *Antipater* the command of the king's guards; *Taxiles* the countries between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaſpes*; *Pithon* the ſon of *Agenor* the colonies ſettled in *India*; *Parapomenus* the borderers on mount *Caucaſus*; *Extarches* the ——*Argæans*; *Amyntas* the *Bactrians*; *Scythæus* the *Sogdians*; *Nicanor* the *Parthians*; *Philip* the *Hyrcanians*; *Phrataphernes* the *Armenians*; *Tlepolemus* the *Perſæ*; *Peuceſtes* the *Babylonians*; *Archos* the *Pelaſgæ*; *Archeſilaus Meſopotamia*. There are other acounts of this diviſion which agree not either with theſe or with that of *Arrian* in the text; but in producing thoſe of *Diodorus* and *Juſtin*, we have done enough to put it in the readers power plainly to preceive the ſources of theſe diſcordances(7). For, firſt, here are ſome names miſ-ſpelt, or changed through the ignorance of tranſcribers, which creates a ſeeming without a real difference. As for inſtance, *Scynus* is undoubtedly put for *Antigonus*, though there is not the leaſt conformity between them. *Extarches* is for *Oxyartes*, and *Scythæus*, is put for *Sybirtius*, and in *Diodorus* the ſame perſon is called *Ibirtius*. Secondly, *Juſtin* does not diſtinguiſh between the firſt and ſecond diviſion, neither do *Dexippus*, *Oroſius*, or other authors; whence their differences with *Arrian*. *Diodorus* indeed mentions both the diviſions by *Perdiccas*, and by *Antipater*, and is in all reſpects more correct as well as more copious than the reſt.

The author of the firſt book of *Maccabees* hath a very ſhort and very expreſſive account of this matter in the begining of his work. *So* Alexander *reigned twelve years, and then died, and his ſervants bare rule every one in his place, and after his death they all put crowns upon themſelves, ſo did their ſons after them many years, and evils were multiplied in the earth* (8).

(7) *Juſtin. lib.* xiii.

(8) *Maccab.* i. 7, 8.

a *Sysigambis*, the mother of *Darius*, as soon as the news of *Alexander*'s death reached her ears, she resolved to take away her own life, which accordingly she did, sinking under this, though she had born up against many other misfortunes. For her father and a multitude of her brethren had been put to death by *Ochus*; and her son *Darius* had lost both the empire and his life through force and fraud. The mercenary *Greeks* who were disposed up and down the inland provinces of *Asia*, despairing now of ever seeing their own countries by fair means, resolved to attempt something by force. With this view they chose one *Philo* to be their general, and assembled an army of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, marching directly towards the sea. As soon as *Perdiccas* received advice of this, he made choice of *Pithon* to command the forces
b destined to march against these rebels, as he called them. These forces consisted of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, all *Macedonians*; but *Pithon* carried with him orders to the governors to furnish him with ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, out of the provinces through which he passed, which accordingly they performed. From the moment he was appointed to this command, *Pithon* had formed a scheme of setting up for himself by offering the rebels any terms, if they would join with him. *Perdiccas* was aware of this, and therefore he publickly gave him orders to put the rebels without mercy to the sword, and to distribute all their effects among his soldiers, whereby every man he commanded was made a check upon him. *Pithon* when he drew near *Philo* and his troops, found means to corrupt one *Lipodo-*
c *rus*, who commanded a body of three thousand men. This traitor, in the midst of a general engagement, when the victory was doubtful, retired with his troops to the top of a hill, which so disordered *Philo*'s army, that a general defeat ensued. After this *Pithon* sent to *Lipodorus* to come down with his troops and join him, assuring him that he and his should be treated as well as his own soldiers. *Lipodorus* coming accordingly into his camp, the *Grecians* were mingled with the *Macedonians*, and *Pithon* began to resume his former ideas, when of a sudden the *Macedonians* conceiving that their new oath was incompatible with their old oath to *Perdiccas*, cut the throats of the *Greek* mercenaries, and seized all they had; after which bloody action, *Pithon* wholly disappointed, returned with his forces to *Perdiccas* [g].

A war in Thrace. *Year after the flood* 2677. *Before Christ* 322.

c According to the chronological order of events, we ought now to speak of the *Lamian* war in *Greece*; but inasmuch as we shall in the next chapter treat expresly of the affairs of *Macedon*, we will refer that account thither as to its proper place, and confine ourselves here to the disputes which happened in *Asia*, and elsewhere, till the governors of provinces assumed the regal dignity. *Lysimachus* who was in *Thrace*, the province assigned him, found himself on a sudden in danger of being entirely stript thereof. For *Seuthes* descended of the ancient race of the *Odrysian* kings, had set up a claim to the dominions of his ancestors, and had raised an army of twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. *Lysimachus* had no more than four thousand foot and two thousand horse, yet he was forc'd to come to an engagement,
e wherein, as he was not defeated, he may be said to have gained a victory; for he kept the field of battle, and preserved that part of the province which he held [h].

Eumenes *put in possession of* Cappadocia.

As for *Perdiccas*, he was full of great projects, and very industrious in procuring means and instruments to execute them, though as yet he did not think fit to produce them to light. First of all he chose *Eumenes* for his confident, and prime minister, whose character we have given before. He knew that this man was thoroughly loyal to the kings, and therefore doubted not his friendship to himself, wherein he was by no means deceived; for *Eumenes* was as careful of his interests, as if they had been his own; and, notwithstanding *Perdiccas* was a man of great parts, understood and would have conducted them better than he himself did. In the first place
f it was held requisite to put this man in possession of his government, which, though stiled a province, was in truth an unconquered kingdom; *Alexander* when he first invaded *Asia*, passing by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and never had time afterwards to reduce him. This prince knowing well that it would one time or other fall to his lot to fight for the kingdom of his ancestors, made use of that repose, which in the midst of general confusion his territories injoyed, to lay up great sums of money, and to hire mercenary troops for the defence of them. *Perdiccas* knowing as well how the matter stood, directed *Antigonus* and *Leonnatus* by letters in the names of the kings to march against the *Cappadocian* prince, and to put *Eumenes* in possession of his

[g] Diodor. lib. xviii. Olymp. cxiv. 2. [h] Id. ibid.

his province: As to *Antigonus*, he was now become too haughty to think of paying any respect to the commands of another. *Leonnatus* indeed marched with an army, as if he intended to perform what *Perdiccas* had directed, and therefore *Eumenes* was sent to join him. This friend of *Perdiccas* had not been long in the army before *Hecataeus* the tyrant of *Cardia*, his native country, arrived, and began to treat with *Leonnatus* to come to the assistance of *Antipater*; to which the latter agreed. Yet he confessed to *Eumenes*, that his true design was to marry *Cleopatra* the sister of *Alexander the Great*, and in her right to seize the kingdom. *Eumenes* thereupon laying hold of his treasure, which consisted of five thousand talents, quitted the camp in the night with his attendants, and retired to *Perdiccas*. This was a new proof of his fidelity, and *Perdiccas* was so pleased with it, that he determined to march in person with an army to execute what *Leonnatus* ought to have performed, which accordingly he did, carrying the kings with him. *Ariarathes* with an army of thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, met him on the frontiers of his dominions, where a very obstinate battle was fought, in which the *Cappadocian* was entirely defeated with the loss of one thousand men upon the spot, himself with six thousand more being taken prisoners. Upon which to prevent any further disturbance, and to secure *Eumenes* in the peaceable possession of his province, *Perdiccas* ordered *Ariarathes* to be crucified, which was certainly a very arbitrary and cruel act [i].

Lauranda *and* Isaurus *taken.*

This expedition over, *Perdiccas* determined to reduce *Lauranda* and *Isaurus*, two cities of *Pisidia*, because they had slain *Balacrus* the son of *Nicanor*, whom *Alexander* had appointed their governor. *Lauranda* was not very strong, *Perdiccas* therefore took it by assault, and dealt with the inhabitants very severely. All who were able to bear arms, he put to the sword; for the youths, women and children, he sold them for slaves. He next invested *Isaurus*, which being a strong and populous place, held out gallantly for a time, till the number of the defendants being greatly reduced, those who remained resolved not to share the same fate with the *Laurandians*; but having appointed a sufficient number to defend the walls, they set the city on fire in all quarters, consuming their parents, wives, and children, in their houses, while themselves repelled the *Macedonians*, who sought to break in and extinguish the flames; and when *Perdiccas* had drawn off his troops, jumped into the fire. The *Macedonian* army having collected what gold and silver they could find in the ashes, *Perdiccas* led them into winter quarters, and left the conquered countries under the care of *Eumenes* [k].

The projects of Perdiccas.

At the first division of the provinces, *Perdiccas*, to strengthen himself, had proposed to marry *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, and this was so well relished, that her brethren *Jollas* and *Archias* now conducted her to him, in order to be present at the celebration of the nuptials. But *Perdiccas* had other things in his head. *Olympias*, who had always hated *Antipater*, had privately solicited him to marry her daughter *Cleopatra*; this lady was the widow of *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, at whose marriage *Philip* was slain, and she now resided at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. *Eumenes* strongly persuaded this match without doubt, because he believed it would prove beneficial to the royal family, and his reasons had such weight with *Perdiccas*, that he was dispatched to *Sardis* to compliment *Cleopatra*, and to carry her presents in the name of her new lover. In the absence of *Eumenes*, *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* persuaded him to marry *Nicæa*, which he accordingly did to sooth *Antipater* and his family, and that he might carry on his own designs more safely. These designs tended all to gratify his ambition; for first he resolved to repudiate the wife he had just married: Next he intended to marry *Cleopatra*; this he conceived would give him a pretence for altering the government in *Macedon*; and as a necessary measure preparative to these, he entered into contrivances for taking off *Antigonus*. With this view he caused numberless accusations to be set on foot against the last-mentioned person, who was a man not easy to be dealt with; for he had a spirit not to be tamed, and an understanding too penetrating ever to be imposed on. He therefore put on an appearance of submitting to *Perdiccas*, and pretended to busy himself in collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial; while he secretly intended nothing less. An accident happened which compelled him to disclose his purpose sooner than he designed. *Cynane* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* by his second wife, who by *Amyntas*, the true heir of the *Macedonian* crown had a child, brought her daughter *Ada*, who was afterwards called

[i] Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [k] Arrian. ap. Phot. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Eumen.

called *Eurydice* to court, in hopes that *Aridæus* or *Philip* might marry her. Againſt this lady *Cynane*, *Perdiccas* on ſome political motives conceived ſuch a grudge, that he cauſed her to be murdered, which made a great noiſe, the ſoldiers retaining not only a great love for *Alexander* her brother, but a high veneration for *Philip* her father; this ſo frightened *Perdiccas*, that to ſtill the ſtorm he had raiſed, he promoted the match between king *Philip* and *Eurydice*, to prevent which he had taken off her mother. *Antigonus* liked this ſhort method of proceeding ſo little, that as ſoon as he was informed of it, he put himſelf, his ſon *Demetrius*, and all his domeſtics in whom he could confide, on board of ſome *Athenian* veſſels, and ſailed over to *Greece*, there to take ſhelter under the protection of *Antipater* and *Craterus*, whom he informed of the deſigns of *Perdiccas*; above all, ſetting forth the murder of *Cynane* in the blackeſt colours [l].

Ptolemy in the mean time remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, which he governed with ſo much wiſdom, clemency, and juſtice, that all who were willing to enjoy peace, and ſecure protection, reſorted out of *Europe* and *Aſia* thither, and thought themſelves happy under his government. *Thimbro*, who, as we have ſeen, had ſlain *Harpalus*, and poſſeſſed himſelf both of his army and his treaſure, landed in *Cyrene*, where at firſt he had great ſucceſs; but at laſt after a long war, one *Ophellas*, who had fled into *Egypt*, and requeſted ſuccours againſt this robber, returning into *Cyrene*, fought and routed him, himſelf being taken priſoner in the battle. He was immediately crucified, as his crimes juſtly deſerved; and thus the *Cyrenians* loſt their freedom, and became ſubjects to *Ptolemy*. He, thus ſtrengthened by ſo conſiderable an acceſſion, gave a willing ear to the embaſſadors from *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who propoſed to him a league againſt *Perdiccas* to ſet bounds to his power at leaſt, who plainly ſet none to his ambition [m].

The ſucceſs of Ptolemy *in* Egypt. *Year after the flood*, 2678, *Before Chriſt* 321.

Aridæus, to whoſe care the funeral of *Alexander* had been committed, having now ſpent two years in making preparations for it, much againſt the will of *Perdiccas*, ſet out from *Babylon* for *Damaſcus*, with intent to carry the king's body into *Egypt*. There was, it ſeems, a ſuperſtitious report, that where-ever his body was laid, that country ſhould flouriſh moſt. *Perdiccas* therefore, out of love to his native ſoil, would have ſent it to the royal ſepulchures in *Macedon*; but *Aridæus* pleading the king's expreſs direction, would carry it into *Egypt*, which *Perdiccas* could not hinder. That commander therefore executed his intention with all imaginable magnificence, *Ptolemy*, as ſoon as he knew of his coming, marched in perſon to meet the corpſe as far as *Syria*; he did not, however, convey it to the temple of *Hammon*, but contented himſelf with repoſing it in a noble temple, which for this purpoſe he built in the city of *Alexandria*, and by this reſpect ſhewn to his dead maſter, drew numbers of his veteran ſoldiers to his ſervice, which proved of mighty conſequence to him in his affairs, as we ſhall quickly ſee [n].

The corpſe of Alexander *conveyed to* Ptolemy.

Perdiccas having full intelligence of his enemies deſigns, and perceiving that he ſhould have to deal with a veteran army out of *Greece*, and with the numerous forces of *Ptolemy* at once, he called a council of his friends, in order to reſolve on the meaſures proper to be taken in ſo nice a conjuncture. In this council it was unanimouſly determined, that it would be beſt for *Perdiccas* to march with the kings, and the gallant army attending on their perſons, into *Egypt* againſt *Ptolemy*, while ſome commander of approved abilities ſhould make head againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who, it was foreſeen, would tranſport an army from *Macedonia* to make war upon *Perdiccas*. This captain was immediately found in *Eumenes*; him *Perdiccas* ordered to his government, creating him at the ſame time captain general of the countries as far as the *Hellespont*. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus* the governor of *Armenia*, had directions to obey the orders of *Eumenes*, which not a little diſpleaſed them. Theſe things ſettled. *Perdiccas* began his march towards *Egypt* [o].

Perdiccas *makes war on him.*

Eumenes, when he came to his province, found things in a very uncouth ſituation; he had indeed an excellent body of foot, but they were much inclined to mutiny. *Neoptolemus*, who ſhould have aſſiſted him, began already to betray an inclination to deſert him, and *Alcetas*, as ſoon as *Antipater* and *Craterus* approached, was prevailed on to be neuter in a war made againſt his brother. Larger offers than had corrupted theſe two were made to *Eumenes*, if he would concur with *Antipater* and *Craterus*. He anſwered, *That he believed it would be ſome time before he could reconcile himſelf to*

Eumenes *defeates* Neoptolemus *and* Craterus.

Antipater

[l] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.
[m] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Justin. lib. xiii. c. 6.
[n] Diodor. & Justin. ubi ſupra.
[o] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. Justin ubi ſupra.

Antipater *his old enemy, the rather, because he had a way of treating his friends like enemies. As for* Craterus *his old friend, he would be glad to be an instrument of reconciling him to* Perdiccas, *whom he was determined not to desert.* During these negotiations, *Eumenes* had raised a body of three thousand six hundred horse, partly by bestowing horses on the Soldiers he could confide in, and partly by encouraging the *Cappadocians* to addict themselves to military affairs. By this contrivance he gained not only a great body of cavalry on which he might depend, but also struck the phalanx with such awe, that they in some measure left off their old turbulent humour. *Neoptolemus* earnestly desiring to gain the friendship of *Craterus* by subduing his old friend *Eumenes*, contrived to attack him suddenly; but *Eumenes* was too quick for him, and falling in the beginning of the engagement on his horse, routed them intirely, compelling *Neoptolemus* to make his escape with only three hundred men to *Antipater* and *Craterus*; then he fell upon the phalanx of *Neoptolemus*'s army, and having disordered them, offered to receive them into his own troops, if they would take an oath of fidelity to the kings, which they readily did. This success was far from making *Eumenes* secure; he knew very well, that though he had beaten *Neoptolemus*, and increased his own army, yet he had still to deal with very odd people; for he was conscious to himself, that if his own army knew they were to fight against *Craterus*, they would be so far from executing his commands, that they would infallibly desert him. When therefore he had intelligence that *Antipater* was marched into *Cilicia*, and that *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* were in full march against him, he told his own army, that *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris*, with some *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* horse, were marching to surprize them; wherefore he intended to decamp, and meet them in the night. When they came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horse over-against *Craterus*, commanded by *Pharnabazus* and *Phœnix*, ordering them to charge home, and not to give the enemy any time to send heralds or messengers. They performed their commission so well, that *Craterus*, who fought bravely at the head of his troops, was mortally wounded before he was known. *Eumenes* in the mean time engaged *Neoptolemus* personally, and both of them falling together from their horses, fought it out afterwards on foot, till *Eumenes* gave *Neoptolemus* a mortal wound in the neck, and proceeded to strip him of his arms, inveighing bitterly against him for his vanity and perfidy, whereby so much mischief had been wrought; then returning to the center of his army, he found *Craterus* yet living, over whom he wept and lamented, permitting the *Macedonian* phalanx, after they had taken an oath of fidelity, to retire to their quarters; yet in breach of that oath, they privately stole away to *Antipater* in *Cilicia*, leaving *Eumenes* the reputation of having gained two signal victories in ten days, which, however, was more than ballanced by the envy which other commanders conceived against him, and by the hatred his own army bore him, for making them the instruments of slaying their favourite *Craterus*. But it is now time to follow *Perdiccas* [P].

Perdiccas *slain.*

THE royal army marched as far as *Damascus* with all imaginable tranquillity; but when they came there, and heard every-where as they passed the character of *Ptolemy*, they began to grow diffident and uneasy; and when they entered *Egypt*, they grew more and more turbulent. *Perdiccas*, being a man of high Spirit, treated them with a good deal of haughtiness, and threatened to punish them as rebels. This was so far from mending the matter, that it made it much worse, his soldiers beginning to mutter, that he, who was but tutor to their princes, should never become a tyrant over them who had been allowed all liberty even by *Alexander* himself; neither was it the private men only who were offended with his conduct, some of the chief officers were no less discontented, insomuch, that they took the first opportunity of deserting him. This brought *Perdiccas* to a true sense of his error; he therefore altered his whole conduct, caressed the soldiers, treated the officers familiarly, and encouraged all by fair words and fine promises. Then he brought them to pass the river *Nile*, and to attack *Ptolemy* in his retrenchments. The army on this occasion behaved with all the bravery imaginable, and, as they had the advantage in numbers, attacked several times. But *Ptolemy*, on the other hand, fighting in a fortification, being himself a great captain, exposing his person freely, and having scarce a man in his troops who was not desirous of losing his life in his cause, maintained his post so well, that *Perdiccas* was forced to retire; and having marched a great part of the night

[P] ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

a night, attempted to repaſs the river. Part of his forces actually got over by wading up to the chin; but on a ſudden the river grew deeper, and the ſtream ſo much ſtronger, that no more could paſs: This accident occaſioned a great deal of ſpeculation; but the true cauſe was this; ſo great a body as at firſt paſſed having ſtirred, and, as it were, digged the looſe ſand at the bottom of the river, the ſtream had carried it away. *Perdiccas*, like an indefatigable officer, had recourſe to various expedients; but they all proved ineffectual; at laſt he ordered the forces which had paſſed to return, which they accordingly did, but with the loſs of two thouſand men, half drowned, and half eaten by the crocodiles. Upon this misfortune the phalanx mutinied, and a hundred principal officers, among whom was *Pithon*, immediately
b went over to *Ptolemy*. A troop of horſe following the example, mutinied alſo, and having ſurrounded the general's tent, ſome of them entered and murdered him. The next day they held a conſultation; but before they reſolved upon any thing, *Ptolemy* came to them, and brought with him a vaſt quantity of proviſions, which he freely beſtowed upon them, kindly ſaluting every battalion of *Macedonians*, embracing their officers, and offering them all that was in his power. In this aſſembly *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were choſen protectors of the kings [q].

Two days after the death of *Perdiccas*, news arrived in the camp of the victory gained by *Eumenes*, which, had it arrived ſooner, would certainly have ſaved that general's life. As it was, it ſerved only to heighten the misfortunes of his friends; for
c the ſoldiers in a rage put all of them to death on whom they could lay hands; amongſt the reſt *Atalanta*, the ſiſter of *Perdiccas* and wife to *Attalus* the admiral; they likewiſe proſcribed *Eumenes*, and fifty perſons of quality with him; amongſt whom was *Alcetas*, *Perdiccas*'s brother, who had ſo ſcandalouſly ſat ſtill at the beginning of the war. Having thus glutted their reſentment, they quitted *Egypt*, and, under the command of *Aridæus* and *Pithon*, marched back again into *Cœlo-Syria*. In this march, *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip* began to take pretty much upon her, which *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were very much diſpleaſed at; yet finding the army
d more inclined to favour her than themſelves, they were forced to temporize till they come to *Triparadiſus*, where *Antipater* joined them. There a grand council was held, in which the new elected tutors of the kings reſigned their offices, and *Antipater* was choſen ſole protector with ſovereign power. He was no leſs diſſatisfied with *Eurydice*'s behaviour than his predeceſſors had been, and therefore began to check her, which irritated her ſo much, that in a ſet oration ſhe accuſed him to the army; and though he made a long and laboured anſwer, yet ſuch a ſedition enſued, that *Antigonus* and *Seleucus* were forced to reſcue him at the peril of their lives, as well as his. However, after ſome days the matter was adjuſted, and the adminiſtration again put into the hands of *Antipater*. When things were a little quiet, and the army pacified with promiſes as to their pay, *Antipater* proceeded to make a new diviſion of the pro-
e vinces [r].

Pithon *and* Aridæus *ſucceed* Perdiccas.

Egypt, *Libya*, and the parts adjacent, were given to *Ptolemy*, which could not be avoided; for he would not have parted with them, if *Antipater* had given them to any body elſe. *Syria* was confirmed to *Leomedon*. *Philoxenus* had *Cilicia*. *Meſopotamia* and *Arbelites* were given to *Amphimachus*. *Babylon* was beſtowed on *Seleucus*. *Suſiana* fell to *Antigenes*, who commanded the *Macedonian ſilver-ſhields*, becauſe he was the firſt who oppoſed *Perdiccas*. *Peuceſtas* held *Perſia*. *Tlepolemus* had *Caramania* given him. *Pithon* held *Media*, as far as the *Caſpian* ſtreights. *Staſander* had *Aria* and *Drangia*. *Philip Parthia*. *Staſanor Bactria* and *Sogdia*. *Sybirtius Araſia*. *Oxyartes*, the father of *Roxana*, *Parapomiſis*. *Python* the country between this
f province and *India*. *Porus* and *Taxiles* held what *Alexander* had given them, becauſe they would not part with any of their dominions. *Cappadocia* was aſſigned to *Nicanor*. *Phrygia Major*, *Lycaonia*, *Pamphylia* and *Lycia* were given to *Antigonus*. *Caria* to *Caſſander*. *Lydia* to *Clytus*. *Phrygia* the leſs to *Aridæus*. *Caſſander* was appointed general of the horſe. The command of the houſhold troops was given to *Antigonus*, with orders to proſecute the war againſt *Eumenes*, who was now reputed a public enemy. *Antipater*, when he had thus ſettled all things, returned home to his own province with the kings, much commended, and highly admired by all the *Macedonians* [s].

Antipater *divides the provinces anew.*

As

[q] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Justin. ubi ſupra. [r] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. [s] Arrian. & Diodor. ubi ſupra.

Eumenes *prepares to defend himself.* *Year of the flood* 2679. *Before Christ* 320.

As for *Eumenes*, he began to provide for the war, which he foresaw was [illegible] upon him, with all imaginable prudence. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* [illegible] him; so did *Attalus* with the fleet. This officer, on the first news of the death of his brother and his wife, sailed with the navy under his command to *Tyre*, where *Archelaus* was governor, by the appointment of *Perdiccas*, who had also intrusted him with eight hundred talents. This governor retained so grateful a sense of the favours done him by his deceased patron, that he willingly received *Attalus*, and readily paid him the money which had been left in his hands. Here also *Attalus* collected such of the friends and soldiers of *Perdiccas*, as repaired to him, with whom he afterwards sailed to *Eumenes*. Among the principal officers in the camp of the last-mentioned general, there was one *Perdiccas*, whom he trusted much. This man prevailed on a body of three thousand five hundred horse to desert with him, and with them marched a considerable distance from the camp. *Eumenes* did not pursue him the first night; but as the second drew on, he sent one *Hieronymus*, with four thousand choice foot and a thousand horse, through certain by-ways. These surprised the traitor and his soldiers, and brought them all prisoners to the camp of *Eumenes*, who hanged *Perdiccas*, and a few of those who were principally concerned, receiving the rest into favour. It was not long before a general engagement happened, wherein *Eumenes*, through the treachery of *Apollonides*, general of his horse, was totally routed, with the loss of eight thousand men. However, he performed on this occasion one of the most extraordinary actions that we find recorded in history; for, with the scattered remains of his army, striking off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy pursued him, he passed by them unperceived, and returned to the field of battle, where gathering all the wood that could be found in the adjacent villages, he burned all the dead bodies of his soldiers in one heap, and those of his officers in another; covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth. Then, dismissing such of his soldiers as were sick, wounded, or were unable to bear fatigue, he, with six hundred men, retired into the castle of *Nora*, a place exceedingly strong, by its situation on the top of an inaccessible rock, well fortified, and stored with all sorts of provisions, where he resolved to abide a siege, hoping that *Alcetas* and *Attalus* would be able to raise such a body of troops, as might enable them to deliver him before the castle could be reduced. *Antigonus* immediately caused the place to be invested; but when he was informed how well it was provided, and how resolute those men were who had chosen to be shut up therein, for *Eumenes* had none with him but such as requested it as a favour, he began to despair of taking it by force. In order therefore to get over this matter as soon as possible, he sent to desire a conference with *Eumenes*. *Eumenes* answered, that he had many eminent commanders in his army; but, if himself should be taken off, those in the fort would be destitute of any commader. *Antigonus* returned, That, as he was the greater man, he expected that he should wave such excuses, and come to him. To which *Eumenes* replied, That while he had his sword in his hand, he held no man greater than himself. *Antigonus* thereupon sent him hostages; and *Eumenes* coming to the foot of the rock, *Antigonus* went thither to meet him. As soon as they met together, they embraced, having been formerly intimate friends. Then *Eumenes* demanded to have the provinces restored to him, exhorted *Antigonus* to act dutifully towards the kings, and behaved in all things as if they had treated upon equal terms. The *Macedonians* who were near, admired the courage and spirit of the man. Those who could only see him, were charmed with the sweetness of his aspect, and the beauty of his person; for he was one of the handsomest men of his age, the most perfect in his exercises, and absolutely free either from passion or pride. At last the throng of the Spectators grew so great, that *Antigonus* was in pain for his person; finding therefore that no accommodation could be made, he took *Eumenes* in his arms, and so brought him to the passage of the rock, where they parted. *Antigonus* perceiving that the siege would much incommode his affairs, ordered the place to be surrounded with a strong wall, and leaving a sufficient body of troops to guard it, he marched against *Alcetas* and *Attalus*.

Alcetas *defeated and killed.*

The celerity with which *Antigonus* marched into *Pisidia*, where *Alcetas* and *Attalus* with their army lay, was such, that he surprised them; and tho' their troops behaved very well, yet overcome with numbers, with elephants and the superior skill of the old *Macedonian* soldiers, they were totally beaten. *Attalus*, *Docimus*, and *Polemon* were taken; but *Alcetas*, with about six thousand men, escaped to *Termessus*.

Termissus. *Antigonus* followed him and invested the city, demanding *Alcetas*. The magistrates were all for delivering him up; but the people of the city, to whom *Alcetas* had done innumerable favours, swore solemnly they would live and die with him. In this the magistrates acquiesced; but while the citizens were at their posts, they sent some of their servants to murder *Alcetas*, who, perceiving their intention, killed himself. His body being delivered to *Antigonus*, he first used it despitefully, and after two days, when it began to corrupt, caused it to be thrown into the road, whence it was taken by the *Termissians*, and honourably buried, who were very hardly deterred from burning their magistrates in their houses [t].

Antigonus receiving the news of the death of *Antipater*, and that he had, by his will, appointed *Polysperchon* tutor to the kings, he immediately conceived a great contempt of them all, resolving to make himself lord of *Asia*. He had now an army of sixty thousand foot and nineteen thousand horse, many elephants, and treasure in abundance. He began therefore to make no secret of his designs; but to remove all the governors of provinces who were not in his interests. In this, however, he had not very great success; for *Aridæus* governor of *Phrygia* immediately began to arm, and when *Antigonus* threatened to deprive him of his province, as one who affected regal authority, he sent him word his own intentions were honest, and that he armed, because he looked upon him, *Antigonus*, to be a traitor. The next step *Antigonus* took, was to bring over *Eumenes*, in order to which he sent a trusty person to confer with that great captain in his castle of *Nora*, to desire him to forget the battle in *Cappadocia*, and to assure him, that if he would become his friend, he should be the second person in his court. *Eumenes* gave a proper reception to these overtures; whereupon *Antigonus* framed an oath, which he sent to the commanders of the troops forming the blockade of the castle of *Nora*, with instructions, that on *Eumenes*'s swearing thereto, they should raise the siege. The purport of this oath was, that he should be faithful to *Antigonus*, and have the same friends and enemies with him. When this oath was tendered to *Eumenes*, he observed that it was not properly drawn; wherefore, instead of *Antigonus*, he inserted *Olympias*, the *kings*, and the *royal family*. This change the *Macedonians* immediately approved, and on *Eumenes* swearing, they instantly set him and his friends at liberty. He no sooner regained his freedom than he began to collect forces for the defence of the kings, whose authority, he saw clearly, was on the very point of being extinguished in *Asia*. But when *Antigonus* was informed of what had happened, he was extremely angry, and sent to his generals to make war on *Eumenes*, and, if possible, to secure his person; but these orders came too late, for *Eumenes*, having collected about two thousand foot and five hundred horse, quitted *Cappadocia*, and marched towards mount *Taurus* [u].

Antigonus resolves to seize Asia.

Polysperchon finding himself exceedingly distressed, through the wickedness of many and the extraordinary power of *Antigonus*, sought out all possible methods to secure himself and the kings from destruction. To this end he invited *Olympias*, who, for fear of *Antipater* and his contrivances, had fled from *Macedon* to *Epirus*, to return, and take upon her the education of *Alexander*'s young son. He likewise dispatched letters in his own name and hers, to *Eumenes*, whereby he constituted him general for the kings in *Asia*, ordering the governors to pay him five hundred talents to indemnify him for his losses, and assigning him a *thousand silver shields* for his guard. *Olympias* also wrote to him herself to desire his advice, whether she should remain still in *Epirus*, or return into *Macedonia*. She likewise exhorted him to remain firm to the interests of the royal family, for that she and her children put their whole confidence in him. *Eumenes* in answer wrote her word, that to him it appeared most advisable for her to remain in *Epirus*, where she was, till the war was over. As for himself, he promised to be ever observant of the interest of the royal family, and to hazard all things in order to check the torrent of *Antigonus*'s ambition. He said he was the rather inclined to this, because the tenderness of the young *Alexander*'s age, and the all-grasping disposition of his father's captains, left an honest man no part to act, but that of sacrificing his own concerns to the publick safety. To shew that his loyalty did not consist in words, when his enemies were retired into *Cappadocia*, he made a quick turn into *Cilicia*, where he joined *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, who had three thousand of the *Argyraspidæ* or *silver shields*, under their command. They received

The kings create Eumenes general in Asia.

[t] Diodor. ubi supra.

[u] Diodor. ubi supra.

received him with all the marks of deference and respect which they could possibly devise; but he very quickly perceived, that neither they, nor the rest of the commanders who resorted to him, esteemed him in their hearts; but on the contrary, envied him. He therefore applied himself to two things; first, the lessening of their malice; and secondly, providing for his own safety. With respect to this he refused the five hundred talents and the title of general, saying, *That great wealth and high titles were of no use to a man who sought to serve his sovereign, and not to be a prince himself.* As to that, he borrowed large sums of those who hated him most, and thereby made them careful of his safety, lest they should lose their money. With this money he furnished such friends as he could trust, ordering them to raise soldiers, and to give them more pay than was absolutely necessary, rightly conceiving, that numbers would resort to him, in hopes of extraordinary pay, who might afterwards be induced to serve on moderate terms. By these arts, before *Antigonus* was aware, he had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men. These proceedings raised the admiration of all his cotemporaries; but, however, they were so far from raising him in his own mind, that he contrived therein a scheme for lessening his own authority, and putting himself upon the same rank with all the rest of the captains. He told the officers of the army, that he had in a dream seen *Alexander*, adorned in his royal robes, sitting on his throne, and giving orders, as he was wont, to all his commanders. He gave it therefore as his advice, that a tent of state should be erected, wherein there should be placed a throne of gold, with all the ensigns of royalty thereon, before it an altar of the same metal, whereon each of the captains should offer incense, after which they should take their seats indiscriminately, and consult for the publick safety. By this means he appeased the dissensions among the great, and inspired the common soldiers with enthusiastic bravery. *Antigonus* in the mean time, sent *Philotas* with letters to the army, promising the silver shields mighty rewards, if they would deliver up *Eumenes*. They read the letters, and debated upon them, of which *Eumenes* having some notice, he went into the assembly, and told them, that the *Macedonians* were not wont to consult, whether they should obey their prince, or deliver up his officers to traitors; and that it less became them so to do, whom not *Antigonus*, but *Alexander*, had so eminently distinguished. This determined the soldiers at that time to reject the offers of *Antigonus*. *Eumenes* then marched into *Phœnicia*, that he might be near the sea. This province *Ptolemy* had seized; wherefore *Eumenes* made no scruple of conquering it, saying, That all were his enemies who knew not their duty. But when *Antigonus* had defeated the royal navy, and then marched against him in person, *Eumenes* thought it more expedient to retire into the higher provinces, which he did safely, notwithstanding that he passed over the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in sight of the enemy [w].

The governors of the upper provinces join him.

Eumenes wintered with his army on the frontiers of the province of *Babylon*. *Pithon* and *Seleucus*, who were governors, one of *Media* the other of the territory of *Babylon*, sought by all means to debauch his soldiers. These attempts were, however, still ineffectual, and *Eumenes* having passed the river *Tigris* in spight of them, advanced into *Susiana*, where he was immediately joined by *Peucestas*, *Polemon*, *Sybirtius*, *Stasander*, *Androbazus*, and *Eudames*, with upwards of twenty thousand men and twenty elephants. The first thing that happened after this junction, was a dispute about the command, to which every one of the governors laid claim, and *Eumenes* was never thought of. At last they were forced to come into his expedient of meeting in a tent. This was done for the present; for every one of them hoped, by caressing the soldiers, to carry his point in time; and indeed they all carried it in their turns, for the army saluted every one of them general when they were eating at his cost. But when *Antigonus* drew near, they called out for *Eumenes*, saying openly, that, when fighting was the business, they would have no general but him. This, however, occasioned no disturbance, for the generals were as ready to submit to him as the soldiers, none caring to charge themselves with the weight of a command, where the least wrong step would forfeit all their power and their lives into the bargain. *Eumenes* then led the army to the *Tigris*, drawing them up in excellent order on the banks, where he waited for *Antigonus*. That ambitious captain marched first to *Susa*, and finding that castle held by *Xenophilus*, he left *Seleucus* with a corps of troops to besiege it, and then marched on to fight *Eumenes*. The climate

[w] Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Eumen.

climate was exceſſively hot, the ſoil dry and ſandy, ſo that his troops were prodigiouſly fatigued. At laſt he arrived on the banks of the *Copares*, a very rapid river running into the *Tigris* about eight miles from the camp of *Eumenes*. Here, with a few flat-bottomed boats, he paſſed over ſix thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, giving ſtrict orders to the latter to entrench themſelves as ſoon as they were over. As for the horſe, they diſperſed themſelves for the conveniency of forage. The foot had ſcarce formed themſelves, and conſidered the ſituation of the place, before they found themſelves in danger of being puſhed into the river by their own horſe, whom *Eumenes* had ſurprized, and entirely defeated. They covered them as well as they could, and received bravely the charge of *Eumenes* at the head of five thouſand men, with whom he had paſſed the *Tigris*; but finding themſelves unable to bear up againſt theſe freſh troops, they threw themſelves in heaps into the boats, till they ſunk, affording *Antigonus*, and the reſt of his army, the melancholy ſpectacle of four thouſand of their companions killed and drowned, and as many taken priſoners, themſelves looking on. *Antigonus* was ſo effectually checked by this ſudden blow, that he immediately retired, and left the army of the kings in poſſeſſion of the field [x].

Antigonus *marches into* Media.

THE deſign of *Antigonus* in retiring, was not to quit the war, but remove the ſcene of it to ſome part of *Aſia*, where he might act with more advantage; with this view he determined to march into *Media*, to which there were two roads, the one ſafe and pleaſant, the other through the country of the *Coſſeans*, the ſame baſe and barbarous people, againſt whom *Alexander* made an expedition immediately after the death of *Hephæſtion*. *Pithon*, knowing well the temper of theſe mountaineers, very prudently adviſed *Antigonus* rather to quiet them with a ſum of money, than to attempt to paſs through their territories by force; but that little ſuited the haughty diſpoſition of him to whom the counſel was given. *Antigonus* thought it unworthy of himſelf, and of the great army he commanded, to pay theſe highlanders for a paſſage. He therefore ſent *Nearchus* with the light-armed troops before in order to drive the *Coſſeans* from their poſts, and directed him, when he had ſo done, to line the roads with his men. *Antigonus* led the phalanx himſelf, *Pithon* and a choice body of horſe bringing up the rear. The army, however, paid dearly in their march for their rejecting *Pithon*'s advice. The *Coſſeans* attacking them on all ſides with equal bravery and reſolution, ſo that for nine days together, they ſuſtained the greateſt hardſhips; but at laſt coming down into *Media*, they were there ſo plentifully provided for, and, through the care of *Pithon*, the cavalry ſo well remounted, and the ſoldiers ſo effectually indemnified for their loſſes, that the army reſumed its wonted alacrity; whereupon *Antigonus* determined to penetrate into the higher countries, in order to diſplace thoſe governors who had ſided with *Eumenes* [y].

Eumenes *marches into the upper provinces.*

THE confederate lords, underſtanding that *Antigonus* again drew near them, were much divided in their councils; ſome of them were for retiring to the ſea-coaſts, where, in caſe of any misfortune, they might receive aid from *Polyſperchon*. The governors of the upper provinces, mindful of their private concerns, were for marching back with the army, that they might ſecure their friends. *Eumenes* agreed in opinion with the former, yet ſided againſt his own opinion with the latter, foreſeeing, that if he had declared for marching into the maritime provinces, the army would neceſſarily have been divided, and thereby become too weak to effect any thing any where. His aſſent therefore having determined the queſtion, they immediately marched into *Perſis*, and in twenty-four days march reached *Perſepolis*. Here *Peuceſtas* made a grand feaſt for the army, and having them now in his own province, he loaded them with ſuch extravagant favours, that *Eumenes* began to ſuſpect he aimed at ſomewhat more than he ought. As ſoon as he entertained theſe ſuſpicions, he ſtruck out an expedient for bringing the army back to their former temper without hurting *Peuceſtas*. He cauſed a letter to be writ in *Syrian* characters, in the name of *Orontes*, governor of *Armenia*, importing, that the party of *Olympias* had killed *Caſſander*, and that the power of the kings being thoroughly ſettled in *Macedon*, *Polyſperchon* was about to paſs with a great army into *Aſia*. This letter being directed to *Peuceſtas*, he readily gave credit to it, and publiſhed it in the army; whereupon all the officers paid their court to *Eumenes*, and thoſe were the forwardeſt who hated him moſt. *Eumenes* took all in good part, and according to cuſtom borrowed money of thoſe he feared, and thereby became maſter of their councils. The news which *Peuceſtas* had received, occaſioned more feaſting,

[x] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Eumen. [y] DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

feasting, and *Eumenes*, contrary to his nature, was forced to drink hard, which threw him into a fever, out of which as he recovered, the generals received advice, that *Antigonus* drew near them. Immediately the army marched under the command of *Peucestas* and *Antigenes*, *Eumenes* being carried in the rear in a litter. But when they were in the midst of their march, the van of *Antigonus*'s army appeared. *Peucestas* instantly gave directions for forming a line of battle, but the soldiers absolutely refused to move any way till *Eumenes* should appear. Hereupon he was brought in his litter with the curtains drawn back, and after he had thanked the soldiers for their confidence in him, he made the necessary dispositions. When *Antigonus* drew near enough to perceive in what manner the confederate army was drawn up, he was exceedingly surprized, for he depended on the sickness of *Eumenes*. At last perceiving the litter passing through the lines, he burst out a laughing; and turning to the officers who were near him, said, *It is not that army but yon litter that bids us battle.* However, he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and contented himself with encamping in a very advantagious post [z] (C).

A battle ensues.

While the armies lay over-against each other, *Eumenes* received intelligence that *Antigonus* intended to decamp in the night, he thereupon presently guessed that his design was to put his army into quarters of refreshment in the rich district of *Gabene*. To prevent this, and at the same time to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, whom he sent into the camp of *Antigonus*, where they reported that *Eumenes* intended to attack them in their trenches that very night. But while *Antigonus*'s troops were under arms, *Eumenes* marched for *Gabene*, which at length *Antigonus* suspected, and having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his horse, sending all his baggage to an adjacent city, that it might not incommode him. Freed from all incumbrances, pretty early in the morning, he from the top of a hill discerned *Eumenes* with his army marching below; whereupon he immediately disposed his horse, as if his infantry had been behind the hill, whereby he deceived *Eumenes* who would otherwise have marched on. Whereas believing the whole army of *Antigonus* to be at hand, he faced about, and disposed his troops in order of battle. By degrees the infantry of *Antigonus* came up, and as they came up, formed behind the horse. The whole of *Eumenes*'s forces consisted of thirty-five thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and fourteen elephants. In the army of *Antigonus* was twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. *Antigonus* charged the troops under *Eumenes* with great bravery. The battle was most obstinately fought, and the victory won and lost several times by each party. At last after a whole day's engagement, the stars began to appear, when *Antigonus* had visibly the worst, yet his officers could not prevail upon him to retire from the field of battle; on the contrary he encamped there with the troops yet unbroken, and sent several persons well mounted to give notice to those who fled, that it would be their safest way to repair to his camp, which accordingly they did. He then buried his dead, which done, by forced marches he withdrew into *Media*, where he took up his winter quarters. If *Eumenes* had been as absolute in the command of his army, as *Antigonus* was, the latter would not have escaped so well, for *Eumenes* without doubt would have attacked him again, and in all probability would have totally routed him; for whereas *Antigonus* had almost eight thousand men killed and wounded, *Eumenes* did not lose in the

[z] Id. ibid.

(C) *Antigonus* a short time after this finding the country where he lay excessively wasted, and that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces and the old *Macedonian* corps to desert *Eumenes*, and to join him, which at this time they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, *Eumenes* came into the assembly, and delivered himself in these words: "Once upon a time a lion falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer, that he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his paws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after they were married, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately, whereupon the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy". This continued he, is the very thing aimed at by *Antigonus*, who makes you large promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws (9).

(9) *Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor Sicul. lib.* xviii.

the whole quite fifteen hundred; but the diviſions which reigned in the confederate army, and the inſolence of the ſoldiers, hindered any thing more from being done, and even permitted *Antigonus* to interr the ſlain, whereby their victory was called in queſtion. However, according to the modern rules of war, *Eumenes* was the conqueror, inaſmuch as he carried his point, and actually brought his forces to winter in the rich country of *Gabene*, where they were five and twenty days march from the enemy [a].

As ſoon as the army was in winter quarters, and began to taſte thoſe advantages which the wiſdom of their general had procured for them, they very gratefully began to deſpiſe him, and to pay all their court to the generals who treated beſt, and, for the greater conveniency of receiving entertainments, ſpread themſelves all over the country. *Antigonus* had his ſpies amongſt them, and from them he quickly received intelligence of the bad ſituation of their affairs. As ſoon as *Antigonus* received theſe accounts, he reſolved, notwithſtanding it was the very depth of winter, to attempt ſurprizing them; of which deſign he conceived the greater hopes, becauſe he was informed that there lay a paſſage through the deſarts, which in nine or ten days time would bring him to *Gabene*; though by the ordinary rout it was twenty-five days march from his quarters. Full of this mighty project, he gave out his orders for the ſoldiers to provide themſelves with ſuch proviſion for ten days, as required no dreſſing, hoping by this contrivance to avoid lighting fires. But this proved ineffectual, for after five days march he and his forces found the cold ſo intenſe, that, to preſerve themſelves from periſhing, they were forced to make fires in the nights. Some ſhepherds, who were upon the hills ſurrounding theſe deſarts, perceiving theſe fires, diſpatched away meſſengers on dromedaries to carry advice to the confederate generals, who inſtantly called a council, wherein they ſhewed all the marks of terror and confuſion, and acknowledging the miſerable ſituation of their affairs, by the troops being quartered at many days march diſtance, they neither propoſed nor reſolved on any method for defence. *Eumenes* obſerving their diſtreſs, told them, that he would undertake to retard the march of the enemy for four or five days, if in the interim they would aſſemble the troops. This promiſe, which to them appeared impoſſible to be fulfilled, they readily laid hold of, and immediately transferred to *Eumenes* the command of the troops which lay in the neighbourhood of the place where they were. As ſoon as *Eumenes* could draw them together, he marched directly towards the enemy, and when he was near enough for them to ſee the fires in his camp, he extended his troops as much in front, as if the whole confederate army had been there, and cauſed as many or more fires to be lighted than would then have been neceſſary. When *Antigonus* perceived this, he concluded that *Eumenes*, having intelligence of his march, had led all his troops out of freſh quarters to meet him; he therefore quitted the road through the deſart, and turned through the ordinary one through towns and villages, that his ſoldiers might receive ſome refreſhment, and not be expoſed, after ſuſtaining ſo great fatigues, to an unequal engagement with troops juſt come out of quarters. This was exactly what *Eumenes* foreſaw, and conſequently by that time *Antigonus* by the ordinary road arrived on the frontiers, the whole confederate army was aſſembled, and ready to give him battle, which *Antigonus* did not decline. In the private councils held by the generals and governors of provinces, it was unanimouſly determined to make uſe of *Eumenes* in the approaching battle, and then to rid themſelves of him; for they ſaw clearly in matters of moment, they neither conſidered each other, nor were conſidered by the army; but his advice and his conduct only were relied on. *Eudamus* and *Phadimus*, two principal perſons in the army, immediately gave *Eumenes* notice, not out of any good-will to him, for they hated him as much or more than any of the reſt, but becauſe he was very deeply in their debt. As ſoon as he was acquainted with this treacherous conſpiracy, *Eumenes* retired to his tent, and in the firſt place put all his papers out of the way, that in caſe of the worſt none of his friends might be prejudiced; he then conſidered with himſelf whether it might not be poſſible for him to eſcape into *Cappadocia*; but then reflecting that his eſcape would be abdicating his command, and giving up the cauſe of *Alexander*'s family, he generouſly reſolved to die, as he had lived, with the glory of never having done a baſe or unbecoming action. This reſolution once taken, he came out and encouraged the ſoldiers, the major part of whom were well-affected to him, and ſaluted him with loud acclamations. *Eumenes* thanked them for thoſe marks

Eumenes *laſt campaign.* *Year after the flood* 2684. *Before Chriſt* 315.

[a] Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nepos. ibid.

marks of their favour, and diſpoſed all things for a battle, never divulging any part of the information he had received, though he could not help ſaying ſometimes to his intimate friends, that he lived amongſt wild beaſts, by whom he expected ſome time or other to be torn in pieces. The battle was fought on the ſea-ſhore, and *Eumenes* having the advantage in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of *Antigonus*; but his cavalry having the advantage, through the baſe treachery of *Peuceſtas*, *Antigonus*, who was alike preſent to himſelf in all circumſtances, perceiving that the engagement had raiſed a miſt of ſmall white duſt by the violent toſſing of the ſand, he made uſe of the obſcurity of the air to wheel round the army of *Eumenes*, and to poſſeſs himſelf of their baggage, a contrivance which availed him more than a victory would have done. As ſoon as the forces of *Eumenes* were returned into their camp, and were acquainted with the loſs of their baggage with the women and children, they were ready to mutiny. *Teutamus*, who commanded a battalion of the *ſilver-ſhields*, and who had long inclined to *Antigonus*, took this opportunity of ſending to him, and demanding of him the booty he had lately taken. *Antigonus* returned him for anſwer, that he would willingly reſtore the *ſilver ſhields*, the baggage, and all elſe that belonged to them, and would be ready to do them what farther favours they ſhould requeſt, provided they would do him one, which was to deliver up *Eumenes*, *a ſtranger*, *a perſon once condemned by the* Macedonians, *and who had ſince attained power enough to do them conſiderable miſchiefs*. The *ſilver-ſhields* immediately cloſed with this propoſition, ſcandalous as it was, and gathering about their unſuſpecting general, ſeized his ſword, pinioned his arms behind him, and in this plight prepared to deliver him up who had ſo long protected them from their enemies. As ſoon as that illuſtrious perſon perceived what they were about, he moſt earneſtly deſired that he might have leave to ſpeak to them, which when he had obtained, he in a very pathetic oration ſhewed them the folly and ill conſequences of ſuch a procedure, beſides the diſgrace that it would bring upon them; concluding with this petition, that ſince they were determined to part with their general to regain their lumber, they would have the goodneſs to put him to death with their own hands, and not deliver him up to his and their old enemy *Antigonus*, whom under his command they had ſo often beaten. The reſt of the army wept and lamented, but the *ſilver-ſhields* cried out, *Away with him! Let us hear none of his fine ſpeeches, carry him to* Antigonus, *and bring us again our wives and children.* This being accordingly performed, *Antigonus*, in purſuance of his promiſe, delivered up the baggage with all the women and children. As to *Eumenes*, when thoſe who had him in cuſtody demanded how he ſhould be kept? *As you would keep an elephant or a lion*, anſwered their general. The fate of *Aſia* was now decided, for *Eumenes* being given up, the governors ſubmitted and made the beſt terms they could, ſuffering their troops to be incorporated into thoſe of *Antigonus*. The only point which remained to be ſettled was the fate of the captive general. At firſt he was not only very ſtrictly confined, but loaded with heavy irons; but after ſome time, *Antigonus* was prevailed on to command part of the irons to be taken off; to allow him a ſervant to wait on him, and to permit his friends to viſit him. While things continued in this ſtate, *Eumenes* would often ſay to thoſe who came to him, *I wonder* Antigonus *protracts my affair thus, and that he has not courage enough to put me to death as an enemy, or by ſetting me free to make me his friend.* There was indeed a party in the army of *Antigonus*, at the head of whom was *Demetrius* his ſon, who would have had him ſet *Eumenes* free, ſuppoſing that this would have bound him to his intereſts. But the reſt of his friends, and the bulk of the army, earneſtly intreated him to put him to death, which, when the army was about to march, he accordingly did. However, he and all his troops aſſiſted with great ſolemnity at his funeral, and after the body was burnt, he cauſed the aſhes to be put up in a ſilver urn, and ordered them to be tranſmitted to his wife and children in *Cappadocia*. *Hieronymus* the *Cardian*, his moſt intimate friend, was taken by *Antigonus* into his favour and councils. *Antigenes*, commander in chief of the *ſilver-ſhields*, was by his order put into a coffin, and burnt alive. *Eudamus*, *Celbanus*, and many others of the enemies of *Eumenes*, experienced a like fate [b].

He reſolves to change the governors in all the provinces.

Antigonus had now nothing in his head but the executing of his old ſcheme of making himſelf lord of *Aſia*; in order to which he reſolved to ſacrifice all ſuch as he ſuſpected, all who had obſtinately oppoſed him, and all who by the fickleneſs of their conduct had ſhewn they were not to be depended on by any party. In the firſt place he reſolved

[b] Diodor. Sicul, Plut. & Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra, Justin. lib. xii. cap. 2.

ſolved to take off *Pithon*, who had done him ſuch eminent ſervice; but who while they were in winter quarters in *Media*, had been tampering with the ſoldiers. *Antigonus*, to carry on his deſign, brow-beat all ſuch as found fault with *Pithon*'s conduct, gave out to his friends that he intended to make him governor of all the upper provinces, and under this pretence drew him out of his own province of *Media*; but as ſoon as he got him into his hands, he called a council of war, wherein charging him with treaſon, thoſe who had been formerly concerned with him were now out of fear moſt ready to give him up, ſo that he was preſently convicted, and thereon inſtantly executed. He then appointed *Orontobates* a *Mede* governor of *Media*, but made *Hippoſtratus* general of the forces, which he left for the preſervation of the province. Such of the governors as he found could not be diſpoſſeſſed, he confirmed in their provinces. Laſt of all, he ſent for *Sibyrtius*, governor of *Araco ſia*, in whom he confided. To this man he transferred the *ſilver-ſhields*, openly affirming, that they would ſerve him to awe the barbarous nations; but giving him privately to underſtand that it was his deſire that they ſhould be put out of the way as expeditiouſly as poſſible, as a race of ſeditious villains unworthy of returning to *Greece*. Theſe things performed, he ſtript *Peuceſtas* of the government of *Perſia*, where he was prodigiouſly beloved, and appointed *Aſclepiodorus* in his ſtead. All the money and rich curioſities which were in the treaſury of *Suſa*, he ſeized to the value of fifteen thouſand talents, and out of the ſpoils and the treaſure he found in other places, he collected ten thouſand talents more, with which prodigious maſs of wealth, he doubted not to carry all his deſigns into execution. Being not a little encouraged alſo from this conſideration, that by this time not only the famous captains, but many of the inferior officers who had ſerved under *Alexander*, were deſtroyed, and put out of his way [c].

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, *Antigonus* marched with all his army, and with the mighty treaſures he had collected, to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* was governor. This man had done the higheſt ſervices to *Antigonus*, and among theſe ſome very late ones; for through him the citadel of *Suſa*, and all the wealth therein, had been delivered up to *Antigonus*. Upon this occaſion too, he did all, or rather more, than could be expected; for he feaſted the whole army at his own expence, and ſeemed to be no leſs pleaſed with the ſucceſs of *Antigonus* than he himſelf was. All this, however, could not ſecure him. The ambitious have no friends: All who pretend to ſerve them muſt be abſolutely their creatures. When therefore *Seleucus* had done all that was in his power, *Antigonus* demanded of him an account of the revenues of the province, which plainly diſcovered that he looked on him as a mere dependant. *Seleucus*, however, was very far from making any ſervile ſubmiſſions, or even ſeeking to temporize any longer with a man whom he eſteemed no more than his equal. He told him the province of *Babylon* was conferred upon himſelf by the *Macedonians* as the reward of his ſervices, and that therefore he did not conceive he was any more bound to give an account than he had a right to demand one. But when he had conſidered attentively the great power of *Antigonus*, and the ſmall capacity he had of reſiſting him, he began to conceive that he was in no ſmall danger, eſpecially when he called to mind what had befallen *Eumenes*, *Pithon*, and *Peuceſtas*: To ſecure himſelf therefore from ſuch treatment as they met with, and to eſcape being either murdered or depoſed, he with fifty horſe inſtantly made his eſcape, in order to fly to *Ptolemy*. When this was firſt known to *Antigonus*, he rejoiced at it exceedingly, being extremely pleaſed, that by this means he had got the province to himſelf, without proceeding harſhly with his old friend, and a man in high credit with the army, ſuppoſing that now he ſhould diſpoſe of every thing according to his pleaſure. But when the *Chaldæan* prieſts informed him that they by their *aſtrological rules* were certain, that if *Seleucus* eſcaped at preſent, he would be in proceſs of time not only a formidable, but ſucceſsful enemy, and that himſelf would fall in battle againſt him; *Antigonus* took it much to heart, remembering how theſe people had before foretold the death of *Heph æſtion*, as well as that of *Alexander*. Terrified therefore with gloomy apprehenſions, he diſpatched away ſome choſen ſquadrons of horſe to ſeize on *Seleucus*; but this method was taken too late, he had already reached the territories of *Ptolemy*, where he remained in perfect ſafety. The chagrin this accident gave *Antigonus* made him redouble his diligence in diſpoſing of the reſt of the provinces to his own advantage,

Antigonus *marches to* Babylon.

[c] Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra.

vantage. He quickly found how neceſſary all his care was, for before he had wi taken theſe precautions, *Seleucus* had raiſed him ſuch a number of enemies, that, with all his mighty power, he had enough to do to defend himſelf. *Ptolemy*, *Lyſimachus*, *Caſſander*, all leagued with *Seleucus*, in order to reduce the power of *Antigonus*, that they might themſelves be ſecure in their poſſeſſions: for though *Alexander* the ſon of *Roxana* was ſtill living, yet *Caſſander* impriſoned both him and his mother, and treated them only as private perſons, of which though *Antigonus* might be ſecretly glad, yet conceiving rightly that the putting on a contrary character would be of ſervice to his affairs, he openly inveighed againſt *Caſſander*'s conduct, and alledged, that he took up arms to vindicate the rights of the *royal houſe*; whereas in truth he was the firſt who openly invaded them by aſſuming ſovereign power, though he did not indeed as yet take upon him the *title* of *king* [d].

Antigonus *ſeizes* Syria *and* Phœnicia *Year after the flood* 2685. *Before Chriſt* 314.

As *Antigonus* immediately after the eſcape of *Seleucus* had marched into *Cilicia*, in order to refreſh and to recruit his army, ſo as ſoon as he was thoroughly informed of the confederacy ſet on foot againſt him, he determined to proceed firſt to hoſtilities, and to ſecure the provinces of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* at preſent in the hands of *Ptolemy*. He perfectly well diſcerned, that, in caſe of a war againſt ſo many princes, his being maſter at ſea would be of the laſt importance; and he hoped by conquering their countries, not only to have the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* ports, but alſo their ſhipping, at his devotion. In the former deſign he ſucceeded, yet with great difficulty; but in the latter he was totally diſappointed. *Joppa* and *Gaza* he reduced by force; as for *Tyre* it ſuſtained a ſiege of many months; with reſpect to the ſhipping, *Ptolemy* foreſeeing what would come to paſs, had withdrawn them to *Egypt*. However, *Antigonus* perſiſted in his former reſolution of being maſter of the ſea; in order to which, he ordered vaſt quantities of timber to be cut down in mount *Libanus* and other places in his dominions, which being ſent to the ports reſpectively neareſt to the places where they were cut, he had a vaſt fleet immediately upon the ſtocks. The wiſdom of his proceeding appeared evidently from an accident which happened to him at the ſiege of *Tyre*, where while he lay with his army on the ſea-coaſt, *Seleucus* with part of *Ptolemy*'s fleet paſſed by in ſpite of him, which exceedingly diſpirited his forces; but *Antigonus* reſtored their courage by aſſuring them that before the end of that ſummer he would have five hundred ſhips of war at ſea, which would be more than ſufficient to drive the enemy out of it; and this promiſe, by his great care and regular payment of all demands, he effectually performed. But as all human abilities are circumſcribed, whence it becomes impoſſible for one man to attend to all things, while *Antigonus* was intent upon theſe important affairs, the army of *Caſſander* made a great progreſs in the *Leſſer Aſia* [e].

Antigonus *repels* Caſſander

To remedy this evil, *Antigonus* marched thither with a great part of his army, leaving his ſon *Demetrius* with the reſt to preſerve the conqueſts he had made in *Syria* and *Phœnice*. That prince was not above twenty-two years old, but of abilities far beyond his years; he was brave and generous in the higheſt degree, well verſed in war, and a great deſpiſer of thoſe arts and ſhifts by which cunning men paſs for wiſe ones; he was kind to his friends, gentle to his enemies, and had an innate clemency, untinctured with private deſigns or future proſpects; if with all this his greatneſs had not ſupplied him with flatterers, who led him not to pollute, but to plunge himſelf into the groſſeſt vices, he would have been the worthieſt, as well as one of the moſt remarkable, princes of the age in which he lived. His amiable qualities gained him the love of the army committed by his father to his charge, and he became very agreeable to the inhabitants of the provinces over which he preſided for the ſpace of a year, while his father made war upon *Caſſander*, and ſo effectually humbled him, that he was content to make a peace on very indifferent terms, which, however, when he had better conſidered of it, he preſently broke and joined again with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*, to give *Antigonus* all the trouble he could [f].

Ptolemy *recovers* Syria.

The diverſions given by *Caſſander* to the arms of *Antigonus* afforded *Ptolemy* an opportunity of making a deſcent in *Cœlo-Syria*, and afterwards in *Cilicia*, out of which province he carried great ſpoils into *Egypt*. On his return thither, *Seleucus* inſtigated him to invade *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, ſhewing how detrimental a thing it was to his affairs for theſe provinces to remain in the hands of his enemies. *Ptolemy*, entering readily into the reaſon of the thing, began inſtantly to ſet on foot all the neceſſary prepara-

[d] Diodor. Plut, ubi ſupra. [e] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra Plut. in Demetrio. Justin. lib. xiv. [f] Diodor. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

tions for a war in thoſe parts. At laſt, when all things were in readineſs, he entered *Syria* with a gallant army; but he had advanced no farther than *Gaza*, when *Demetrius* put a ſtop to his progreſs by offering him battle; a general engagement enſued, which was very obſtinate and bloody; it ended, however, in the total overthrow of *Demetrius*, who had five thouſand men ſlain, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was *Python*, whom his father had aſſigned him for his collegue; he had been a principal officer in the army of *Alexander*, was a man of great abilities, and after the death of *Eumenes* had been received by *Antigonus* into the firſt place of his confidence and eſteem. After this rout, *Demetrius* retired with the remains of his army to *Azotus*, from whence he ſent deputies to *Ptolemy* to beg leave to bury his dead, which favour was not only granted him, but *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* ſent him back his royal pavilion, his whole equipage, and all the priſoners who had any dependence on his family. The reſt of the priſoners were ſent into *Egypt*. *Demetrius* finding it impoſſible for him to make head againſt the victorious army, abandoned *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria* to the victor. *Tyre* indeed made ſome reſiſtance. *Andronicus* commanded therein, who not long before had taken it for *Antigonus*. He was a man of ſpirit, and therefore abſolutely refuſed to part with a place of ſuch importance tamely. The city therefore was inveſted, but in a little time the gariſon mutinied, and *Andronicus* was forced to give it up to *Ptolemy*, who therewith recovered all that *Antigonus* had taken from him. *Seleucus* took this opportunity of requeſting his friend to comply with the promiſe he had made him, of furniſhing him with a body of troops for the recovery of the province of *Babylon*. *Ptolemy* very readily agreed to it, and aſſigned him a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, with which inconſiderable aſſiſtance, *Seleucus* not only poſſeſſed himſelf of *Babylon*, but alſo of *Media* and *Suſiana*, after having defeated *Nicanor*, who was governor of the former province for *Antigonus*. While *Seleucus* went on thus triumphantly, *Ptolemy* had a very unlucky accident; he had ſent *Cilles* his general with a conſiderable army to drive *Demetrius* out of *Upper Syria*, where he with the remains of his army ſtill continued. This *Cilles*, being a bold improvident man, highly contemned in himſelf an enemy ſo often beaten; for *Demetrius* had been driven from poſt to poſt after the battle of *Gaza*, without being able to make any conſiderable ſtand, which was the reaſon that *Cilles* doubted not but he would now retire as faſt as he ſhould preſs upon him; *Demetrius* having intelligence of this, reſolved to repair the falſe ſtep he had made at *Gaza*, by a quick proceeding here; he therefore ſent a ſmall party of horſe to view the camp of *Cilles*, and being informed that all things there were in a very careleſs condition, he inſtantly determined with himſelf to fall upon them; which reſolution he executed with ſuch celerity, that he totally defeated the enemy, and took *Cilles* himſelf with ſeven thouſand men priſoners. This action, as it contributed much to the glory of *Demetrius*, and to the intereſt of his father *Antigonus*, ſo it gave the former an opportunity of returning that civility which *Ptolemy* had done him after the battle of *Gaza*, in reſtoring the principal priſoners then taken. *Demetrius* therefore immediately ſent back *Cilles* and all his friends to the camp of *Ptolemy*, with the ſame compliment which had formerly been made to himſelf; that he fought not ſo much for intereſt as for glory. As ſoon as *Antigonus*, who was at that time in *Phrygia*, received advice of this victory, he inſtantly paſſed mount *Taurus*, and marched with all imaginable ſpeed to join his ſon, which having once performed, they marched with all their forces againſt *Ptolemy*, who clearly perceiving that he ſhould not be able to reſiſt ſo numerous an army, fluſhed with victory, demoliſhed moſt of the cities which were fortified in the provinces he had conquered, and then retired into *Egypt* with an immenſe load of ſpoil, and a vaſt number of people, not carried priſoners againſt their will, but who voluntarily followed his fortunes. Thus the provinces of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, returned again to their old maſter[g].

Antigonus, elated with this high run of fortune, conceived in his mind a deſire of ſubduing the *Nabathæans* or *Arabs*, inhabiting the deſarts bordering on *Judea*. Againſt theſe he diſpatched his general *Athenæus*, who at firſt proceeded very warily in his expedition; for having with him but four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, he knew that in attacking ſo numerous a people, conduct would be of greater uſe than courage. He had intelligence that moſt of the *Arabs* were gone to a mart

Antigonus *makes war on the* Arabs. *Year after the flood* 2688. *Year before Chriſt* 311.

or

[g] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

or fair, where the *Syrians* and they barterred their commodities, and that on this account their chief city *Petra*, where they left their wives and children, and their wealth, was but ſlenderly guarded. Upon this he marched with his forces three days and three nights at an incredible rate; for, if the numbers are right in *Diodorus*, they muſt have gone ſixty miles in twenty-four hours. This expedition effectually anſwered their end, for they inveſted the place before the *Arabs* had the leaſt intelligence; and having cut the guards to pieces, plundered the city, carried away a prodigious booty, beſides five hundred talents in ready money; they then marched back again about twenty miles, when, through exceſſive fatigue, they were conſtrained to halt; and lying in a careleſs manner, the *Arabs*, who had by this time intelligence of what had happened, followed them with ſuch expedition, that ſurrounding their camp, they put all therein to the ſword, ſixty horſe excepted, who made their eſcape at the beginning of the attack. The *Arabs* were not ſatisfied with this; they ſent immediately deputies to *Antigonus* to complain of the injury offered them by *Athenæus*, and to ſhew the neceſſity they were under of treating him and his troops as they did. *Antigonus*, knowing that it was not in his power to revenge what had happened at preſent, ſent them for anſwer, That *Athenæus* had made this expedition of his own head, and that he was very well pleaſed at what had befallen him. The *Arabs*, who knew how to diſſemble as well as he, feigned to be perfectly well ſatisfied of the truth of what he ſaid; but, in the mean-time, they poſted advanced guards at all the avenues into their country, and placed men in all their watch-towers to prevent their being ſurprized again in the ſame manner. Their ſuſpicions and precautions were perfectly juſt; for *Antigonus*, as ſoon as he had recruited his army, ſent his ſon *Demetrius*, with four thouſand light-armed foot and as many horſe, to revenge the death of *Athenæus*. The young prince at the head of his forces paſſed in three days time through the deſart; but when he arrived at the city of *Petra*, he found it well gariſoned, and that the country being thoroughly alarmed, all the cattle, and whatever elſe was worth taking away, had been long ſince ſecured. However, he cauſed it to be inveſted, and afterwards formally beſieged the place; the gariſon, however, made a glorious defence, and refuſed to hear of any terms, declaring, that if they could have borne ſlavery, they needed not have retired, as it were, out of the world, and placed all hopes of ſafety in the ſtrength of a fortreſs and their own valour. *Demetrius* therefore finding that this would be a work of time, and knowing that his retreat would be attended with great hazard, gave the beſieged to underſtand, that provided they ſent deputies to appeaſe his father *Antigonus*, made himſelf certain preſents, and ſent refreſhments to his army, he would be content to leave them. With theſe propoſitions they immediately complied, and *Demetrius* thereupon marched back to the lake of *Aſphaltes*, of which he cauſed an exact deſcription to be made, as alſo ſome computation to be framed of the profit of the *bitumen* taken thence, and of the quantity of *balm* gathered from the famous plantation not far from that place, ſo much admired, and prized under the name of *balm of Gilead*. Theſe things performed, he returned to his father, and gave him an account of his proceedings. *Antigonus* was very little pleaſed with the peace he had concluded with the *Nabatheans*; but he highly applauded his ſon's diſcoveries, eſpecially on account of the profit he hoped to make of the *bitumen* and *balm*. He appointed therefore *Hieronymus* the *Cardian* one of the friends of *Eumenes*, and now his own, to ſuperintend thoſe he ſent to the lake to collect all the *bitumen* they could find, and to carry it to a place aſſigned, in order to be ſold for the uſe of *Antigonus*. *Hieronymus*, who was now a man in years, executed this commiſſion with all the prudence and fidelity imaginable, neither did he meet with any interruption from the *Arabs*, till ſuch time as they had collected the *bitumen* and were carrying it away. Then with ſix thouſand men they came down, and ſurrounded thoſe who were employed in the work, and having cut moſt of them to pieces, carried the *bitumen* clear off. *Hieronymus* himſelf eſcaped, and thus ended all attempts upon the *Arabians* [h].

Demetrius *ſent againſt* Seleucus.

As ſoon as *Antigonus* had received advice of the mighty progreſs made by *Seleucus* in the eaſt, he determined to ſend away his ſon *Demetrius* with an army to oppoſe him, which accordingly he did; this army conſiſted of five thouſand *Macedonian* foot, ten thouſand mercenaries, and four thouſand horſe, with whom the prince immediately marched towards *Babylon*. *Seleucus* was at this time in *Media*, intent on ſettling his affairs in the upper provinces, and *Patrocles*, whom he had left preſident of *Babylon*, perceiving

[h] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio.

a perceiving that his forces would not be able to reſiſt the army of *Demetrius*, he firſt of all compelled the citizens of *Babylon* to abandon the place, and to retire, ſome into the deſarts, ſome into *Suſiana*, and ſome to fly much farther; he then withdrew himſelf and his troops into ſuch faſtneſſes as he thought would effectually enable them to defend themſelves. When therefore *Demetrius* entered *Babylon*, he to his great amazement found it deſerted, except the caſtles in which there were good gariſons, both of which he beſieged; one he quickly reduced, and gave the ſpoil thereof to his ſoldiers; but the other holding out till the time was expired, which his father had allotted him for this expedition, *Demetrius* left five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe under the command of *Archelaus* to carry on the ſiege, and with the reſt of
b his forces marched away, ſuffering his ſoldiers to live, as he retired, at diſcretion; whereby the hearts of the people were ſo eſtranged from himſelf and his father, that the *Babylonians* were ever after as firmly attached to *Seleucus*, as if he had been their natural prince (D). *Demetrius*, marching with his army into the *Leſſer Aſia*, found the city of *Halicarnaſſus* beſieged by *Ptolemy*; whereupon he took ſuch meaſures as obliged that prince to raiſe his ſiege, whereby he acquired great reputation, and did his father eminent ſervice; for immediately upon this, the confederate princes entered into a treaty with *Antigonus*, whereby it was agreed that *Caſſander* ſhould hold *Macedonia*, *Lyſimachus Thrace*, *Ptolemy Egypt* and its dependencies, and *Antigonus* all *Aſia*; with a proviſo, that the *Grecian* cities ſhould every-where be free. In this treaty it was
c alſo mentioned, that theſe provinces were held in truſt only for *Alexander Ægus*, the ſon of *Alexander the Great* by *Roxana*, who had now held the regal title ſeven years alone, that is, from the time his collegue *Aridæus* or *Philip* was murdered by *Olympias*. But very ſoon after this peace was made, *Caſſander*, who had before put to death the mother of *Alexander*, cauſed his wife and ſon, now about fourteen years of age, to be privately ſlain alſo by the keeper of the caſtle, wherein they were confined. From this time therefore thoſe who had been before governors of provinces were now ſovereigns, and we might here very well commence the reign of *Antigonus* and his ſon *Demetrius* in *Aſia*; but inaſmuch as they did not aſſume the title of kings till ſometime afterwards, we are inclined to follow the example of *Ptolemy*,
c who, notwithſtanding the death of *Alexander Ægus*, reckons ſtill by the years of his reign, till *Ptolemy Soter* aſſumed the regal title as well as authority. But to proceed; this peace was broke almoſt as ſoon as it was made, under pretence that *Antigonus* had put gariſons into ſome of the *Greek* cities. *Ptolemy* then invaded *Cilicia*, and took ſeveral cities, while the reſt of his confederates attacked *Antigonus* elſewhere, all with very indifferent ſucceſs. *Demetrius* was ſent by his father into *Cilicia* to recover the cities there loſt, which he effectually performed; but in the mean time, *Ptolemy* reduced the greateſt part of the iſland of *Cyprus*, which was of great advantage to him. Soon after he made a deſcent into the *Leſſer Aſia*, where he made various conqueſts, as alſo

in

(D) In this part of our work we make uſe of two authors, viz. *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, who differ from each other very often; it is therefore but reaſonable that we ſhould acquaint our readers where, and upon what reaſons we prefer one to the other, and this we ſhall do in few words. *Diodorus* had in view the writing a complete body of hiſtory, and therefore he is very exact in his chronology, and very nice in his deſcriptions; with reſpect to both, uſing the beſt authorities that were to be had in his days. *Plutarch* intended his lives chiefly as a moral performance, and therefore he is more careful in marking out of characters, than in accurately digeſting facts. On this account, in the order of time, and in the deſcription of ſieges and battles, we moſtly follow *Diodorus*; but as to perſonal circumſtances, and what was either ſaid or done by the kings themſelves, we take *Plutarch* for our guide. On this occaſion it may not be amiſs to mention a particular fact, wherein theſe hiſtorians do not agree, and wherein we ourſelves have taken the liberty to differ from a very judicious writer of our own nation. *Diodorus* informs us, that when *Demetrius* quitted *Babylon*, he left behind him *Archelaus*, with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to beſiege one of the caſtles, the other of which he told us *Demetrius* had taken and ſpoiled (10). *Plutarch* in his account of this tranſaction affirms, that *Demetrius* put a gariſon of ſeven thouſand men into the caſtle which he had reduced, but he ſays nothing of his leaving an army behind him (11). Dean *Prideaux* joins theſe facts together, and makes *Demetrius* leave a gariſon of ſeven thouſand men, and an army of ſix (12). It is expreſly ſaid by *Diodorus*, that his whole army conſiſted but of nineteen thouſand men; it ſeems to us therefore improbable, that he ſhould leave thirteen thouſand behind him, and eſpecially when we conſider, that *Plutarch* ſays in ſo many words, he led back the groſs of his army. If we might have leave to offer a conjecture, we think it not impoſſible, that *Archelaus*, when he found he could not take the other caſtle, repaired and gariſoned that which had been taken, with his corps of between ſix and ſeven thouſand men. This reconciles both the ſtories, offers violence to neither, and is perfectly conſiſtent with the rules of good ſenſe, and of war.

(10) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xix. (11) *Plutarch in Demetrio, & in Apophthegm. Reg.* (12) *Connexion of the Old with the New Teſtament, P.* 1. *Book* viii.

in the *Archipelago*; he likewiſe entered into a treaty with *Cleopatra*, ſiſter to *Alexander the Great*, who reſided at *Sardis*, and who in her turn had been ſolicited by *Caſſander*, *Antigonus*, and *Lyſimachus*, to marriage, but in vain. Yet now either out of regard to *Ptolemy*, who was every-where applauded for an excellent prince, or out of pique to *Antigonus*, on account of her being very ſtrictly looked after, ſhe began to liſten to the propoſitions made her, and actually attempted to make her eſcape to *Ptolemy*'s camp. The governor of *Sardis*, having intelligence of this, cauſed her and the ladies who were with her to be arreſted, as alſo the women attending on her perſon; and to thoſe, in purſuance of the orders of *Antigonus*, he gave directions that they ſhould put her to death, which accordingly they did. When *Antigonus* received advice of this, he abſolutely diſclaimed all knowledge of the fact; and to make his innocence appear the clearer, he ordered the heads of the women concerned to be ſtruck off, and buried *Cleopatra* with great ſolemnity. Happy for him, if with her he could have buried the odium, which, in ſpite of all his artful contrivances, her death brought upon him [1]!

Demetrius *defeats* Ptolemy *in a ſea fight. Year after the flood* 2693. *Before Chriſt* 306.

An eager thirſt of glory put *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* on an expedition into *Greece*: his pretence was the ſetting the *Grecian* cities free; his real intent to aggrandize his father and himſelf by leſſening the power of *Caſſander*, who had garriſoned many of thoſe cities. We ſhall not here meddle with that war, becauſe we have elſewhere given a very full account of it; we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that he performed very well all he promiſed, and as he diſpoſſeſſed *Caſſander* of the cities, ſo he put no garriſons into them himſelf, but left them intirely at liberty, and, according to his father's commands, prepared to carry on the war againſt *Ptolemy*. In the firſt place he landed in *Caria*; then he ſailed into *Cilicia*, and having there recruited his army to fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, and got together a fleet of upwards of one hundred and fifty ſail of long ſhips, beſides tranſports, he made a deſcent on *Cyprus*. As ſoon as he had landed his troops, he, like a wiſe commander, drew his veſſels aſhore, and took ſuch precautions for their ſafety as were neceſſary, and then beſieged the cities of *Urania* and *Carpaſia*, and took them. After this ſucceſs he advanced towards *Salamis*, the capital city, wherein *Menelaus* the brother of *Ptolemy* commanded. This man was not only a bold and vigilant, but alſo a very enterprizing officer. He reſolved to fight before he was ſhut up, that he might have ſome trial of the invader's forces, and alſo diminiſh them a little before they undertook a ſiege. With this view having collected twelve thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, he preſented himſelf to *Demetrius*, as he was marching to *Salamis* in order of battle. This young captain, no leſs fond of fighting than he, immediately engaged and routed his forces, killing a thouſand on the ſpot, and taking three thouſand priſoners, whereupon *Menelaus* fled with the reſt into *Salamis*, and prepared to make an obſtinate defence. *Demetrius* inſtantly inveſted the city, and, as he piqued himſelf particularly on being a great engineer, carried on his attacks with much ſkill and wonderful vigour, inſomuch, that *Salamis* was on the point of falling into his hands, when *Ptolemy* being informed of its condition, came in perſon to ſave it. He arrived with his fleet at *Citium* about twenty miles from *Salamis*, and immediately ſent to deſire his brother to ſend ſixty ſhips which lay in the harbour to join his fleet; but that was found impracticable, for *Demetrius* on the firſt intelligence had equipped his fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the haven therewith. *Ptolemy*, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, weighed anchor and ſtood for *Salamis*, having with him one hundred and forty ſhips of war, and ten thouſand men on board two hundred tranſports. *Demetrius* had but a hundred and eighty ſhips of war, beſides ten which were left to guard the mouth of the haven; however, he reſolved not to ſhun an engagement. By way of precaution, he drew his cavalry down to the ſtrand, that they might cover any veſſels compelled to run aſhore, and receive ſuch as might be driven to ſwim for ſafety. The battle was very obſtinate and bloody: *Ptolemy* broke that wing againſt which he fought in perſon; but *Demetrius*, chiefly through his own courage and ſkill in naval affairs, broke through the centre, and entirely defeated his enemies fleet. Juſt as the fight was over, and *Demetrius* returning in triumph, the ſixty ſail of ſhips broke out of the haven of *Salamis*, but were conſtrained to ſail back again for fear of *Demetrius*. This

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch in Demetrio. Justin. lib. xiv.

a This was reputed the moſt glorious action of his life; here he took forty ſhips of war, and ſunk fourſcore; he alſo took a hundred tranſports, with eight thouſand ſoldiers on board, which proved of the laſt conſequence to him, for he incorporated moſt of them into his army. The largeſt ſhip in the fleet he cauſed to be fitted up after the beſt manner poſſible, in order to ſend in it certain lords to carry the news of his victory to *Antigonus*, which, however, he delayed, till *Salamis* ſurrendered, where-by his priſoners were increaſed to ſeventeen thouſand; among whom were *Menelaus* the brother, and *Leontiſcus* the ſon of *Ptolemy*, both of whom he immediately diſ-charged, and ſent home to *Egypt*, with all their friends and dependents, deſiring them to acquaint *Ptolemy* that he had not forgot the kindneſs done him in *Cilicia*. While *Demetrius* was ſettling his affairs in *Cyprus*, the meſſengers on board the galleon ſailed b to the coaſts of *Syria*; and *Ariſtodemus*, who was the chief of them, went on ſhore, and with great parade informed *Antigonus* of the complete victory gained by his ſon. It was upon this occaſion that the old man conceiving it of no longer uſe, laid aſide his modeſty, and took the title of king, putting a crown upon his head, and ſending another to his ſon with a letter of congratulation, thus addreſſed, *To the excellent majeſty of king* Demetrius. As ſoon as this was known in *Egypt*, the people, to ſhew their love for *Ptolemy*, compelled him to accept the ſame title; upon which *Lyſimachus* alſo aſſumed it, as did likewiſe *Seleucus*; and *Caſſander* ſuffered it to be given him, though he did not make uſe of it in any of his writings [k].

State of Antigonus's *court.*

It may ſeem ſtrange that ſo politic, as well as ſo ambitious, a prince as *Antigonus* c was, ſhould thus aſſociate his ſon in the empire, and permit him not only to wear the title of king, but to ſhare alſo in the adminiſtration; but if we conſider attentively this tranſaction, we ſhall agree, that in this he was more happy, than either in his titles, or in his kingdoms. For *Demetrius* was not only dutiful and loyal to his fa-ther, but had ſo warm an affection for his perſon, that he was, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, *Antigonus*'s beſt friend. As all degrees of bliſs are either heightened or leſſened by compariſon, ſo to the happineſs of *Antigonus* in this reſpect appeared with the brighter luſtre on account of the family diſſenſions in the courts of his ſeveral rivals; of which he was ſo ſenſible, that having given audience one day to the em-baſſadors of *Caſſander*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyſimachus*, and they being withdrawn, he or- d dered them to be called back, becauſe his ſon *Demetrius* coming in warm from hunt-ing, went into his father's apartment, kiſſed him, and then ſat down with his javelins in his hand. When the embaſſadors demanded what his pleaſure was, *Tell your maſters*, ſaid *Antigonus*, *beſides what I before mentioned to you, upon what terms my ſon and I live*. The ſenſe the father had of the ſon's inviolable attachment to him, made him ſo readily compliment him with the regal dignity; we ſhall ſee this old politician miſtaken in many inſtances, but never in this, in which ſo many fathers have erred. But theſe events we reſerve for the following ſection [l].

[k] Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi ſupra.

[l] Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi ſupra.

SECT. VII.

The History of the reign of Antigonus, *and his ſon* Demetrius, *in* Aſia.

The character of Antigonus. *Year after the flood* 2695. *Before Chriſt* 304.

e AS we are for the future to ſpeak of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* as kings, it is fit that we ſhould open this ſection with ſome account of their family. *Antigonus* was the ſon of *Philip* a nobleman; he eſpouſed *Stratonice* the daughter of *Correus*, a lady of remarkable beauty; by her he had two ſons, *Demetrius* and *Philip*, the former named after his uncle, the latter after his father. We have ſeen after what manner he roſe from being an officer in *Alexander*'s army, to be lord of many of the faireſt provinces of which his empire was compoſed; but hitherto we have ſpoke but ſlightly of the manner in which he ruled them. Ambition was his capital vice, and indeed it led him into a multitude of very bad actions; he had, however, ſeveral great qualities, and ſome good ones. In the midſt of his proſperity, he was wiſer than his maſter. f For when *Hermodotus* a *Greek* poet, not contented with making him a god, ſtiled him alſo the *offſpring* of the *ſun*, *I can't tell how that is*, ſaid *Antigonus*; *but he that empties*

empties my close-stool, never said any thing of my celestial origin. At another time when he was complimented upon his recovery from sickness, *This disease*, said he, *came only to put me in mind, that being a mortal, I should not grasp at any thing above a mortal.* In his disposition he was rough and boisterous, and as he was a great soldier, so he trusted too much to arms; for though by them he acquired large territories, yet he could not keep them so easily as *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* did their dominions, who made use of beneficence and clemency as the main pillars of their government. Of this *Antigonus*, when he grew old, became sensible; and therefore when he was told that men wondered his government grew milder, as he grew in years, *It is*, said he, *because I would keep through good-will what I got by force.* When his necessities required it, he would sometimes fleece his subjects severely, and when he was put in mind that *Alexander* did not so, *True*, said he, *for* Alexander *reaped* Asia, *and I do but glean.* In private matters he was strictly just: *Marsyas* his brother would have had him heard a cause, in which he was party, in his chamber. *No, my dear brother*, answered *Antigonus*, *I will hear it in the open court of justice, because I must do justice.* After all, his chief felicity was the manner in which he lived in his family; where, as he loved his wife and children, his wife and children really loved him: as for his second son, he died young, but not till he had performed things worthy of his descent; and there is a saying of his father's with respect to him mentioned by *Plutarch*, which shews at once the good sense and good humour of *Antigonus*. It happened on a march, that *Philip* was lodged at the house of a widow, who had three fair daughters; his father being informed of it, called for the quarter-master; *Hark ye, friend*, said he, *pray deliver my son out of these straights.* Thus much, as to the character of *Antigonus*; with regard to that of *Demetrius*, we have already spoken copiously in the foregoing section, and in the *Athenian* history. The father was now in the zenith of his glory, and the son in the very prime of his age; we need not wonder therefore at their so readily accepting the alluring honours of the kingly state [a].

The Egyptian *expedition.*

TO adorn the crowns they had put on, an expedition into *Egypt* was immediately resolved on, not with a design of carrying war into the enemy's country, or of straightening *Ptolemy* so much as to oblige him to accept of peace, but with a view to drive him intirely out of his dominions, that they might be annexed to those possessed by *Antigonus* already. The mighty land-army raised for this purpose was commanded by *Antigonus* himself; the fleet which was to accompany it had *Demetrius* for its admiral; both fleet and army were suitable to the design itself, and those by whom it was conducted; the former consisted of a hundred and fifty stout gallies, and a hundred smaller vessels; the latter of eighteen thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and fourscore and three elephants. The general rendezvous of the land-forces was at *Antigonia*, a new city built by *Antigonus* in *Syria*; the fleet anchored on the coast; the kings expressed an earnest desire to be gone, but the ablest seamen in the fleet were very desirous of remaining where they were till the setting of the *Pleiades*, dreading the ill weather, which till then is frequent on the coast of *Egypt*; but *Antigonus* would not be detained; he therefore caused provisions of all sorts for ten days to be provided for his army, and having got together camels and other beasts of burthen sufficient, as he thought, to transport these necessaries and their baggage, he began his march through the deserts, which lie between *Gaza* and *Egypt*; in his passage his army was miserably fatigued, and the spirits of the people excessively broke. At last, having coasted mount *Cassius*, he perceived his fleet lying at anchor; but in a very indifferent state, many ships lost, more driven back to *Gaza*, and all the rest sorely shattered by the storm they had sustained. *Demetrius* intended to have sailed up one of the mouths of the *Nile*; but *Ptolemy* had so effectually secured these, and had disposed his troops on the coasts so judiciously, that no impression could be made; and if *Antigonus* had not supplied those on board with water and provisions, they must have perished in sight of the shore. This was a melancholy beginning; however, *Antigonus* marched on, hoping to rectify all things by his success in a battle; but *Ptolemy* was in no such haste; he had fortified all the fords of the *Nile*, and had considerable bodies of troops in these posts. He had besides an army of observation, with which he held *Antigonus* at bay, while in the interim he offered by proclamation every common soldier two *minæ*, (about six pounds five shillings *English*) and to every officer a talent, or one hundred and eighty-eight pounds.

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xx. PLUT. Apophthegm, Reg.

a if they would come over to him. He had practiſed the ſame thing when *Perdiccas* invaded *Egypt*, and he had the ſame ſucceſs now as then; for numbers deſerted to him; and if *Antigonus* had not poſted ſome choice troops on the road, the greateſt part of his army would have gone over; the rather, becauſe they were terrified with the dreadful puniſhments inflicted on thoſe who were ſeized as they were going off. At laſt tumults ariſing, *Antigonus* ſaw plainly that it would not be for his intereſt to remain any longer there; wherefore, to avoid farther miſchiefs, he retired with the army, as *Demetrius* ſailed back with the fleet towards *Syria*. To repair the credit of their arms, the kings immediately reſolved on a new expedition, which was the reduction of the iſland of *Rhodes*: For this ſome pretence was wanting; it was therefore demanded of the *Rhodians*, that they ſhould enter into a cloſe alliance with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* againſt all b their enemies; this, as it was foreſeen, they refuſed, becauſe, carrying on a great trade with *Egypt*, it was impoſſible for them to break with *Ptolemy*; however, fear engaged them to offer all that was in their power, which, however, *Demetrius* refuſed; and making a deſcent, beſieged the capital of the iſland, which coſt him a great deal of trouble to no purpoſe, except that he gained here the reputation of the greateſt engineer of his time, in conſequence of his contriving ſuch machines as had never been ſeen before, and that he likewiſe gave a new inſtance of his generoſity and clemency. For, whereas the *Rhodians* having taken a veſſel, on board of which were ſome rich hangings for his tent, as alſo certain letters from his wife *Philla*; ſent all to *Ptolemy*, yet, when they afterwards intreated *Demetrius* to ſpare the celebrated pic- c ture of their patron *Jalyſus*, which had coſt *Protogenes* ſeven years, and was eſteemed his maſter-piece; that prince anſwered, I would ſooner deſtroy the ſtatues of my father, than offer the leaſt injury to ſo exquiſite a piece. As for *Protogenes* himſelf, he worked as uſual in his houſe in the ſuburbs, and when *Demetrius* ſent for him, and asked him, How he came to be ſo fearleſs? *I know, Sir*, ſaid the painter, *that you make war againſt the* Rhodians, *but not againſt the ſciences*: Whereupon the king ſmiling, aſſigned him a guard. The ſiege of *Rhodes* had laſted long, and the ſpirits of *Demetrius*'s ſoldiers were almoſt exhauſted, when, happily for him, embaſſadors from *Athens* arrived to implore his aſſiſtance againſt *Caſſander*; this gave him a pretence to d make peace with the *Rhodians* on theſe terms, that they ſhould ſerve *Antigonus* againſt all his enemies, except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Then *Demetrius*, ſailing with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great army on board, ſteered for *Attica*, where he landed, having conſtrained *Caſſander* to retire towards *Macedon*; but when he came near *Thermopylæ*, *Demetrius* fell upon his rear, and gave him ſo rude a ſhock, that his troops ſeemed rather to fly than to march through *Theſſaly* afterwards. Upon this a corps of ſix thouſand *Macedonians* left in *Greece* revolted to the victor, and *Demetrius* returned in triumph to the ſea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*. This extraordinary flow of ſucceſs bore down before it almoſt all the virtues of *Demetrius*; for he be- e gan now to exceed *Alexander* in vanity, ſtyling himſelf *king* of *kings*, drinking the healths of *Seleucus*, *Caſſander*, *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolemy*, as great officers of his ſtate and houſhold. In debauchery he ſunk far below the dignity of human nature, indulging himſelf not only in ſenſual pleaſures, but in a vice which ought to want a name; he likewiſe deviated into groſs impiety that never-failing road to ruin; and forgetting his father's former moderation, would needs be ſtyled a *god*, and the younger brother of *Minerva*. It may indeed be ſaid in his excuſe, that he had kept his ſenſes, if the wits of *Athens* had not ſeduced him; however it was, from this time forwards his affairs declined, and though ſometimes the proſpect cleared, yet the ſtorm which now began to riſe did not blow over, till it had wrought his as well as his father's ruin [b].

Caſſander, fearing that *Demetrius* would purſue the blow he had already given him, and, after compelling him to leave *Greece*, follow him into *Macedonia*, ſent deputies to *Antigonus* in *Syria*, in order to treat of a peace; but *Antigonus* would hear of no other terms than his ſubmitting himſelf and his dominions to his pleaſure, ſo that theſe negotiations came to nothing, and *Caſſander* was forced to ſend to his old confederates, in order to engage them in a new alliance againſt this formidable conqueror; they readily liſtened to his propoſal, for they perfectly well diſcerned, that when once *Macedonia* was ſubdued, *Antigonus* would fall upon them next. To prevent this, they entered into a treaty with *Caſſander*; and *Lyſimachus*, having obtained from him a part of his army, reſolved to paſs over into *Aſia*, and fall upon *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and other provinces;

A new confederacy againſt Antigonus. *Year after the flood* 2707. *Before Chriſt* 302.

[b] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio.

provinces; which accordingly he did, and proceeded with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Antigonus* a was not a little alarmed when acquainted therewith, as he was celebrating ſhews and gymnic ſports at his new city of *Antigona*. He did not, however, loſe his courage when he was made acquainted with this formidable confederacy; on the contrary, he behaved himſelf with more alacrity and ſpirit than could have been expected from a man of his years and in his condition; for he was now upwards of eighty and exceſſively corpulent. His ambition, however, was ſtill ſo ſtrong, that he could not help ſaying publickly, *That he would ſcatter the confederates, as eaſily as boys do birds among the corn, by throwing a ſtone amongſt them.* In order to make good his words, he began to draw together his forces immediately; and as ſoon as he had aſſembled a ſufficient army, he croſſed mount *Taurus*, and came down into *Cilicia*, where having taken a b conſiderable ſum out of the treaſury of *Quinda*, he made uſe of it to recruit his troops, which were ſoon in a condition not only to recover the places that had been loſt, but even to offer *Lyſimachus* battle. That crafty old captain did not, however, preſs on an engagement, but on the contrary kept on the defenſive, knowing well, that if he loſt a battle, he loſt all; but that *Antigonus* in ſuch a caſe had many provinces to retire to. *Lyſimachus* therefore propoſed an accommodation, but *Antigonus* would hearken to nothing; ſo the winter was ſpun out in preparations on both ſides, and early in the ſpring *Seleucus* with his own and *Ptolemy*'s forces began his march, in order to join *Lyſimachus*; of which when *Antigonus* had notice, he inſtantly ſent to recal *Demetrius* out of *Greece*, beginning now to foreſee that he ſhould have enough c to do to defend himſelf againſt ſo many and ſo potent adverſaries. *Demetrius*, as ſoon as he had received his father's commands, entered into a proviſional treaty with *Caſſander* for preſerving the peace and freedom of *Greece*. We call this treaty proviſional, becauſe it was not to remain in force, if *Antigonus* refuſed to ratify it; the deſign of both parties being to gain time, and an opportunity of attending their other affairs by acceding to this treaty, which gave liberty to *Greece*. On the concluſion of it, *Demetrius* found not only himſelf at liberty to return, but his forces alſo, there being now no neceſſity of leaving an army, as he had firſt deſigned, in *Peloponneſus*.

The fatal battle of Ipſus. *Year after the flood.* 2698. *Before Chriſt* 301.

When the ſeaſon of the year permitted, *Demetrius* tranſported his forces into *Aſia*; d and, having recovered *Epheſus* from *Lyſimachus*, marched ſtrait to join his father. By this time *Seleucus* was at hand, and the news of his approach did not come ſooner than that of *Ptolemy*'s irruption into *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœlo-Syria*, where he carried all before him, and in a ſhort time reduced all thoſe provinces, excepting only the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which, being ſtrongly gariſoned, held out for *Antigonus*; but after theſe rapid conqueſts, *Ptolemy*, who had ſet down before the laſt mentioned city on a flying report, that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*, raiſed his ſiege, and retired haſtily into *Egypt*. By this time the two grand armies in *Phrygia* were ready to engage; that of *Antigonus* conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants. The forces of *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus* conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand foot, ten thouſand five hundred horſe, four hundred elephants, e and one hundred and twenty chariots of war. Now it was, that *Antigonus* varied a little from his uſual manner of behaviour; for, inſtead of appearing as he was wont to do with a frank and open countenance, he ſhewed himſelf very thoughtful and melancholy, was frequently ſilent; and whereas he formerly never conſulted with any body, but gave out his orders with extraordinary vivacity, he was now very ſlow in his reſolutions, conſulted much with *Demetrius*; and once, as he was reviewing his troops, recommended him to the officers as his ſucceſſor. Theſe things were thought to ſhew that his uſual confidence had forſaken him: The morning of the battle, as he was coming out of his tent, he fell down and bruiſed himſelf; upon which riſing up f as well as he could, *Immortal gods*, ſaid he, *grant me victory, if it be your will; but if not, let me fall in battle, and not ſurvive my fading glory.* When the armies were diſpoſed in order of battle, *Demetrius*, having the command of the beſt part of his father's horſe, charged ſo fiercely on the cavalry of *Seleucus* commanded by his ſon *Antiochus*, that he quickly broke and put them to flight; but purſuing them too far, he thereby loſt all; for *Seleucus* immediately interpoſed his elephants in ſuch a manner, that *Demetrius* could never rejoin his infantry; and having done this, *Seleucus* marched with his foot to attack *Antigonus*, where he fought in perſon. The brave old man on this occaſion behaved with great wiſdom; but *Seleucus*, making a ſhew of charging him

c Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio. Justin. lib. xv. c. 4.

him in flank, *Antigonus* was forced to alter his disposition; which gave opportunity to many traitors in his army to go over to the enemy, which they did, thereby creating such a confusion, that his forces were quickly broke, and himself, at the head of a very few, left to sustain the shock. When the enemy were about to charge him, one who was near him cried out, *Sir, consider what you do; they are coming down upon you. Let them come*, said *Antigonus*; Demetrius *will come to our assistance.* But, while he cast his eyes about in vain for his son, a shower of arrows deprived him of life, and he fell from his horse upon the ground, having only one servant that staid by his body. This was the fatal battle of *Ipsus*, so called from a town and river of *Phrygia*, near which it was fought. And thus fell the empire of *Antigonus* with himself, when he had borne the regal title about four years, and was as many above fourscore[d].

Demetrius, with the poor remains of his army, which were no more than five thousand foot and four thousand horse, retired to *Ephesus*; and even doubting whether he should be safe there, he shortly quitted that place, and retired towards the sea. Many were of opinion, when he first entered that city, that he would have plundered the famous temple of *Diana*, in order to raise money to restore his affairs; but he did nothing of this sort, placing his chief hope in the loyalty of the *Athenians*, and therefore made all the haste he could thither, where he had left the best part of his plate, with his queen *Deidamia* and her retinue. But here his hopes miserably failed him, for the *Athenians* sent away his queen, and forbad him to enter their city. He, dissembling his resentment, very gladly received from them his ships, and, after visiting *Peloponnesus*, sailed away for the *Chersonese*, where landing, he committed great devastations in the territories of *Lysimachus*; at which the confederate princes were not at all displeased, for they liked this ally of theirs no better than *Demetrius*, and feared him much more. In the midst of his distresses a strange accident happened in the favour of *Demetrius*. *Seleucus* having heard wonderful things of the beauty of *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius* and *Philla*, the widow of *Craterus* and sister of *Cassander*, he sent to *Demetrius* to demand her in marriage. This extraordinary turn of fortune did not a little amaze *Demetrius* himself, who joyfully transported his daughter in his royal fleet to meet *Seleucus*. As he sailed along he was frequently constrained to put on shore for refreshment, which, amongst other places, he did in *Cilicia*, a province assigned by the princes to *Pistarchus* the brother of *Cassander*, who conceiving this in no other light than that of an invasion, immediately posted away to *Cassander*, to complain of the injury done him; of which when *Demetrius* was informed, he thought *Pistarchus* could do no more, if he carried matters a little farther; wherefore he ventured to seize the treasury at *Quinda*, and took from thence two hundred talents, which had been left by his father. Arriving on the coast of *Syria*, he was first met by his wife *Philla*, and then coming to the city of *Rossus*, he there found *Seleucus*, who immediately espoused *Stratonice*; and, in honour of the nuptials, nobly entertained *Demetrius* on shore; accepting also in his turn an invitation from his father-in-law, he was nobly feasted on board the royal galley, after which they parted. *Demetrius* sailing back again, made a new descent on *Cilicia*, and got intire possession of it; whereupon he sent his wife *Philla* to excuse him to her brother *Cassander*; and his other wife *Deidamia* dying of a cold she had caught at sea, he, by the interposition of *Seleucus*, espoused *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, which gave his affairs a new aspect. This fair weather, however, did not last long; for *Seleucus*, unsatisfied with the many provinces he possessed, would needs have *Cilicia*, for which he offered *Demetrius* a sum of money. This he refused; upon which *Seleucus* demanded *Tyre* and *Sidon*, threating, if they were not given up, he would take them by force. To which *Demetrius* answered, that if he had lost ever so many battles, every one of them as fatal as that of *Ipsus*, he would never part with cities in so tame a manner; and immediately gave orders for augmenting the garisons, and filling the magazines in the cities demanded. In the mean time he resolved himself to pass over into *Attica*, to be revenged for the affront which the *Athenians* had offered him immediately after the battle of *Ipsus*. In this expedition he was so roughly handled by a storm, that when he landed his troops in *Europe*, they were able to undertake nothing. He, however, soon after besieged the city of *Messene*, where he received an arrow in his jaw, which not only disfigured his face, but by the

Demetrius Poliorcetes *succeeds.*

[d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Arrian. in Syriacis.

the accidents attending the cure, threatened his life; yet he continued his siege, and afterwards his army increasing, he formed the blockade of *Athens*, which he reduced, and strongly garrisoned. After this he made war against *Sparta*; whereupon *Archidamus* marched at the head of all the forces of *Lacedæmon*, as far as the city of *Mantinea*, that, as long as was possible, the war might be kept out of his own country; but his success was not answerable to his prudence and courage; for he was here defeated by *Demetrius*, and afterwards beaten by him again within sight of *Sparta*; yet such was the inconstancy of this prince's fortune, that he either was beaten, or reaped no benefit from his victories; for, immediately after this battle, came news, that *Lysimachus* had conquered all he possessed in *Asia*; and that *Ptolemy*, after reducing the greatest part of the isle of *Cyprus*, had besieged the city of *Salamis*, in which were the mother and children of *Demetrius*; so that he had now no leisure to prosecute the war against *Sparta*. Before the sense of these mischiefs had long tormented the king's breast, a new and strange scene opened, which turned all his thoughts another way [e].

Demetrius *becomes king of* Macedonia. *Year of the world* 2705. *Before Christ* 294.

Cassander king of *Macedon* left behind him two sons, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, both pretending title to the kingdom; but the former, having married the daughter of *Lysimachus*, absolutely refused to grant any thing to the latter, who thereupon called in *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius* to his assistance. *Pyrrhus* came first, and made such an impression, that *Antipater* gladly compounded the matter with his brother, and allotted him half the kingdom, from which *Pyrrhus*, however, lopped a piece for his share; which proceeding giving *Alexander* to believe, that, when *Demetrius* arrived, he would take another proportion of his kingdom, he made all the haste he could to meet him, and at the interview thanked him for the assistance he brought, but assured him that he had no need of it; whereupon *Demetrius* prepared to return, which, however, *Alexander* meant not that he should do, having formed a scheme to murder him at supper. This *Demetrius* prevented by going away suddenly; yet, when they came to *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, *Alexander* began to practise again; for *Demetrius* having invited him to an entertainment, he went thither without guards, that *Demetrius* might have no pretence for bringing any with him; but his design being guessed at, *Demetrius* ordered him, and those who were with him, to be killed after supper; which command when his guards began to execute, one of *Alexander*'s friends cried out, *You have been to quick for us by a day.* The *Macedonian* army, when they received the news of the death of their king, were not a little surprised, supposing that *Demetrius* would take this opportunity of attacking and cutting them to pieces; which, however, he was so far from doing, that he sent to desire leave to justify himself as to the death of *Alexander*, which he did in a formal harangue. This had such an effect on the *Macedonians*, that they immediately saluted *Demetrius* king; and thus, when his affairs were most desperate, he acquired that kingdom, for which so many princes had struggled, not only by the free consent of the people, but also with some colour of right; for tho' *Antipater* the son of *Cassander* was living, yet the *Macedonians* might well hold him unworthy of a crown, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his *own mother*, the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* and sister of *Alexander*. Setting him aside, *Demetrius*, in right of his *wife*, was the next heir; and the sight of his son *Antigonus*, who was the grandson of old *Antipater*, influenced the *Macedonians* not a little, for they remembered how happily they had lived under his administration, and in what continual broils they had been ever since. The rest of the princes did not seem much displeased with an event which had fixed a crown on the head of the son of *Antigonus* at none of their expence. As for *Lysimachus*, while *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* were agreed, he thought it his interest to be well with both. *Ptolemy* having recovered *Cyprus*, dismissed the family of *Demetrius*, not only without injury, but with much respect, and with many magnificent presents. In the court of *Seleucus* a surprising change had happened, which yet was beneficial to *Demetrius*; for *Stratonice* was married to *Antiochus* her son-in-law. Thus all things at present contributed to leave *Demetrius* at his ease, excepting his own temper only, which, now he had no enemy left, inclined him to pick quarrels with his friends. But of these things in another place. In this chapter we are to consider him as a king in *Asia*, and therefore we shall proceed to the last attempt made by him for the recovery of his father's kingdom [f].

WHEN

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demet. JUSTIN. l. XV. c. 1. [f] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. XV. c. 2.

He endeavours the recovery of his father's kingdom.

a When he had reigned about six years in *Macedon*, partly to gratify his own ambition, and partly to employ the restless *Macedonians*, he began to make preparations for the conquest of *Asia*. In order to this, he set an army on foot of ninety eight thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. He likewise put a fleet of five hundred gallies upon the stocks, at *Pella*, *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*. Several of these gallies had fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen benches of oars; and they were all built by the particular contrivance of *Demetrius* himself, whose skill in this respect was not only admired by such as knew nothing more of ships than what their bulk and beauty dictated to their sight, but by the ablest artizans, who, without his directions, were incapable of constructing such vessels, as, with all the pomp of royal ships, had also
b all the strength, and all the conveniencies of ordinary ships of war. The noise of these preparations awakened *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy*; they therefore entered into a strict league against him, and, according to their old maxim in the days of *Antigonus*, determined to begin the war first. With this view they invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to enter into the confederacy, which he readily did, tho' he had learned the trade of war under *Demetrius*, who had taught him ingratitude too, for *Demetrius* had practised upon him first. This point once settled, *Ptolemy* sailed with a puissant fleet to invade *Greece*, at the same time that *Lysimachus* with a mighty army invaded *Macedon*. *Demetrius*, surprized with these quick proceedings, which came a little too soon for the state his affairs were in, levied, in as short a time as he was able, a
c considerable army, and marched therewith to oppose *Lysimachus*, dispatching at the same time his son *Antigonus* with another army to provide for the safety of *Greece*. When *Demetrius* was arrived within a short march of the enemy, he received advice, that *Pyrrhus* had entered *Macedon* on the other side, and had penetrated as far as *Berœa*; upon which the *Macedonians* began to mutiny, and *Demetrius* saw plainly, that they had an inclination to desert to *Lysimachus*. This made him apprehend that he had slipped in his politics, when he ventured to lead a *Macedonian* army against their old commander. To amend this therefore he made a short turn, and marched away directly to fight *Pyrrhus*, against whom, as a foreigner, he doubted not his troops would behave well; but in this he made a greater mistake than before: for no sooner
d he came near the enemy than his army began to desert in small parties. By degrees the *Macedonians* grew bolder, and went so far as to say openly in the camp, that the crown ought to belong to him, who most resembled *Alexander*; that in *Demetrius* indeed they saw his vanity, luxury, and pride, but that in *Pyrrhus*, against whom they were to fight, all the virtues of *Alexander* were conspicuous. When these notions had circulated among them a little while, the whole camp was in a tumult, and things at last issued in this, that some of the modestest and best meaning of the soldiers advised *Demetrius* to withdraw in time, and secure his person. Upon this he retired to his tent, laid aside his royal robes, and, in the habit of a private soldier, fled away without attendance to *Cassandria* [g].

He is expelled from Macedon.

e In this city he found his wife *Phila*, who, when she was informed of what had happened, overcome with grief, and ashamed to behold a daughter of *Antipater* at the lowest ebb of distress in *Macedon*, took poison, and so ended her days. *Demetrius*, in his worst fortunes, had always hopes; wherefore quitting *Macedon*, he withdrew into *Greece*, where having drawn together some of his friends, he began to form an army, which increasing by degrees, he marched to *Thebes*, and there assumed again the regal habit, and, as the first essay of his authority, restored the democratic authority in the city where he lived. As for the *Athenians*, as soon as they heard of his distress, without any other motive than mere ingratitude, they contrived to insult him, which provoked him so far, as to engage him to lead his
f new-raised army immediately to besiege their city. In this siege he had such success, that the *Athenians* were constrained to deprecate his vengeance by a solemn deputation, at the head of which was an eminent philosopher. *Demetrius*, who had always a tenderness for *Athens*, suffered himself to be persuaded to pardon even this new outrage; so that this expedition being at an end, he, of a sudden took it into his head to hazard another, which was for the recovery of *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lysimachus*. All his forces amounted to but eleven thousand men, and nothing could be more romantic than to hope, with so inconsiderable an army, to conquer a great part of *Asia*; however, he had necessity on his side, and a considerable body of desperate men

[g] Plut. in Demet. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2.

men to inforce whatever meaſures he thought fit to take. When he arrived at *Miletus*, he was met by *Eurydice* the ſiſter of his wife *Philla*. She brought with her a new wife for him, *Ptolemaida*, to whom he had been long ago contracted. The marriage was conſumated at *Sardis*, which he preſently took. Part of the forces of *Lyſimachus* revolting to him, and bringing with them a great ſum of money, enabled him to recruit his army effectually. All this, however, ſignified nothing; for *Agathocles* the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, coming againſt him with a very great army, and managing his command with great prudence, brought *Demetrius* into deep diſtreſs; for tho' the troops of the latter had the advantage in all the ſkirmiſhes which happened between them and the forces of *Agathocles*, yet, by avoiding an engagement, and making a proper uſe of his advantage in numbers, this young prince compelled *Demetrius* to retire into *Phrygia*, whither he followed him, and reduced his army to a ſtarving condition. *Demetrius*, ſhifting quarters often, at length paſſed the river *Lycus*, which being very rapid, many of his ſoldiers were drowned. This, with the other misfortunes they had endured, exaſperated the army to ſuch a degree, that they openly complained; and one day when *Demetrius* came out of his tent, he found theſe lines, which are a *Parody* on the beginning of the *Oedipus* of *Sophocles*, fixed over his door,

Thou ſon of blind Antigonus,
Where are we ?——

To add to theſe diſtreſſes, the plague broke out in his army, by which, in a very ſhort time, he loſt eight thouſand men. With the poor remainder he retired to *Tarſus*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, where he ordered his ſoldiers to obſerve exact diſcipline, till at laſt want forced them to diſpenſe with all orders. Then it was that he wrote to *Seleucus* in terms the moſt moving. He repreſented the grandeur from which he was fallen, the miſery to which he was reduced, and the ſmall hopes he had left. *Seleucus*, taking this matter into conſideration, ſent orders to the governors of provinces, to furniſh *Demetrius* with whatever was requiſite for him, not as a private man, but as a king; as alſo with proviſions for his army. This was done through the inclinations, and with a beneficence worthy of the king himſelf. But *Patrocles*, the prime miniſter of *Seleucus*, was of quite another ſentiment; he continually whiſpered in his maſter's ear, that, of all the princes of his time, *Demetrius* was the moſt enterprizing; that the more he was diſtreſſed, the more ready he muſt be to make any new attempt hope or deſpair might ſuggeſt to him; and that to afford ſupport to ſuch a perſon, was to nurſe a wild beaſt in his boſom. By degrees the miniſter's art overcame his maſter's clemency; ſo that, when *Demetrius* leaſt expected it, *Seleucus* advanced with a powerful army towards *Cilicia*, whereupon that unhappy prince was forced to take ſhelter in mount *Taurus*, from whence he ſent deputies to *Seleucus*, requeſting him, that he would permit him the liberty to attempt, by force of arms, to repair his broken fortunes againſt the barbarous nations, there to eſtabliſh a kingdom, where he might paſs the remainder of his life in quiet and repoſe, and not in that rigorous ſeaſon of the year, for it was now the middle of the winter, expoſe him to the fury of his implacable enemies in this diſtreſs, but to allow him a competent time and maintenance for his ſmall army, till the weather ſhould permit him to depart. But *Seleucus*, who, by this time, was become exceſſively jealous of him, ſent him word, that he would allow him to remain where he was but two months; and that, even in conſideration of this favour, he expected that he ſhould deliver as hoſtages his principal commanders. *Demetrius*, perceiving himſelf taken like a beaſt in a toil, flew with vindictive rage on his cruel perſecutors, and had the good luck to get the better of them in many encounters; particularly when he was beſet with armed chariots, by his perſonal valour, he engaged his ſoldiers to break through them, and thereby opened a paſſage into *Syria*; ſo that things taking a new turn, *Lyſimachus* thought it would be favourably received, if he made *Seleucus* an offer of his aſſiſtance; but that cautious prince liked no aſſiſtance; he therefore thanked *Lyſimachus*, and declined his favour; however, he ſpun out the war with *Demetrius*, not caring to truſt the fortune of that prince, which often, from a very miſerable ſtate, had ſuddenly raiſed him to great proſperity. Even at this time *Demetrius* was in a better condition than could have been expected; and his forces, as they had been always victorious under his conduct, ſo they were very tractable and obedient, in hopes that his good fortune would put it in his power to reward them.

But

a But while his mind was big with a thouſand projects, *Demetrius* was ſeized with a malignant fever, which, in a ſhort time, took from him his ſenſes, ſo that for forty days he was able to give no orders. At the end of this ſpace he recovered his ſenſes, and in ſome meaſure his ſtrength; but, to his great affliction, he found his army miſerably mouldered away, and thoſe he had left very deſirous of getting into freſh quarters; a thing they had ſmall reaſon to hope, and which yet he promiſed them, and, by dint of his great skill in military affairs, performed; for making a ſudden and ſwift march towards *Cilicia*, he turned ſhort in the night, and paſſing mount *Amanus*, left *Seleucus* and his army far behind him. Thus his wearied army had once more ſome time given them for refreſhment. *Seleucus*, fearing he might recruit b where he was, marched towards him, and encamped at no great diſtance. Of this when *Demetrius* was informed, he reſolved to attack him that very night; and, if his meaſures had not been betrayed, would have taken him in his bed; as it was, he had but juſt time to mount, yet *Demetrius* perceiving that his deſign was diſcovered, would not hazard his forces, but retired. *Seleucus* reſolving to make uſe of this opportunity, preſſed him cloſe, and at laſt compelled him to fight in a very diſadvantagious ſituation. However, *Demetrius* having divided his forces into two bodies, he, at the head of one charged the troops of *Seleucus* ſo briſkly, that they were in great confuſion, till *Seleucus* himſelf diſmounting, led up his infantry, which obliging *Demetrius* to form his forces afreſh, *Seleucus*, as ſoon as they made a line, advanced to their front, and putting up the vizor of his helmet that he might be known, he exc horted them to lay down their arms, telling them, that it was for their ſakes he avoided coming to extremities ſo long; whereupon thoſe perfidious men ſhouted aloud, *Long live king* Seleucus, deſerting in a moment their old maſter, and the victory he had almoſt obtained. *Demetrius*, in this diſtreſs, retired, with a few who were about him, into a thick wood. At firſt he had thoughts of retiring to the ſea, and going on board his fleet; but when he conſidered how few people he had about him, he laid aſide this deſign as impracticable. The next day his boſom-friend, *Soſigenes*, arriving, and having with him four hundred pieces of gold, *Demetrius* reſumed his former deſign, and, as ſoon as it grew dark, ſallied from the wood, in order to puſh forward; d but it appearing by the fires lighted on every ſide, that the avenues were all ſecured by the enemy, the king was forced to retire back to his wood. In this retreat ſome of the inconſiderable band of horſe who were with him deſerted; whereby the reſt were ſo intimidated, that they began to talk of delivering up *Demetrius* to *Seleucus*, in order to preſerve themſelves; which when that unhappy prince overheard, he drew out his ſword, and would have run himſelf thro' the body, had not ſome who were near him interpoſed and prevented him. Then thoſe who had moſt intereſt with him took an opportunity of ſhewing the impoſſibility of his getting out of the province; and that therefore it would be prudence in him for once to ſubmit to fortune, and ſurrender to *Seleucus*. *Demetrius*, having weighed this propoſition duly, conceived it would be better to make that an act of choice, which was moſt likely would at length e be brought about by neceſſity, and thereupon diſpatched away deputies, to inform *Seleucus*, that he was ready to yield himſelf into his hands. Until theſe deputies returned, he remained ſtill in his dark retreat in the wood [h].

When *Seleucus* was informed of the reſolution which *Demetrius* had taken, he was exceedingly pleaſed, and having given the neceſſary directions for the reception of a perſon, who, beſides the high dignity he had held, ſtood in ſo near a relation to himſelf, could not help, even in the preſence of his whole court, breaking out into theſe words: *It is not the fortune of* Demetrius *which hath thus provided for his ſafety, but mine, which hath been watchful for my glory. I thank her more for this, than for all the favours ſhe has done me, becauſe I eſteem an act of clemency more honourable than any* f *victory.* The many noble and generous things ſaid by *Seleucus* in this high flow of fortune, inclined many of his courtiers to believe, that *Demetrius*, from being himſelf a king, would become the chief favourite of a king. In order therefore to ſecure their own intereſts, they immediately determined to go and pay their court to him, as ſoon as he ſhould come into the quarters of *Seleucus*. *Apollonides*, who had been formerly a courtier in the palace of *Antigonus*, was ſent to receive *Demetrius*, and when he had brought him to the village aſſigned, almoſt the whole court of *Seleucus* went

Demetrius *yields himſelf to* Seleucus.

[h] Plut. in Demet.

to pay their compliment to his father-in-law. When the miniſters about *Seleucus*, who hated *Demetrius*, perceived this, they inſtantly put him in mind of the dangerous conſequences which might attend his nobles and commanders entering into familiarity with a perſon of ſuch a dextrous addreſs, and ſuch ſurpriſing intrepidity. Theſe inſinuations had the effect deſired by thoſe who made them, inſomuch, that while *Demetrius* was entertaining his old acquaintance and new friends, *Pauſanias*, with a guard of a thouſand horſe, came to conduct him, not as he hoped, to the preſence of *Seleucus*, but a caſtle in a demy-iſland, where he remained a priſoner. *Seleucus*, when he had provided for his own ſecurity, did all that could be thought of to make confinement eaſy to *Demetrius*. He ordered him royal entertainment within doors, a fine ſtable of horſes, and the uſe of a noble park without. To give him a reliſh of b
theſe pleaſures, hopes were cheriſhed, and promiſes of liberty intermixed, which were all made to depend on the coming of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, to whom the conditions, on which this freedom was to be obtained, were referred. All other arts were practiſed to amuſe *Demetrius*, and to divert his cares. At firſt he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded, and hoped, that after a time *Seleucus* would ſee him; but when he found this protracted, and that excuſe ſucceeded excuſe, he penetrated the deſign of his politic ſon-in-law, and without giving in to vain expectations, ſought by all methods to make his time as little tedious to him as might be. Hunting was for a while his chief diverſion; but, by degrees, he quitted it to give himſelf up to feaſting and carouſing; that, in wine and pleaſant converſation, the memory of paſt greatneſs and preſent ſorrows might be drowned; ſo hard a thing it is for thoſe who pre- c
tend to fight for repoſe to enjoy it, when they acquire it either in conſequence of their victories, or thro' the mere bounty of providence; and ſo much wiſer is it to moderate our deſires, than to place all hopes in their gratification.

The firmneſs of Demetrius *in his misfortunes*

It is the ſentiment of ſome hiſtorians, that *Demetrius* acted meanly, firſt in yielding himſelf up priſoner; and ſecondly, in ſurviving ſo long the loſs of his glory; but if we examine this matter to the bottom, we ſhall find, that theſe cenſures are very raſh, and that there is no part of *Demetrius*'s life leſs liable to reproach than the firſt part of his impriſonment. He had ſhewn in his former actions, that he was not afraid of death, and, in the firſt tranſport of his deſpair, he ſought to have d
fallen by his own ſword. That he ſupported life afterwards, was the effect of reaſon, and a very laudable reſignation to the conduct of providence, as appears from the laſt publick act he did, which, without compariſon, was the nobleſt of his whole life. As ſoon as he was impriſoned, he wrote a letter to his ſon *Antigonus*, commending to him the care of his concerns in *Greece*, exhorting him to govern his ſubjects juſtly, to act always with moderation, and to look upon himſelf as dead; conjuring him never to part with any of the cities, or to give up any thing to *Seleucus* to procure his liberty, and never to give credit to any letter written with his hand, or ſealed with his ſeal, after this. We may ſurely look upon this as a moſt authentic proof of true courage; and, after this, we may ſafely alledge his bearing with life as another proof of it; for having acquitted himſelf to his family and his people, he e
might certainly indulge hopes to himſelf. As to his giving way to luxury at the laſt, and ſpending his time in banquets and drinking-matches, we ought to pity him, and profit by his example. He found, by fatal experience, that mirth and wine were no cures for grief; for while by them he ſought to ſtifle his concern, the ſtruggle between reſentment and a deſire of concealing it, added to his high living, induced a diſtemper, which, when he had been a priſoner three years, carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Thus died this active prince, who had ſo often been at the top, and ſo frequently at the bottom of fortune's wheel. His death delivered *Seleucus* from all apprehenſions, and not only him, but others; for his great accom- f
pliſhments, his ſingular addreſs, his taking preſence, and above all, his extraordinary military ſkill, made him always formidable, tho' his forces were ever ſo weak, and the places in his poſſeſſion ever ſo few [1].

His pompous funeral. *Year after the flood* 2716. *Before Chriſt* 283.

While *Demetrius* lay in priſon, many princes and ſtates, moved with the diſtreſs of ſo great a prince, ſued to *Seleucus* for his liberty. *Lyſimachus* only was baſe enough to offer him a vaſt ſum of money to put him to death; which, with the higheſt indignation, *Seleucus* refuſed, affirming, that neither envy, nor any ancient antipathy

[1] Plut. ubi ſupra. Justin. l. xvii.

a antipathy inclined him to confine *Demetrius*, but only a regard to his own ſafety, and a juſt attention to reaſons of ſtate. As *Demetrius* had rendered himſelf very remarkable for his filial piety towards his father, ſo his ſon *Antigonus* manifeſted as laudable an affection towards him; for notwithſtanding the letter his father had wrote him might, in the opinion of the world, have freed him from all cenſure, yet did he offer *Seleucus*, not only all that he held in *Greece*, but his own perſon in hoſtage, for his father's liberty; but this was refuſed. However, *Antigonus* continued earneſtly to ſolicit it by the moſt earneſt and paſſionate letters, as long as *Demetrius* lived, going in deep mourning during that ſpace, and never once partaking of any feaſts or diverſions while his father was in priſon. As ſoon as he underſtood that his father's aſhes were coming from *Syria*, he ſailed with a noble fleet to the *Archipelago* to meet
b them. He then depoſited them in an urn of gold, which, when he entred the harbour of *Corinth*, he placed in the poop of the royal galley, ſet his crown upon it, and covered it with a canopy of purple, himſelf ſtanding by clad in deep mourning, and his eyes red with tears. Moſt of the cities of *Greece* ſent chaplets to crown the urn, and deputations of their prime citizens to aſſiſt at the funeral. All the trophies of honour were left at *Corinth*, where the ceremony was performed; but the urn itſelf was tranſported to *Demetria*, a city to which the late king had given his name, which had been built under his direction, and peopled, by his command, out of the villages in the neighbourhood of *Iolchos*. Thus, in his death, he was more happy
c than in his life; for all concurred in honouring the memory of thoſe virtues which were no longer dreadful to them, and which had heretofore filled them with apprehenſions, on account of the reſtleſs ambition, which, while he was living, accompanied them in the breaſt of the poſſeſſor, and which was held unextinguiſhable but by death [k].

Account of his marriages and poſterity.

By the demiſe of *Demetrius*, the empire which his father erected in *Aſia* determined, and therefore we have nothing more to add to this ſection, excepting a ſhort account of the poſterity which *Demetrius* left behind him. He was a prince much addicted to women, and as, like other princes, he indulged this vice by keeping many concubines, ſo, like the *Macedonian* kings, he ſcrupled not marrying ſeveral wives.
d The firſt was *Philla* the daughter of *Antipater*. She was the widow of *Craterus*, and ſomewhat older than agreed with the age of her husband; however, *Antigonus* having ſhewed him what benefits would accrue to his family by the match, *Demetrius* was eaſily prevailed on to eſpouſe her. By this lady he had *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*; the former his ſucceſſor in his *European* dominions, the latter queen of *Aſia*, being the wife firſt of *Seleucus*, and after of his ſon *Antiochus*. *Demetrius* married for his ſecond wife *Eurydice*, an *Athenian* lady, ſaid to be deſcended from *Miltiades*. She too was a widow, having been firſt married to *Ophillas*, tyrant of *Cyrene*. She was extraordinary handſome, and her being an *Athenian* made her the more agreeable to *Demetrius*, who mightily affected that city. By this lady, ſome writers affirm,
e he had a ſon, named *Coriabus*; but of this there is great doubt. About the time he was choſen captain-general of *Greece* at *Corinth*, he married *Deidamia*, the daughter of *Æacidas* king of *Epirus* and ſiſter of *Pyrrhus*. She too was a lady celebrated for her beauty, and who very affectionately accompanied him in all his expeditions, till, through the fatigue of travelling, which ſuited ill with the delicacy of her conſtitution, ſhe died. By this third wife he had a ſon named *Alexander*, who died in *Egypt*. His fourth wife was *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Her he married from motives of intereſt, and had by her a ſon named *Demetrius*, who afterwards reigned in *Cyrene*. All theſe wives were alive at once; and it is ſaid, that *Demetrius* carried himſelf very obligingly to them all; but he was paſſionately fond of a
f ſtrumpet, named *Lamia*, a woman of great art, and who touched the lute to the greateſt perfection. She was, however, much older than any of his wives, even than *Philla*; ſo that the ſatyriſts of thoſe times pretended ſhe had enchanted the king. It is ſaid, he once deſigned to have married *Crateſipolis* the widow of *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, a woman more famous for her charms than her virtue; but going to make her a viſit while he beſieged *Megara*, he very narrowly miſſed being taken priſoner by one of *Caſſander*'s parties, being forced to change coats with a ſoldier in order to make his eſcape, which effectually took away his regard for that lady. By a *Sclavonian* concubine he had a ſon, whom he called *Demetrius*: And theſe are all his deſcendants

[k] PLUT. in Demet. CORN. NEP. de regib. c. 3.

dants of which we have any account in history. As to his dominions, they remained a to *Antigonus*, of whose life and actions we shall give an exact account in the succeeding section, having already communicated to the reader all that, with propriety, could be brought within the compass of this [1].

[1] Plut. in vit. Demet. & Pyrrh. Diodor. l. xix. xx. Justin. l.

SECT. VIII.

The history of the kingdom of Macedon, *from the death of* Alexander *the* Great, *to the conquest thereof by the* Romans.

The state of Macedon *at the king's decease.*

THE kingdom of *Macedon*, at the time of the decease of *Alexander*, was governed by *Antipater*, yet *Craterus* was appointed him for a successor; and the general opinion is, that *Antipater*, who was directed to come with a fresh *Macedonian* army to *Babylon*, would have been disgraced, if not put to death, on account of the many complaints made against him. If this were so, the death of *Alexander* prevented that of *Antipater*, and left him possessed of his government [a]. In writing therefore the history of *Macedon* from the demise of *Alexander*, we must begin with *Antipater* and his administration. He was a person noble by birth, of great natural abilities, heightened by an excellent education. He was the friend as well as disciple of *Aristotle*, learned, and a lover of learning; magnificent in his actions, but plain in his dress and behaviour, never varying his habit in all the time of his government, but appearing like a private person when he gave laws to kings. In few words, he had either the greatest virtues of any man of his age, or was the greatest hypocrite in it. The former, however, seems to us to be his true character, the lustre of his good qualities being too strong to be eclipsed by the vapours of *Athenian* envy, which affected the heads of many historians, some of whose writings have lasted to our times [b]. *Philip* of *Macedon*, whose great talent was judging well of men and things, made choice of *Antipater* as his minister, and relied on him as his friend. *I have slept soundly*, said he, *for* Antipater *was waking*. This sentence affords us a stronger description of his abilities and fidelity, than an orator could convey in twenty pages. *Alexander* intrusted him, not only with the care of his hereditary kingdoms, and the command of a great army therein, but also with the custody of *Greece*. If in this charge he had been either negligent or careless, *Alexander*'s victories would have signified nothing; for the *Macedonians* would have been for returning home, as soon as ever they had heard any ill news from thence. He had, it is true, many quarrels with *Olympias*, who was a high-spirited woman, and very desirous of meddling in state affairs. *Alexander* himself approved his conduct so far, as to say on account of his mother's letters, *That he had paid dearly for the months he lay in her womb* [c]. It is certain, that she was no less angry with *Hephæstion*, the most faithful friend, as well as the chief favourite, of his master. What he thought of her character, appears from a fragment of one of his letters to her, wherein he wrote thus; *Forbear your unjust reproaches; but, if you will not forbear, I care not, since* Alexander *must judge of all* [d]. When the news of *Parmenio*'s death arrived in *Macedonia*, *Antipater* is recorded to have said, *If* Parmenio *conspired against* Alexander, *who can we trust? If he did not conspire, what shall we do* [e]? If it were not for the only chasm in *Arrian*'s history, we should be able to speak more fully as to the credit *Antipater* stood in with his master at the time of his decease. As it is, we know, that it was *Arrian*'s opinion, that the best historians had recorded nothing which testified the king's having any dislike to his old minister [f]. What remains of the letters of *Alexander* shew, that he kept a regular correspondence with *Antipater*, and that he gave him public marks of his esteem. There is one fragment of a letter from *Antipater* to his master, which is the noblest testimony of his extraordinary firmness and strict regard to truth. *Aristotle* had fallen under *Alexander*'s displeasure, and he had written in severe terms of him

[a] Arrian. l. vii. Curt. l. x. Justin. l. xiii. c. 5. [b] Diodor. l. xviii. Plut. in vit. Alex.
[c] Arrian. l. vii. [d] Plut. in vit. Alex. [e] Id. in Apophthegm. regum. [f] Arrian. l. vii.

a to *Antipater* himself; yet when *Antipater* acquainted him with the death of *Aristotle*, he gave a noble character of that philosopher, which he closed with these words: *Besides the marvellous talents wherewith the mind of that truly great man was adorned, this was peculiar to him, that he acquired the good-will of every man who knew him* [g]. Having now sufficiently shewn who and what *Antipater* was, let us proceed to the history of his administration after the death of *Alexander*.

THE *Grecians*, even in the life-time of *Alexander*, endured very unwillingly that superiority which he exercised over them; and tho' nothing could be more gentle than the government of *Antipater* with respect to *Greece*, yet he was exceedingly hated, because he obliged them to be quiet. One of the last actions of *Alexander*'s life blew the embers of sedition into a flame. He had, by an edict, directed all the b cities of *Greece* to recal their exiles; which edict, when it was published at the *olympic* games, occasioned great confusion. Many of the cities were afraid, that when the exiles returned, they would change the government; most of them doubted their own safety in case the edict took effect, and all of them held this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty. Immediately therefore they began to levy soldiers, and to prepare for war. In these transactions the *Athenians* were extremely busy, yet they did not publickly declare themselves, till they were assured that *Alexander* was dead. Then they kept no measures; they laid out the money, which *Harpalus* had stolen from *Alexander*, and left in their city, to hire forces [h]. They exclaimed against c the *Macedonians*, as a barbarous and tyrannical nation, and appointed *Leosthenes* general of their forces raised for delivering *Greece*. This man was the disciple of *Demosthenes*, and seems to have meant his country better than he was able to serve it. He was full of an enthusiastic passion for democracy, and this prompted him to talk in a very high strain in the assembly. *Phocion*, who judged better of the state of *Athens*, could not help saying to him on this occasion, *Young man, your speeches are like the cypress tree, lofty and well spread, but they bear no fruit* [i]. This gentleman, however, drew together a noble army, with which he advanced towards *Thessaly*, which was the most judicious step taken in the war.

The Greeks *begin the* Samian war. *Year after the flood* 2679. *Year before Christ* 321.

Antipater, as soon as he was thoroughly informed of the march of the *Athenian* d forces, sent over into *Asia*, to desire the assistance of the governors there. In the interim he marched with thirteen thousand foot and six thousand horse, in order to secure *Thessaly*. He appointed *Cillas* to preside in *Macedon* during his absence, and directed him to raise forces with all imaginable diligence; for the large draughts which *Alexander* had made rendered this a work not easily performed. A fleet of a hundred and ten gallies was likewise fitted out, under the command of *Clytus*, who, as a seaman, had served with great reputation under the late king. When *Antipater* came down into *Thessaly*, he found the inhabitants of that country still in the *Macedonian* interest, and received from them a very considerable reinforcement of horse; yet, according to the practice of their ancestors, they acted deceitfully, e and, when he wanted them most, went over to the enemy. *Leosthenes* was in possession of the *Pylæ*, or streights leading into *Greece*, where he waited for *Antipater*, who, with the small army he had, did not fail to give him battle, wherein numbers, and the skill of the mercenaries serving under *Leosthenes*, gained him the victory. *Antipater*, with the remains of his army, retired to *Lamia*, a city of some strength, and not far distant from the field of battle. This he seized, and fortified in such a manner, that tho' the victorious army attempted to storm it, yet they were unsuccessful; so that *Leosthenes* was constrained to undertake a regular siege, whereby, when he had reduced *Antipater* to great straits, himself, advancing too near the wall, was slain by a stone; whereupon *Antiphilus* was created general in his stead. While f things were in this condition, *Lecnatus* arrived from *Asia* with a great army, and advanced to succour *Antipater*. *Antiphilus*, as soon as he was apprised of this, raised the siege, burnt his tents, and marched to fight the new-comers, tho' they were no less than twenty-two thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, most of them veterans. The battle was hard fought, and continued long; but, through the valour of the *Thessalian* horse and the death of *Lecnatus*, the *Greeks* carried the victory, and the *Macedonian* phalanx was compelled to retire into the rocky hills, where the horse could not follow them. These victories exceedingly raised the spi-

Antipater *marches against them.*

[g] PLUT. in paral. Coriolan. cum Alcibiad. [h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xviii. [i] PLUT. in vit. Phocion.

rits of the confederates, and made them deſpiſe their enemies ſo much, that many of them returned home, which afterwards proved fatal to the common cauſe [k].

The concluſion of this war.

Antipater, while he was ſhut up in *Lamia*, ſent deputies to *Athens*, to negotiate peace; but the *Athenians* refuſed him any other terms than ſurrendering at diſcretion, and leaving all things to their diſpoſal. The ſiege being now raiſed, *Antipater*, with incredible diligence, marched to the place where the remains of *Leonatus*'s army was encamped, and having joined them, held the enemy in play, tho' he was not able to offer them battle. When he found the confederates preſſed hard upon him, and that their chief ſtrength conſiſted in their ſuperiority of horſe, he choſe ſuch a rout, as, for the moſt part, hindered the horſe from acting; and when they might have acted with effect, he deviſed this method for avoiding an engagement; he directed the light- armed foot to mount, not only all the carriage-horſes, but likewiſe all the mules and aſſes belonging to the army, and placing theſe behind the ſquadrons of horſe which he had, the *Theſſalians* concluded, that he had been reinforced with a great body of cavalry, and therefore contented themſelves with obſerving them at a diſtance. At length *Craterus* arrived with a great body of forces under his command; however, he yielded the command to *Antipater* on their junction at the river *Peneus*, where there were now aſſembled forty thouſand foot, three thouſand archers, and five thouſand horſe. The *Greeks* had twenty-five thouſand foot and three thouſand five hundred horſe, with which they ventured a battle. In this the *Theſſalian* cavalry were at firſt victorious; which *Antipater* obſerving, he would not ſuſtain his horſe, but ſuffered the *Theſſalians* to break them intirely. While theſe continued the purſuit, he, with the phalanx, bore down upon the *Grecian* foot, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. The *Macedonian* horſe formed behind their victorious battalions, and the *Theſſalians* fearing they ſhould be ſurrounded, retired haſtily, in order to join their foot. After this defeat, *Antiphilus* held a council of war, wherein it was put to the vote, whether they ſhould continue in the field, or think of treating. It was carried for the latter, and deputies were inſtantly ſent to *Antipater*; but the *Grecian* generals were exceedingly ſurpriſed to hear on their return, that the *Macedonian* would treat ſeparately with the cities, or not at all; which propoſition they rejected [l].

Peace granted to the Athenians

Antipater and *Craterus*, perceiving that the confederate army was too weak to give them battle, began to beſiege the cities in the neighbourhood, and having reduced many of them, treated the inhabitants with much ſeverity. This ſo affrighted the ſtates confederated with the *Athenians*, that they immediately made peace on the beſt terms they could. The *Athenians* and *Ætolians* alone ſtood out; upon which *Antipater* and *Craterus* advanced towards *Athens*. The citizens of that famous place found themſelves now in no condition to reſiſt him, their fleet, which they had fitted out at a vaſt expence, under the command of *Eetion*, having been twice defeated by *Clytus*. In this diſtreſs the *Peloponneſians* might have ſuccoured and preſerved them; but, either through jealouſy or a pannic fear, they remained motionleſs, and left the *Athenians* to their fate. In this diſtreſs they turned their eyes on *Phocion*, and demanded his advice. To what end, ſaid he, *Athenians*, ſhould I adviſe you? If you had not rejected my counſels, you had not been this day in this diſtreſs. They then called upon *Demades*, who had always been in the *Macedonian* intereſt. He propoſed a decree, by which *Demoſthenes* was condemned to death; but he was already fled. He then deſired, that deputies might be ſent to *Antipater*, himſelf and *Phocion* being of the number. When they arrived, *Antipater* would hear of no other terms than thoſe offered to him at *Lamia*, *viz.* that they ſhould yield themſelves intirely to his mercy, and ſuffer their affairs to be ſettled at his pleaſure. With theſe hard terms they were conſtrained to comply. *Phocion* beſought *Antipater* that peace might be concluded where he then was, *i. e.* in *Bœotia*, which *Craterus* ſaid was unreaſonable, ſince their army muſt ſubſiſt all that time in the country of their friends, whereas nothing hindered their living at diſcretion in *Attica* (A). To this *Antipater*

[k] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Phocion & Demoſthen. Justin. l. xiii. c. 5.
[l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Demoſthen.

(A *Xenocrates* was a very eminent philoſopher, the diſciple and ſucceſſor of *Plato*, alike remarkable for his wiſdom in words, and for the probity of his actions. Many years before this he had been ſent embaſſador to *Antipater* in *Macedonia*, to intreat him to ſet at liberty ſome *Athenian* priſoners,

Or

a *Antipater* replied, that he was in the right; yet, ſaid he, let us grant this, becauſe it is aſked by *Phocion*. When the *Athenians* had conſented to ſubmit themſelves to his pleaſure, *Antipater* granted them the following terms; *that* the ancient way of raiſing taxes in the city ſhould be reſtored; *that* they ſhould receive a gariſon into the fort *Munichia*, and maintain it at their own charge; *that* they ſhould pay the expence of the war; and *that* they ſhould deliver up the orators *Hyperides* and *Demoſthenes*. *Phocion* earneſtly begged the city might be excuſed from the gariſon. *I would willingly grant this alſo to your friendſhip*, ſaid *Antipater*, *but I know it is not either convenient for you or for me*. By which he meant, that, without a gariſon, the *Athenians* would never be kept either in dependence on the *Macedonians*, or at quiet

b among themſelves. In conſequence of this treaty, the popular government in *Athens* was abrogated, and ſuch only permitted a ſhare therein as had competent eſtates; upon which *twenty-two thouſand* of the inhabitants retired from the city, and had eſtates aſſigned them in the territories of *Macedon*, where they ſettled, and lived very happily. As for the reſt of the *Athenians*, they were conſtrained to return to *Solon*'s model of government, and, in ſhort, were compelled by *Antipater*, much againſt their will, to be rich and quiet. With the ſame equity and moderation he ſettled the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates, who, at firſt, grudged his power, and complained heavily of the infringements made on their liberty; but, by degrees, they became better ſatisfied, and at laſt honoured him as the *father* and *protector* of *Greece*. On

c his return to *Macedon*, he and his ſon-in-law *Craterus*, who had juſt married his daughter *Phila*, turned their arms againſt the *Ætolians*, who alone refuſed to be comprehended in the peace, and kept a conſiderable army in the field. Theſe, with much trouble, they reduced in the winter to great ſtraits; but while they were preparing for the ſieges of their principal cities, *Antigonus* arrived from *Aſia*, with an account of *Perdiccas*'s deſigns, inſiſting particularly on his ſlighting *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, and on his ordering *Cynane* the ſiſter of *Alexander* to be put to death. *Antipater* and *Craterus* inſtantly made peace with the *Ætolians*, that they might be at leiſure to attend to their own concerns, and prevent *Perdiccas* from becoming their ſovereign, under colour of being protector of the kings. With this

d view they entered into a league with *Ptolemy*, and began to aſſemble an army in order to paſs into *Aſia* [m].

Antipater *and* Craterus *paſs over into* Aſia.

When all things were ready, and the ſeaſon of the year permitted, *Antipater* and *Craterus* tranſported their forces into *Aſia*, leaving the care of *Macedon* and *Greece* to *Polyſperchon*. On their arrival in *Aſia*, *Antipater* reſolved to march with part of the forces into *Cilicia*, that he might be able to aſſiſt *Ptolemy*, in caſe *Perdiccas* was too hard for him; and *Craterus* with the other moiety marched againſt *Eumenes*. *Antipater*, not long after this diviſion of their forces, received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his ſon-in-law, whereby his favourite daughter *Phila* was left a widow [n]. It is ſaid this lady was endowed by nature with ſuch extraordinary

e qualities, that her father, who was otherwiſe a very cloſe man, yet was wont to conſult

[m] Arrian. apud Phot. cod. xcii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Justin. l. xiii. Plut. in Demoſthen. & Phocion. [n] Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

On his arrival, before he had his audience, *Antipater* invited him to an entertainment. *Xenocrates* anſwered him in theſe verſes of *Homer*, ſpoken by *Ulyſſes* to *Circe*, when ſhe preſſed him to eat of the dainties ſet before him:

Ill fits it me, whoſe friends are ſunk to beaſts,
To quaff thy bowls, or riot in thy feaſts.
Me wouldſt thou pleaſe, for them thy cares employ,
And them to me reſtore, and me to joy (1).

Antipater was ſo well pleaſed with his preſence of mind, and happy application of theſe verſes, that, without more ado, he ſet the *Athenians* free. On this occaſion he did not behave ſo obligingly, for knowing that *Xenocrates* was warmly affected to the democracy, he paſſed him by, when he kindly ſaluted all the reſt of the deputies; which when the philoſopher obſerved, he could not help ſaying, *Antipater* does well thus to diſtinguiſh me from the reſt, as if before *Xenocrates* only he was aſhamed of the injuſtice he is about to do the *Athenians*. When the government was afterwards ſettled, *Phocion* would willingly have had *Xenocrates* accept the freedom of the city, which he refuſed. *I will not*, ſaid he, *ſubmit myſelf to an adminiſtration which I do not like, and the eſtabliſhment which I oppoſe* (2). Afterwards growing ſo poor that he could not pay his tribute, the *Athenians*, with ſhameleſs ingratitude, condemned him to be ſold for a ſlave, which was accordingly done. *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* bought him, reſtoring him to his liberty, and paying his price into the public treaſury. He was a great writer, for we have the titles of above ſixty treatiſes which he compoſed. He died at fourſcore and two, falling in the night with his head into a baſon of water, whereby he was ſuffocated (3).

(1) *Odyſſ. l.* x. (2) *Plut. in vit. Phocion.* (3) *Diogen. Laert. in vit. Xenocrat.*

consult her even while she was a girl. Her conduct in the time of both her husbands was extremely remarkable, for she spent her whole time in acts of beneficence; she had the wives and daughters of the officers of the army continually about her: As her own behaviour was very exact, she kept a strict eye upon theirs, at the same time she relieved their wants, gave portions to their daughters, and was their patroness in all their affairs. The death of her husband *Craterus* did not greatly affect *Antipater*'s interest; for *Perdiccas* being shortly after slain in *Egypt*, he was sent for to the army in *Syria*, where *Aridæus* and *Pithon* abdicating their offices as protectors of the kings, *Antipater* succeeded by common consent. At first *Eurydice* the wife of *Philip* created him a great deal of trouble, and even indangered his life; but, by degrees, he got over this, and not only conciliated the affection of the soldiers, but acquired also the esteem of *Eurydice* herself. In fine, after he had settled all things in *Asia* in the best method possible, and had left his son *Cassander* to be a check upon *Antigonus*, he set out with the kings to return to *Macedonia*, the army being perfectly well satisfied with his conduct, and the friends of the royal family hoping all things from his protection [o].

The Ætolians invade Thessaly.

While he and *Craterus* were in *Asia*, the *Ætolians*, who had secretly entered into a league with *Perdiccas*, broke into the territories of *Macedon* with a great army, and committed excessive depredations, in revenge for what they had suffered the winter before. *Polycles* commanded in those parts for *Antipater*, and had with him a considerable body of troops. He, in attempting to repel the *Ætolians*, was drawn by them to an engagement, wherein his army was routed, and himself slain. The *Ætolians*, while they were consulting how to prosecute this victory, received advice, that the *Acarnanians* had entered their country, and had begun to commit horrible devastations therein. To expel these invaders the *Ætolians* marched home; but they left the forces of their confederates in *Thessaly*, under the command of *Menon*, an officer of great skill and courage. *Polysperchon*, who, as we observed, commanded in *Macedon* in the absence of *Antipater*, immediately took advantage of this division, and, while the *Ætolians* were busy in expelling their domestic enemies, he, by forced marches, came down into *Thessaly*, and, before *Menon* could be properly supported, fell upon him and his troops, and cut them to pieces. By this blow the power of the *Ætolians* was intirely broken, and the peace of *Macedon* restored [p].

The Athenians seek to be eased of their garison.

Antipater, on his return, brought with him the kings into *Macedon*, and treated them there with all imaginable respect. The *Athenians* were very earnest with *Phocion*, whose interest with *Antipater* they knew to be great, to obtain of him the dismission of their garison; but *Phocion*, who saw clearly that this garison was more useful to the public than to *Antipater*, declined the commission; yet the recalling many of the exiles, and other good things he both asked and obtained of *Antipater*, with whom he had indeed a very great interest. *Menillus*, who commanded in the fort, and was both a generous and a good-natured man, offered *Phocion*, who had but a small estate, a sum of money. *My circumstances*, answered the patriot, *are neither worse than they were, nor are you greater than* Alexander *the son of* Philip, *from whom I refused to accept the same favour.* And when he was once requested to do somewhat that was wrong in his opinion, for the service of the *Macedonians*, *Antipater*, said he, *cannot have me for his friend and his flatterer.* This the *Macedonian* chief knew as well as he; for it was a common saying with him, *That he had two friends at* Athens, *one who would take nothing, and another who never thought he had enough* [q]. The former was *Phocion*, the latter *Demades*, an orator of some reputation, and who had been all his life in the interest of *Macedon*. It was this man on whom the *Athenians* cast their eyes, when *Phocion* absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the affair of the garison; and in an ill hour for himself and his family *Demades* undertook it, having, for the greater honour, his son *Demias* joined with him in commission [r].

The death of Antipater.

Not long after his return to *Macedon*, *Antipater* was attacked by a dangerous disease, which, added to his years, for he was now fourscore, left him little hopes of life. He behaved himself in the last moments of his life with the same firmness, and the same regard to his reputation, which he had shewn in all the actions of his life. His great offices of *protector* and *governor* of *Macedon* he bequeathed to *Polysperchon*, the eldest of *Alexander*'s captains at hand, and of whom *Antipater* had a much

[o] Arrian. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. [p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Justin. ubi supra. [q] Plut. in vit. Phocion [r] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

much better opinion than he deſerved. His eldeſt ſon *Caſſander Antipater* appointed to be a *chiliarch* or *colonel* of a thouſand men, a command in thoſe times infinitely more conſiderable than now [f]. A little before his death, *Demades* had audience of *Antipater*, and was kindly received; however, as to the gariſon, nothing was determined; but at the requeſt of *Phocion*, ſignified by letter, the *Athenians* had a further day given them for the payment of their ſubſidies. Thus, full of years and glory in a time of full peace and ſerenity, procured chiefly by his own wiſdom and prudence, *Antipater* expired; of whom, had we nothing elſe to ſay, what *Tacitus* obſerved of *Galba* might properly be applied to him, and ſufficiently diſtinguiſh his character to poſterity; *Non in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit, ſed in republica. In the choice of a ſucceſſor he regarded not his family, but the commonweal* (B).

Demades *and his ſon ſlain.*

BEFORE *Antipater* was well dead, *Caſſander* in his name ſent for *Demades* the *Athenian* embaſſador, who with his ſon *Demias* readily came, and began to expoſtulate on the buſineſs of the gariſon. *Caſſander*, giving little heed to what he ſaid, ordered his ſon to be put to death in his preſence, and when he had given him a little time to feel the affliction of a father, he firſt loaded him with bitter reproaches, and then cauſed him alſo to be ſlain. The reaſon of this extraordinary proceeding was, that among the papers of *Perdiccas* there had been found a letter written to him by *Demades*, preſſing *Perdiccas* to make haſte into *Greece*; *the affairs of which hung at preſent*, he ſaid, *on an old rotten thread*; ſo he was pleaſed to characterize *Antipater*, from whom he had begged, and from whom he had received ſo much. It is but juſt we ſhould inform the reader that authors vary about this fact; *Diodorus* ſays, that *Demades* was put to death by *Antipater*. *Plutarch* and other authors aſcribe his puniſhment to *Caſſander*: Some alſo ſay the letter was written to *Antigonus*, and not to *Perdiccas*; but this is improbable, and therefore, having well conſidered its circumſtances, we have ſtated the fact as it appears to us. Cruel without doubt it was, yet it cannot be denied, that *Demades*, who was a venal orator, and who ſcrupled not to employ his eloquence againſt the intereſt of his country, met with no worſe fate than he deſerved [u].

Projects of the new adminiſtration in Macedon.

Polyſperchon was now at the head of affrirs, governor general of *Macedon*, and protector of the kings, which high offices he derived from the good opinion which *Antipater* had conceived of him. He was a man of indifferent parts, more capable of following directions, than of giving them, one extremely formal in his manner of tranſacting buſineſs, being converſant in nothing but forms. In a word, he was far from being honeſt, ſteady, or wiſe, and yet a great ptetender to probity, fortitude, and policy. He had a ſon named *Alexander*, more active, and of better abilities, though not a grain more virtuous than himſelf. The firſt ſtep he took in his government was to call a general council; as the firſt ſtep taken in that council was to ſet aſide *Antipater*'s dying counſel, by recalling *Olympias*, which they not only did,

[f] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Phocion. [t] TACIT. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 15. [u] DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

(B) We have no where the reaſons aſſigned us, why *Antipater* excluded his ſon *Caſſander* from the adminiſtration, but they are not hard to be gueſſed. Firſt, he was his ſon, and in all probability the father thought it unworthy of him to aggrandize his own family at the expence of his maſter's Secondly, *Polyſperchon*'s age, experience, and his late exploit againſt the *Ætolians* might induce *Antipater* to think he would prove a worthy guardian of the kings There might be a third reaſon, which was *Caſſander*'s ambition, and his having a private intrigue with *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip*, who had as good or a better right to the crown than her huſband, which might make the good old man leſs careful of his ſon's intereſt than otherwiſe he would have been. However it was, he ſhewed his love for his country, not only in his impartiality, but alſo in the advice he gave to him whom he deſigned his ſucceſſor. *On no account*, ſaid he, *ſuffer a woman to have any concerns in the affairs of ſtate; their abilities are by no means ſuited to ſuch arduous concerns; for being ſlaves to their paſſions, to indulge them they throw all things into confuſion* (4). This was underſtood to point at *Olympias*, who during his adminiſtration had dwelt in *Epirus* It is true, he had great reaſon to diſlike her, as well on account of the trouble ſhe had given him, as out of regard to his beloved maſter *Philip*, whoſe ſecond wife ſhe had murdered, and whoſe child by her ſhe broiled between two copper plates; even in *Epirus*, ſhe affected to govern all things, and therefore her ſon *Alexander* commended her for going thither, becauſe, ſaid he, the *Macedonians* would never bear the government of a woman. Yet it may be, *Antipater*'s counſel was general, which was more becoming him, and no leſs founded on fact; for beſides the trouble he had through *Olympias*, *Cleopatra* the ſiſter of *Alexander* had afforded him no ſmall diſquiet, and *Eurydice* had once put him in the utmoſt danger of his life (5); he might well therefore have no great opinion of women's intermeddling with ſtate affairs. We ſhall ſhortly ſee how deeply the *Macedonians* ſuffered from the neglect of *Antipater*'s maxim.

(4) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii. (5) *Arrian ap. Phot. Juſtin. &c.*

did, but put *Alexander* the ſon of *Roxana* under her care, at leaſt they promiſed ſo to a do, hoping that the *majeſty* of the *mother* of *Alexander* would add a luſtre to their adminiſtration. A meaſure, which, conſidered in one light, ſeems juſt and honourable; but in another ſhews, that *Polyſperchon* and his council were ſenſible of ſome imbecility in themſelves. The queen, however, who knew ſhe was ſafe in *Epirus*, and knew not what might befal her in *Macedon*, made no great haſte, but took time to conſider the matter herſelf, and to conſult with her friends. However, ſhe communicated her thoughts upon all occaſions to *Polyſperchon*, and ſo held immediately a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration. *Caſſander* was little thought of in theſe proceedings; and it appeared plainly, that the new government had very little regard for the friends of the old one, which of conſequence created a multitude of malecontents, and afforded b colour for certain ſubſequent tranſactions, which otherwiſe would have been of too dark a hue to have borne the light. For as great politicians have a faculty of making all events contribute to their ends, ſo there are a tribe of wrong-headed ſtateſmen, who obſtinately purſue thoſe tracks which lead directly from the ends at which they aim; ſuch were *Polyſperchon* and his council [w].

The views of Caſſander.

As ſoon as *Caſſander* conſidered the ſtate in which he ſtood, he ſaw, or at leaſt he thought he ſaw, reaſon to be diſpleaſed with his father's diſpoſition of affairs. He formed a juſt idea of *Polyſperchon*'s character, and drew from thence very diſmal apprehenſions of what might befal himſelf, his family, and their dependents. Beſides, his ambition prompted him to attempt the recovery of that command, of which his c father's will had deprived him, and at the ſame time it opened his eyes to methods by which it might be obtained. Theſe things having a while revolved in his own breaſt, he engaged ſome of his friends to accompany him into the country under colour of diverting themſelves with hunting; but in truth to confer with them on his deſign. When they were at diſtance from court, he opened to them his project, having firſt ſtrongly poſſeſſed them with the common danger they were all in from the propenſity of *Polyſperchon* to *Olympias*, the ancient and implacable enemy of *Antipater* and all his friends. He then ſhewed them, that *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyſimachus*, would from their reſpective intereſts become the enemies of *Polyſperchon*, becauſe, as protector of the kings, he would claim a ſuperiority over them; from whence he inferred, they would be friends to themſelves, if they declared againſt *Polyſperchon*. It is uncertain, whether at firſt he communicated his intention of abſolutely ſupplanting the protector, or whether he pretended only to aſpire to ſuch a degree of power as might enable him to protect himſelf, his family, and their friends; however it was, his diſcourſes procured him a multitude of creatures, who readily obeyed his dictates, and took ſuch ſteps as he directed them; and if things began to go well at home, they went ſtill better abroad, for *Antigonus* and the reſt of the princes promiſed him their utmoſt aſſiſtance as ſoon as it was aſked, in conſequence, as they pretended, of their extraordinary love for his father; but in truth, becauſe they hated *Polyſperchon*, and were deſirous to prevent his looking abroad, by finding him troubleſome ſcenes enow at home [x].

Polyſperchon's *edict*.

While *Caſſander* was buſied in carrying his ſchemes into execution, *Polyſperchon* held another grand council, wherein it was reſolved to diſplace all the governors appointed by *Antipater* in *Greece*, and to ſet up the democracy where-ever it had been aboliſhed. In order to carry this ſcheme into execution, a very gracious proclamation was drawn, and ſent to *Athens* and to the reſt of the cities. It remains entire in *Diodorus*, and will be an everlaſting monument of the genius of *Polyſperchon* and his miniſters. The body of the edict is full of royal authority, and extraordinary ſtretches of power, yet the preamble and concluſion declare its intention to be the reſtoring liberty to the *Greeks*, and at the ſame time the old regency is loaded with grievous accuſations. This edict produced, what in all probability it was intended to produce, confuſions every-where; for the people, under colour of its authority, would no longer obey their magiſtrates, and the magiſtrates were no where well inclined to truſt themſelves to the government of the people. But the point of diſmiſſing governors, which was the main thing the edict was calculated for, it could not produce, for the governors were leaſt of all willing to ſubmit to the execution of a decree by which they were to be caſhiered; they therefore demurred at firſt, and at laſt applied to *Caſſander*. In this nice conjuncture all eyes were upon *Athens*, for as it was the

[w] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Demet. Justin. lib. xiv. [x] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Justin. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demet. & Phocion.

a the moſt conſiderable gariſon, ſo if *Nicanor* who commanded there had immediately evacuated the fort, it would have gone a great way towards the carrying the edict into execution elſewhere. But he at firſt expreſſed a ſort of diffidence as to the authority of *Polyſperchon*, and afterwards, when he received letters from *Olympias*, he ſpun out negotiations with the *Athenians*, till he had thoroughly recruited his gariſon; and then, inſtead of quitting *Munichia*, he unexpectedly ſeized on *Pyræus*. The *Athenians*, provoked by this uſage, which they were not able to revenge upon *Nicanor*, turned their fury on their own citizens, and inſtantly proſcribed *Phocion* with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction who had conferred with *Nicanor*, though they were not culpable in the leaſt. Theſe unhappy perſons retired for ſhelter to *Alexander* b the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, who had then entered *Attica* with an army. As he drew near *Athens*, the citizens alſo ſent deputies to preſs him immediately to beſiege *Nicanor*, in order to reſtore them their forts. But *Alexander* had by this time other notions in his head; he knew the *Athenians* too well to think of truſting them, and therefore he began to enter into a treaty with *Nicanor*, not for his evacuating the forts, but for his coming over to his father *Polyſperchon*, in keeping them for him, in which, however he ſucceeded not. By this time *Polyſperchon* himſelf was at hand with a great army having with him king *Aridæus* or *Philip*. To him his ſon *Alexander* ſent *Phocion* and his friends with letters of recommendation, *Dinarchus* the *Corinthian*, *Polyſperchon*'s old and intimate friend, going with them. At their heels came deputies c from *Athens*, charging them with treaſon againſt the ſtate. *Polyſperchon* was at firſt extremely perplexed how he ſhould behave himſelf on this occaſion. His ſon had engaged his faith to the exiles, but himſelf conceived that his intereſt would be beſt promoted by his ſiding with the *Athenians*; fickle in his ſentiments, and ſanguine in all his meaſures, he no ſooner conceived this, than he ordered his old acquaintance *Dinarchus* to be firſt tortured, and then put to death, and after affording *Phocion* and his friends a pretended hearing, at which the fooliſh king attempted to ſtrike *Phocion* through with his lance, the exiles were condemned, and then tranſmitted to *Athens*, where the people were giddy enough to miſtake for a mark of liberty their being made the executioners of a ſentence pronouced in another court. In ſhort, *Phocion* was d murdered, and *Polyſperchon* highly cried up; but in the mean time *Nicanor* maintained himſelf in *Munichia* and in the *Pyræus*, and advice came, that *Caſſander*, who was fled to *Antigonus*, had been furniſhed by him with conſiderable aſſiſtance, and was on the very point of imbarking for *Athens* [y].

Caſſander *prevails in* Greece. *Year after the flood*, 2681. *Before Chriſt* 318.

It was among the number of the great ſlips in policy made by the new adminiſtration in *Macedon*, that after ſo openly attacking the dependents of *Antipater*, and taking *Olympias* into a ſhare of the adminiſtration, they yet ſuffered *Caſſander* to withdraw, which he did as ſoon as he had ſettled matters at home, and went immediately to the court of *Antigonus*; there he was received with high honours, and had mighty e promiſes made to him, part of which were fulfilled, not for his ſake, but that a war might be kindled in *Greece* while *Antigonus* totally ſubdued *Aſia*. The forces lent *Caſſander* were not great, but to a man of his ſpirit any aſſiſtance was conſiderable. As ſoon therefore as he had received them, he ſailed for *Athens*, and entering the *Pyræus* with his ſmall fleet, was received by *Nicanor*. *Polyſperchon* inſtantly reſolved to ſhut up his competitor in that city, and to put a ſhort end to the war by its reduction. For this purpoſe he aſſembled a great army, with which he marched to *Athens*; but forgetting that *Attica* was never over-fruitful, he found himſelf in a ſhort time ſo diſtreſſed for proviſions, that he was conſtrained to abandon his deſign, and therefore leaving his ſon *Alexander* with a competent army to obſerve the motions of f *Caſſander*, he with the major part of his forces marched into *Peloponneſus*, where he knew *Caſſander* had many friends. When he entered *Peloponneſus* he had recourſe once more to his edicts, whereby ſuch as had born offices in the cities under the adminiſtration of *Antipater* were roundly condemned to baniſhment or death, merely for having borne offices. This decree the people in moſt places put in execution, ſo that diſcord, ſlaughter, and confuſion, was effectually ſpread all about. The *Megalopolitans* only had wit enough to avoid theſe diſſenſions, and the magiſtrates and people agreeing, they retained their old government, and dwelt in peace. This was high treaſon in the ſight of *Polyſperchon*; he ſaid they had contravened his edict, that they were aſſociates with *Caſſander*, and that for theſe reaſons they ought to be made a public

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. & Plut. in Phocion.

public example of as common enemies to the *Greeks*. When the *Megalopolitans* heard this, they withdrew all their effects out of the country, fortified their city, and having mustered their fighting men, found their number to be fifteen thousand; and confiding in their own strength, determined to abide a siege. *Polysperchon*, to make good his threats, came with the king and all his army before the city, having with him also a great number of elephants. The first thing he did was to cause the wall to be undermined, which his engineers performed so effectually, that when the besieged least expected it, three towers with all the wall between them fell down. *Polysperchon* then led his army to the assault, which proved very obstinate and bloody; but in the end the *Megalopolitans* repulsed the besiegers, and while their men were fighting, the women and children threw up an intrenchment of earth and rubbish within the breach. *Poly perchon* determined to attack the place a second time, and to make use of his elephants, the news of which terrified the citizens exceedingly. It happened there was amongst them one *Damides*, who had served under *Alexander*; this man undertook for the elephants, which put his countrymen again in heart. The method he used was this; he took broad pieces of strong plank, into each of which he struck several iron spikes, these he fixed in the ground within the breach, and covered them lightly with rubbish; then he drew up the citizens, not in front, but in flank on each side of the breach, and so attended the enemy. *Polysperchon*'s troops advanced in excellent order, having the elephants before them; these being forced by their riders upon the breach, stuck their feet upon the spikes, and were unable to proceed further. The citizens galling them and their riders with stones and darts, many of the beasts fell down, and the rest, growing unruly, turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The army seeing this refused to storm the place, so that *Polysperchon*, leaving a corps of horse and foot to block up the city, marched away with much disgrace. In the interim, *Clytus* the admiral had beat *Nicanor*, whom *Cassander* had sent from *Athens* with his fleet; but after this, lying carelessly at *Byzantium*, *Antigonus* privately sent over light-armed troops in barks, and then having refitted *Nicanor*'s fleet, commanded him to attack *Clytus* again, and be assured of victory. This he accordingly did, and, to his great surprize, found him already attacked from the shore, so that he easily and intirely defeated them, *Clytus* himself being killed, not in the fight indeed, but afterwards by the soldiers of *Lysimachus*. When this news came to *Polysperchon*, he resolved to march back into *Macedon*, for he saw clearly that *Cassander* would be too many for him in *Greece* [z].

Nicanor *slain by* Cassander.

Nicanor, after the great victory he had obtained, returned to *Athens* in triumph, and resumed his government: Soon after the *Athenians* were reconciled to *Cassander*, who greatly esteemed *Nicanor* for the service he had done him. But when he was privately informed that he intended to set up for himself, and saw that he made a difficulty of admitting him into the forts, he potted some soldiers in an empty house in the night, and having invited *Nicanor* thither to confer with him, surprized and put him to death. *Cassander* then treated the *Athenians* with much candor and generosity: He appointed *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, a person of the highest quality, the greatest abilities, and the utmost moderation, their governor; under whom the city and citizens received greater advantages than under any former government before, or even in the days of their greatest freedom. This important place secured, *Cassander* applied himself to the settling the rest of *Greece* [a].

Olympias *returns to* Macedon, *and acts with the utmost cruelty.*

About this time *Olympias* prepared for her return into *Macedonia*, concerning which, as we have elsewhere observed, she wrote to *Eumenes*. He in his answer advised her in the first place not to be too hasty in her resolution, and in the next to forget all the injuries she had received, and to behave herself mildly to every body, in case she thought fit to return. Both these cautions she neglected; for, without waiting till the war was ended, she with some *Epirots*, whom her brother sent to escort her, went to join *Polysperchon*, when she knew he was returning into *Macedon*; and as soon as she came there, she discovered such a haughty and over-bearing spirit, as struck even those who wished her well with amazement. As for *Eurydice* the wife of *Philip*, she rightly conceived that *Olympias* would never be at peace, as long as her husband lived and enjoyed the regal title. She therefore wrote to *Cassander*, beseeching him with all diligence to come to her assistance, and likewise sent letters to *Polysperchon*, requiring him in the king's name to deliver up the army to *Cassander*. At

[z] Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. ubi supra. [a] Universal History, Vol. II. p. 554. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

At the ſame time ſhe neglected not taking more effectual methods for the ſecurity of her own and king *Philip*'s perſon. She had obſerved, that the *Macedonians* loved him, and that they had a great reſpect for her. She likewiſe depended on the intereſt of *Antipater*'s family, and therefore ſhe had recourſe to all the arts of perſuaſion, in order to raiſe a force ſufficient to defend herſelf and her friends, till *Caſſander* ſhould arrive. This point, as ſhe imagined, ſhe accompliſhed with great eaſe. The *Macedonians* readily armed at her requeſt, and in a very ſmall ſpace ſhe drew together more than ſeemed ſufficient to guard her. When therefore *Olympias* advanced with *Polyſperchon* and his army, ſhe, like a couragious lady, led out her's. Thus a civil war was kindled in *Macedon* by two heroines, each willing to put her own and the
b kingdom's fate on the hazard of a battle. But when the armies drew near each other, the ſoldiers, who ſhould have fought for *Eurydice*, ſtruck with the awful majeſty of *Olympias*, the widow of *Philip* and the mother of *Alexander*, went over to her immediately, and thereby put an end to the diſpute. *Olympias* had it now in her power to have ſettled all things, if ſhe had remembered the advice of *Eumenes*. Her paſſions, which were not of the mildeſt ſort, had always governed her, and governed her now. King *Philip* and his wife *Eurydice* ſhe impriſoned in a room ſo ſmall, that they could ſcarce turn themſelves in, and cauſed them to be fed with very ordinary proviſions through a hole. *Nicanor* the ſon of *Antipater* ſhe put to death, and with him no leſs than an hundred perſons, his relations and friends; ſhe then cauſed the
c tomb of his brother *Iolas* to be broke open, and his remains to be thrown into the public ſtreet. Perceiving that the people were not over pleaſed with theſe proceedings, and that they began to commiſerate the condition of king *Philip* and his wife, ſhe reſolved to have them both diſpatched. In order to this, certain *Thracians* armed with poignards entered the place of their confinement, and with numberleſs wounds laid the king dead upon the floor. Then a meſſenger preſented *Eurydice* with a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poiſon, telling her, that *Olympias* left it to her choice by which ſhe would die; *I pray the gods*, ſaid ſhe, *that* Olympias *may have the like preſent made her*; ſhe then tore her linen, bound up the bleeding wounds
d of her huſband, and covered his body; after which, without any womaniſh complaining, ſhe ſtrangled herſelf with her own garter. Thus, when he had reigned about ſeven years, *Aridæus* loſt his life through her who in his childhood had deprived him of his wits; and *Eurydice*, the hereditary heireſs of the *Macedonian* crown, was murdered by her who was mother to the murderer of her father. In the days of *Philip* this ſort of policy was not underſtood: He married his own daughter to *Amyntas* his elder brother's ſon, and from this match ſprung *Eurydice*. *Alexander*, to leave all ſafe behind him when he went into *Aſia*, cauſed *Amyntas* to be murdered, and *Perdiccas* began his regency with the murder of *Cynane* the wife of *Amyntas*. However, *Roxana* and her young ſon *Alexander* found a protectreſs in *Olympias*, who took upon herſelf the adminiſtration as guardian to her grand-child [b].

e *Caſſander*, as ſoon as he received the letters of *Eurydice*, and immediately after them the ill news of what had happened in *Macedon*, prepared inſtantly for his return into his own country, leaving the *Greeks* for a time to take care of themſelves. When he came to the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, he found the *Theſſalians* all in arms to oppoſe his paſſage. Revenge being more powerful with him than glory, he contrived not how to fight the enemy, but how to eſcape them; wherefore collecting all the ſhips, barks, and boats, which were to be found in the neighbouring cities, he imbarqued his forces on board them, and ſafely tranſported them into *Theſſaly*. Thence marching into *Macedonia*, he determined to leave half his forces under the command of *Callas*, to hold *Polyſperchon* in play, while himſelf purſued and ſhut up *Olympias*.
f His deſign ſucceeded perfectly well, for *Callas* effectually baffled *Polyſperchon*, and *Olympias* with ſtrange imprudence ſhut up herſelf. For ſhe, after all her cruelties, relied entirely on the love of the *Macedonians*, and, having once prevailed by the majeſty of her appearance, was more ſolicitous about forming a court than an army, of which, however, ſhe had ſome appearance, and alſo the elephants with her. Going in progreſs to the principal cities, ſhe carried with her her daughter *Roxana*, her grandſon *Alexander*, her niece *Deidamia*, *Theſſalonica* the ſiſter of *Alexander*, and many other perſons of great quality, with whom, on the news of *Caſſander*'s approach, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in the city of *Pydna*, a ſea-port ſtrongly fortified. *Caſſander* quickly appeared

Caſſander *returns into* Macedon.

[b] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Justin. lib. xiv. c. 5.

peared before the place, and inveſted it by land, at the ſame time that he ſhut up the port by ſea. The beſieged were very ſoon in want of proviſions, yet, encouraged by the preſence of ſo many great perſonages, they held out obſtinately; *Olympias* aſſuring them, that her brother *Æacidas* was coming out of *Epirus* with a great army to her aſſiſtance, which was true. *Caſſander* had advice thereof as early as ſhe, and he provided very effectually againſt it. He ſent troops to block up the paſſages from *Epirus*, which when the troops of king *Æacidas* found, they began to doubt the ſucceſs of the war, and, which was more, their own ſafety. They therefore reſolved on a courſe, which to them appeared ſhort and ſalutary; they mutinied, depoſed their king, and ſubmitted themſelves to *Caſſander*. *Olympias* had now none to depend on but *Polyſperchon*; out of whoſe power *Callas* had put it to render her much aſſiſtance; for, by throwing about manifeſtos, reflecting on the cruelty of her adminiſtration, he had debauched the greateſt part of *Polyſperchon*'s ſoldiers; ſo that, inſtead of being able to ſuccour his miſtreſs, he had much ado to defend himſelf. In the city of *Pydna* the court fed on horſe-fleſh, the ſoldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on ſaw-duſt. In this miſerable ſituation numbers deſerted to *Caſſander*, who treated all with lenity who were not concerned in the late murders. *Olympias* at laſt wrote to *Polyſperchon*, requeſting him to ſend her a bark of fifty oars to convey her away in the night. The bearer of this letter fell into the hands of *Caſſander*, who commanded him to proceed in his journey, and not to mention his being taken. At the time appointed *Polyſperchon* ſent the galley, and gave notice of it to *Olympias*; but *Caſſander*, knowing alſo when it would arrive, ſeized it. *Olympias* not finding the veſſel as ſhe expected, gave up all hopes, and, without waiting any longer, ſurrendered the place and her perſon to *Caſſander*. This determined the fate of *Macedonia*; for *Pella* the capital preſently ſurrendered; and *Ariſtonus*, who with a body of troops lay in *Amphipolis*, at the command of *Olympias* yielded the city to *Caſſander*, and was immediately afterwards killed by ſome whom he had injured while he commanded there. Now it was that the laſt ſcene of the old queen's life came on: She was accuſed before the aſſembly of the *Macedonians* by the relations of the perſons ſhe had ſlain, and, without being heard in her defence, was condemned to die. *Caſſander* upon this ſent to adviſe her to make her eſcape to *Athens*, offering her a ſhip and equipage ſafely to tranſport her thither; but ſhe refuſed to fly; and ſaid, ſhe was ready to anſwer before the *Macedonians* for all ſhe had done. *Caſſander* did not care to truſt to this, ſo he ſent a band of two hundred ſoldiers to put her to death. Theſe, when they came into her preſence, drew back, and were afraid to execute their orders; but the kindred of thoſe ſhe had murdered being with them, fell upon her, and cut her throat. She died with great reſolution; but it is ſaid, that *Caſſander* ſuffered her body to lie ſome time above-ground, probably to revenge the injury ſhe had offered to the aſhes of his brother. It is likewiſe alledged, that he did not adviſe her to fly out of pity, but that he might have an opportunity of putting her to death as a perſon ſelf-condemned, who fled from juſtice. Immediately after her deceaſe, he ſent *Roxana* and her ſon *Alexander* to *Amphipolis*, where they were made priſoners; he likewiſe deprived the boy of his companions who had been bred up with him, and ordered that for the future he ſhould be treated as a private perſon. Thus the line of *Alexander* was ſet aſide in *Macedon*, and his ſon and his ſucceſſor impriſoned in the very city where his army rendezvouſed, when he marched to conquer *Aſia*[c].

Caſſander *aſſumes the government in* Macedon.

Caſſander having now provided for his ſafety, turned all his thoughts to the ſettlement of the kingdom. In the firſt place, he married *Theſſalonica* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had fallen into his hands at the ſurrender of *Pydna*. He next cauſed the bodies of *Philip* and *Eurydice*, together with that of *Cynane* her mother, to be taken up; and having conveyed them with mighty pomp to *Ægis*, he cauſed them there to be interred in the royal ſepulchres, inſtituting funeral games in honour of the dead. He then built a new city in *Pallene*, which he called by his own name, *Caſſandria*, and peopled it from the *Cherſoneſe*; inviting alſo the remnant of the *Olynthians* to ſettle therein, adding to this place ſo large and fair a territory, that it quickly grew to be the greateſt city in *Macedonia*; he alſo re-edified many cities, and ſhewed evidently a diſpoſition to reſtore peace and plenty to his native country. *Epirus* he governed by *Lyciſcus* his lieutenant, which was the more extraordinary, becauſe

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Demet. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

because from the days of *Pyrrhus* to this time the government had been hereditary, and the *Epirots* had never presumed to treat their kings with contempt. As to *Æacidas*, he fled to *Polysperchon*, and with him, when things were grown desperate in *Macedon*, retired into *Greece*; and at length to the *Ætolians*, the implacable enemies of all *Antipater*'s family[d].

Cassander, when he had tolerably settled the peace of *Macedon*, resolved to return into *Greece*, in order to drive thence *Polysperchon*, his son *Alexander*, and the rest of his enemies. This resolution once taken, he raised a fine army, and therewith marched down into *Thessaly*, where he found the *Pylæ* shut up by the *Ætolians*. However, he forced the pass, and came down with his forces into *Bœotia*, and proceeded to the ruins of *Thebes*. The sight of them put him in mind of the power and splendor of that ancient city, and these thoughts easily lead him to the project of restoring it. With this view he recalled all the *Thebans* who were scattered throughout *Greece*: He requested also the rest of the *Bœotians* to assist him in so good a work, which not only they, but all the cities of *Greece*, readily did, so that in a short space the walls were finished, and the principal streets rebuilt. The sight of this inspired the *Thebans* with such zeal, that they sent into all countries to recall their friends and relations. Thus, after more than twenty years, *Thebes*, which had been with great cruelty razed by the *Macedonians*, was now rebuilt by them. This design executed, *Cassander* passed on to *Peloponnesus*, out of which *Alexander* vainly thought to have shut him by a wall built cross the isthmus. But *Cassander* transported his army in flat-bottomed boats, and partly by force, partly by treaty, reduced most of the cities, and having left a body of troops under the command of *Molychus* to guard the isthmus, he returned back into *Macedon*.

Returns into Greece.

THE power of *Antigonus* was about this time become formidable to all the successors of *Alexander*, wherefore they, as in their own defence, united, in order to reduce his power; but as all of them in their turns had been under great obligations to him, they sent their embassadors to compliment him on his subduing of *Eumenes*, and to expostulate with him on their grievances. *Antigonus* heard the rest with some patience; but when the minister of *Cassander* came to make his demands, he thundered out an answer, *As for* Lysimachus *and* Ptolemy, said he, *they were always persons eminently distinguished; but who is* Cassander? *it cannot surely be that vagabond, who was here t'other day imploring my assistance, on account of the love I bore his father?* He then assembled his army, and approaching the *Macedonian* phalanx, entered into a detail of *Cassander*'s late proceedings: *He has*, says he, *countrymen, murdered the mother of our late sovereign, and at this time holds in prison his wife and son; let him therefore be decreed a publick enemy, unless he restores them to liberty, and leave it to me to prosecute this traitor as he deserves.* The army to be sure decreed as *Antigonus* directed, and, in consequence of their decree, he immediately solicited the *Greek* cities to drive out *Cassander*'s garisons; to perform which, they did not want so much the will, as the power. However, such troubles were now stirred up in *Peloponnesus* as made *Cassander*'s presence absolutely necessary; whereupon, leaving *Macedonia* after another brush with the *Ætolians*, *Cassander* came first into *Bœotia*, and afterwards to the isthmus, then entering *Peloponnesus*, he resettled his affairs as well as he could. *Alexander* the son of *Polysperchon* had for some time taken shelter in the court of *Antigonus*, where he had fair words and a tolerable subsistance given him, and that was all. But now *Antigonus* found out that his case was the hardest, and at the same time the most equitable, in the world; and therefore, out of mere regard to justice, he furnished him with five hundred talents, and sent him with some ships and men into *Peloponnesus*, where he quickly raised forces, and began to make a figure. *Cassander* knowing well the capacity of the man, and verily believing he had enemies enow already, sent *Perpilaus* to tell him, that *Antigonus* had an excellent faculty at setting people together by the ears, without caring what became of them afterwards; that five hundred talents was a considerable sum, which he would do well to keep in his pocket; that as for the command of *Peloponnesus*, he need not seek it by force, for *Cassander* was willing to put it into his hands, provided he would renounce his league with *Antigonus*, who never intended him half so much good. *Alexander* having considered this proposition, found it too good to be rejected; wherefore he accepted from *Cassander* the office of captain general of *Peloponnesus*; quitted

Where Antigonus *stirs up a war against him.*

[d] DIODOR. PLUT. & JUST. ubi supra.

quitted the party of *Antigonus*, and began to ſettle his province; which, however, he did not live to effect, for while he was endeavouring to ſuppreſs *Ariſtodemus*, whom *Antigonus* had made general in his ſtead, one *Alexion*, a *Sicyonian*, treacherouſly murdered him. His wife *Crateſipolis* took upon her the command of his army, and having beaten the *Sicyonians* in a field battle, beſieged and took their city, crucified thirty of the moſt turbulent upon their own walls, and then aſſumed the ſovereignty, which ſhe managed with great prudence, clemency, and juſtice, being alike courted and feared by all the contending parties. Thus ſomething like a ſettlement was eſtabliſhed in *Peloponneſus* [e].

Caſſander *makes war on the* Ætolians.

Caſſander, obſerving that the *Ætolians* were always inclined to take advantage of his affairs, by attacking him at ſuch time as he had other enemies on his hands, reſolved to make uſe of the leiſure he now had, to put it out of the power of theſe people to treat him in this manner for the future. With this view he marched with an army to the confines of *Ætolia*, yet with no great ſucceſs, for the *Ætolians* were ſo well aware of his intention, that they provided effectually for their own ſecurity, ſo as to prevent his making any impreſſion upon them; yet *Caſſander*, who was a perſon of great capacity, reſolved not to loſe all the pains he had taken; when therefore he diſcovered that the *Ætolians* could not be reduced by force, he contrived to leave a bridle in their mouths, which ſhould hinder their performing any great exploits for the future. With this view he entered into a negociation with their old enemies the *Acarnanians*, whom he took pains to convince, that the diſadvantages they were under aroſe from their living in ſo many ſcattered towns, whereby the *Ætolians* had conſtant opportunities of deſpoiling them, and by which argument he perſuaded them to inlarge the three cities of *Stratopolis*, *Saurion*, and *Agrinium*, and to quit their villages. Then leaving his general *Lyciſcus* in thoſe parts, he marched away to reduce other places [f].

Afterwards on the Illyrians.

Glaucias was at this time king of the *Illyrians*, in whom were united two very different qualities, ambition and the love of juſtice. When his neighbour *Æacidas* king of *Epirus* was baniſhed by his ſubjects, this prince took upon him to preſerve his infant ſon *Pyrrhus*, without any other view than that of performing a generous action. This immediately embroiled him with *Caſſander*, and in conſequence of theſe broils, *Glaucias* drew the cities of *Apollonia* and *Epidamnum* into alliance with him. Againſt theſe cities at this time *Caſſander* moved, and in a ſhort ſpace reduced them, after which he paſſed the river *Hebrus*, and fought the *Illyrian* army under the command of *Glaucias*, which had been raiſed for the relief of the beforementioned cities. After this engagement peace was made between theſe princes upon theſe terms, that *Caſſander* ſhould not invade any part of *Illyria*, and that *Glaucias* ſhould neither attack him or any of his confederates. But while the *Macedonian* was victorious here, his allies the *Acarnanians* ſuffered deeply for taking his advice, for the *Ætolians*, before it was thoroughly fortified, inveſted the city of *Agrinium*, and then proceeded to a formal ſiege. The beſieged, finding that they were not able to hold out, capitulated on theſe terms; that they ſhould be at liberty to retire whereever they thought fit. But, in breach of this capitulation, the *Ætolians* moſt perfidiouſly attacked them upon their march, and put almoſt every man of them to the ſword. A cruel and unjuſtifiable act, for which they afterwards paid very dear [g].

Caſſander *invades* Aſia.

ON his return into *Macedonia*, *Caſſander* projected a deſcent in *Aſia*, in order to prevent *Antigonus* from making any attempts in *Greece*. Theſe forces marched into *Caria*, where one *Ptolemy* commanded for *Antigonus*. It ſo happened, that while the troops were in winter quarters, the father of this *Ptolemy* died, at which his ſon ſeemed to be under deep concern; and, in order to expreſs it effectually, prepared for his funerals, that they might be celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence. *Caſſander*'s generals being informed of this, immediately detached *Eupolemus*, one of their number, with eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, to lie in ambuſcade, in order to cut off *Ptolemy* when he ſhould return to his quarters; but he receiving early intelligence of this deſign, not only prevented it, but alſo turned it upon the contrivers: For returning when they leaſt expected it, he in the middle of the night ſurprized the forces of *Eupolemus*, defeated them intirely, and made that general himſelf priſoner [h].

THE

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [f] Id. ibid. [g] JUSTIN. lib. XV. c. 1. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [h] Id. ibid.

Falls also on the Ætolians.

THE next year *Caſſander* ſent a puiſſant army under the command of *Philip* to fall upon the *Ætolians*. This general entered *Acarnania*, and, having effectually ſuccoured his allies, began to haraſs the frontiers of *Ætolia*, when on a ſudden he received advice, that *Æacidas* had not only entered *Epirus*, but by the conſent of the people had re-aſcended the throne. *Philip* upon this immediately entered *Epirus*, and finding *Æacidas* there at the head of an army, he attacked and defeated him, taking priſoners fifty of the principal perſons who had been concerned in the reſtoration of the king, whom he ſent away to *Caſſander*, and then turned again to proſecute the war againſt the *Ætolians*, who were by this time ready to meet him in the field; for *Æacidas* himſelf with the remains of his broken troops had joined their army, and had thereby made it more numerous than that of *Philip*. A battle ſhortly enſued, wherein the *Macedonians* were victors, *Æacidas* king of *Epirus* being ſlain. Afterwards *Philip* ſo perſecuted the *Ætolians*, that they were forced to forſake their cities, and fly for refuge to the mountains, whither alſo he purſued them, till he was ſtopped by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. In *Aſia* things went not ſo well, whereupon *Caſſander* reſolved to put an end to the war on that ſide, and by a treaty with *Antigonus* undertook to reſtore the *Greek* cities their liberty, and for the future to be his faſt friend; for his ſincere performance of which, he gave up his brother *Agathonas* for a hoſtage; however, he quickly repented of this treaty, and having taken care to get his brother reſcued from thoſe who ſhould have kept him, he began the war afreſh; which exceedingly provoked *Antigonus*, who ſent an army into *Greece* to reſtore freedom unto the cities. This compelled *Caſſander* to march thither alſo, whereupon *Antigonus* made a quick march into *Propontis*, with a deſign to have invaded *Macedon*. This effectually recalled *Caſſander*, who marched back with all imaginable expedition. This retreat of his out of *Greece* hurt his affairs there, and at the ſame time did him no good in *Macedon*. For *Antigonus*, finding it impoſſible for him to perſuade the *Byzantines* to concur with him in his deſigns, he was conſtrained to abandon all thoughts of entering the territories of *Caſſander*. He received, however, little pleaſure from this news; for upon the heels of it he received advice, that the country about *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus* had ſubmitted again to *Glaucias*, and that the *Epirots* were inclined to revolt; to which were added advices of a like nature from *Athens*, where, though the people had never been ſo well governed as by *Demetrius Phalereus*, yet they hated him for the ſake of his authority, and were inclined to deliver up the city to *Antigonus*. To theſe evils *Caſſander* applied the beſt remedies the ſituation of his affairs would allow [i].

Caſſander *orders* Roxana *and her ſon to be ſlain.*

IT was not long before *Epirus* was all in confuſion. *Alcetas*, who had been baniſhed by his father, was recalled by the people, and made king. Againſt him *Lyſiſcus*, *Caſſander*'s general, marched with his army, and engaged his forces ſeveral times with different ſucceſs. At length *Caſſander* himſelf came in to make an end of the war, which finding more difficult than he had imagined, he clapped up a peace with *Alcetas*, and left him in quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom, which, however, he enjoyed not long; for the *Epirots*, conceiving him to rule tyrannically, murdered him and his children. All this time *Caſſander* was engaged in a war with *Glaucias*, in which, however, he had very indifferent ſucceſs; and at laſt, finding that he could not reduce *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus*, he returned into *Macedon*, where he did abundance of popular acts, and took all imaginable pains to conciliate the minds of the people. By this time all the commanders of *Alexander* were grown weary of the wars in which they had engaged with each other, and therefore unanimouſly deſiring peace, it was eaſily concluded. The terms of it were, that they ſhould hold all the provinces, of which at the time of its concluſion each of them was poſſeſſed in propriety; that the *Greek* cities ſhould be left abſolutely free, and that they ſhould be friends and allies of each other. Immediately upon this peace *Caſſander* reſolved with himſelf to diſpatch out of his way *Alexander* the ſon of *Roxana* and his mother; for though he enjoyed the kingdom of *Macedon* at that time, as much as he could expect to do after the young man was dead, yet he was in continual fear, leſt the *Macedonians*, who were a reſtleſs unruly people, ſhould on a ſudden grow diſſatisfied with his government, and ſet at liberty the ſon of his maſter. While theſe doubts and fears diſtracted his mind, the *Macedonians* diſcovered an inclination to do what he ſuſpected; diſcourſing openly of *Caſſander*'s uſurpation, and alledging, that it was now

[i] Id. ibid.

now high time for *Alexander* to take upon himself the administration of his father's kingdom. This was enough to hurry on the ambitious *Cassander* to the fatal expedient he had projected. He therefore sent for *Glaucias*, whom he had made governor of the castle, where he kept *Roxana* and her son, and directed him to put them both to death, commanding also, that they should be interred privately, and their deaths for some time concealed. This he did to try the temper of the *Macedonians*; and that uncertain reports might keep them from taking any settled resolution. His policy met with all the success he could desire, and much more than he could reasonably hope. The *Macedonians* murmured a little, but, not knowing who they should have recourse to for a chief, durst not rebel [k].

Cassander *gains* Peloponnesus.

Cassander, that he might find the subjects some other topics than his government to discourse of, engaged in a war against the *Autariates*, in favour of the king of *Pæonia*. Having subdued the first-mentioned people, he transplanted them to the number of twenty thousand from their native country into the neighbourhood of mount *Orbelus*, where he assigned them lands. About this time *Ptolemy*, one of the generals of *Antigonus*, who commanded in *Peloponnesus*, went over with his whole army to *Cassander*, and received from him the same commission which he had from his former master. This was a most extraordinary piece of treachery, for *Ptolemy* was not only the officer of *Antigonus*, but his nephew, so that he violated at once the ties of gratitude and nature. However, his treason did not remain long unpunished: *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* coming with a fleet upon the coast, sent for this other *Ptolemy* to come and visit him. On his arrival the king treated him not only with civility, but with kindness and respect. This he repaid with endeavouring to corrupt the soldiers *Ptolemy* had with him; his head being full of mighty projects for his own interest, to accomplish which he resolved to stick at nothing. When the king found this out, he first caused him to be imprisoned, and afterwards ordered him to be dispatched by a dose of hemlock; of which, whatever he might pretend, *Cassander* was glad; for he could never trust a man who had betrayed his uncle, and had endeavoured to seduce the troops of a prince who had received him like a friend. But without question, he was sorry that king *Ptolemy* had incorporated the army, which the other *Ptolemy* had commanded, into his own, because this was a loss, which fell heavy upon himself, and not easily to be repaired. His thoughts, however, were quickly diverted by the appearance of another storm [l].

Hercules *declared king, and afterwards slain.*

Polysperchon, who had hitherto lived in *Ætolia*, rather as a banished man, than as one who pretended to the government of *Macedon*, of a sudden appeared more formidable than ever. He had engaged *Barsina* and her son *Hercules* to leave *Asia* and come over to *Grecce*; where he received them with great honours, proclaimed *Hercules* king, and by the help of the *Ætolians* raised money and an army of twenty thousand men. *Cassander* assembled an army as soon as he received the news, and marched away to meet the enemy. When the armies were near each other on the frontiers of *Ætolia*, *Cassander* sent one of his private agents to *Polysperchon* to put him in mind, that if the king was restored, himself would be but a servant, though to him he owed his restoration; whereas, if he put him out of the way, he should be declared generalissimo of *Peloponnesus*, and be acknowledged by *Cassander* for his coadjutor. These promises had the same effect upon *Polysperchon*, as they had formerly on his son; he therefore accepted them, and at an entertainment, to which he invited, and afterwards forced, the king to come, most barbarously murdered him. This being performed, *Cassander*, according to his promise, delivered him four thousand *Macedonian* foot and five hundred horse; owned him for his coadjutor, and left him to take possession of *Peloponnesus*, which, however, was not so easily effected as he imagined; for the *Bœotians*, joining with the *Peloponnesians*, raised a formidable army, so that he was after all forced to winter in *Phocis*; from this time forward, knowing nothing but trouble and disquiet, the just reward of his flagitious actions [m].

Cassander, *after much ill fortune, recovers* Greece. *The war ended.*

Cassander, having now removed out of his way all obstacles, well hoped that he should enjoy the kingdom, he had bought at so dear a price, in peace; but in this he was exceedingly mistaken, for the *Grecians* immediately began to plot against him, and knowing that it was *Antigonus*'s interest rather to have them free than the subjects of *Cassander*, they applied to him for assistance. This occasioned the famous expedition of *Demetrius*, which we have so often mentioned, wherein he expelled *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*;

[k] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. Justin. ubi supra. Plut. in Demetrio. [l] Diodor. ubi supra. [m] Diodor. ubi supra. Justin. lib. xv. Plut. de Verecund.

Phalerean; in shew restored the *Grecians* to liberty, but in truth reduced them under the subjection of his father. Extravagant were the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the victor, and as extravagant the rage they expressed against *Cassander* and his party; that great captain and politician withdrew from a country where he was so generally hated, and chose rather to trust time, than fortune and his enemies; and when he found disasters still crowding upon him, he contented himself with leaving garisons in the cities he still possessed, and withdrew the gross of his army into *Macedon*. After the check which *Demetrius* received before *Rhodes*, the *Athenians* deserted him, and affected to resume their ancient grandeur, pretending for the future to prescribe laws, instead of receiving them. Not long after *Demetrius* came again into *Greece*, and having taken *Sicyon* from *Ptolemy*, and the strong castle of *Corinth* from *Cassander*, the rest of the cities surrendered without resistance, and their garisons were immediately incorporated into the army of *Antigonus*. In this distress *Cassander*, conceiving himself to be in the utmost danger of ruin, resolved, if it were possible, to make peace with *Antigonus*, and to that end dispatched embassadors to *Demetrius*, as also to his father, but in vain. These princes were so elate on account of the victories they had lately obtained, that they would not listen to any terms of accommodation, but proudly insisted on *Cassander*'s submitting himself and his dominions intirely to their pleasure. He, when he found peace was not to be had, determined to make his last effort in war. To this end he sent ministers to *Ptolemy* and *Lysimachus*, instructing them to shew those princes, that if once *Macedonia* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, they might be sure *Thrace* and *Egypt* would quickly follow. For he would be then able to act against them on all sides; and to the force of all *Asia* would add the weight of all *Greece*. This had its desired effect, they came immediately into the war, and resolved to act offensively against *Antigonus* [n].

When the operations of this war came to be considered, *Cassander*, who knew his stake would be the first drawn, laid down such a scheme as all the rest came readily into. He sent a considerable part of his forces to join *Lysimachus*, under whose command they were to pass into *Asia*, whither *Cassander* had transported another corps under the command of *Perpelaus*. With the rest of his army *Cassander* marched in person towards *Thessaly*, in order, if possible, to settle his affairs in *Greece*. *Demetrius* immediately marched to meet him, and the armies encamped in sight of each other; that of *Demetrius* consisted of fifteen hundred horse, eight thousand *Macedonian* foot, five and twenty thousand auxiliary foot, fifteen thousand mercenaries, and about eight thousand retainers to the camp who were, however, disposed into battalions; in all fifty-six thousand men. *Cassander* had but two thousand horse and twenty-nine thousand foot: With these he kept the field, protected most of his garisons, and held the war in suspense, till such time as *Antigonus* sent orders to his son to come speedily over into *Asia*; whereupon a provisional treaty was made by *Demetrius* with *Cassander*, which was to subsist, or to be made void, according as it was approved or disapproved by *Antigonus*. However, it answered the ends of both; for *Demetrius* had thereby an opportunity given him of withdrawing all his forces out of *Greece*, and after he was gone, *Cassander*, notwithstanding the treaty, by force, by persuasion, and by bribes, got possession of many of the cities. Yet he did not so closely attend his own business, but that he kept his eye also on the concerns of his confederates. To their assistance *Cassander* sent his brother *Plistarchus* with twelve thousand men, in order to balance in some measure the forces carried over by *Demetrius* to his father. His policy was good, as in most cases it was; but *Plistarchus* had very ill success, for his army being wasted by famine, sickness, hardships, shipwrecks, and desertions, he at last, with a handful of men, joined *Lysimachus*, who, with the mighty forces brought by *Seleucus*, was grown strong enough to offer *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* battle; which shortly after ensued, and was the famous battle of *Ipsus*, where *Antigonus* lost his life and empire.

The war ended. Year after the flood 2698. Before Christ 301.

On the death of *Antigonus*, the princes confederated against him divided his dominions amongst them, whereby *Cassander* recovered all that he had lately lost; however, he was not intirely freed from all apprehensions; for on the one hand, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* had still some territories in *Greece*, and was a prince who never conceived his title at all affected by the impressions made by force on his possessions. The hopes of *Demetrius* therefore filled *Cassander* with fears: On the other hand,

The death of Cassander. Year after the flood, 2781. Before Christ 218.

[n] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. Plut. in Demetrio.

hand, *Caſſander* had a nearer enemy, of whoſe power he was very juſtly jealous; this was *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whom he had hated, and perſecuted from his very cradle. This prince, then a little helpleſs infant, was at the time the *Epirots* revolted from his father, who would have led them into *Macedonia* to the relief of *Olympias*, conveyed with much difficulty into the dominions of *Glaucias* king of *Illyria*; the king was not a little confounded at this accident; pity moved him for the child, but he was afraid of incurring the hate of *Caſſander*. Thoſe who had the care of little *Pyrrhus*, perceiving the confuſion the king was in, laid the boy at his feet. The child getting hold of the king's robes, raiſed himſelf up upon his feet, and with his hands graſped the king's knees. Upon which, *Glaucias* taking him in his arms, profeſſed, that he would defend him at the hazard of his life and his dominions; and then delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own children. This was the ſource of *Caſſander*'s quarrel with *Glaucias*, againſt whom, as often as his affairs permitted, he employed force; and when he was conſtrained to turn his arms another way, he practiſed on him by negotiation, offering him two hundred talents, beſides other great advantages, if he would deliver the young *Pyrrhus* into his hands. But *Glaucias* could neither be beaten nor flattered into ſo baſe a deſign; but when he was twelve years old, reſtored *Pyrrhus* by an army to the poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. From thence, about five years afterwards, he was driven by his rebellious ſubjects. He then fled to *Demetrius*, who had married his ſiſter *Deidamia*, and was in point of intereſt the irreconcileable enemy of *Caſſander*. After the battle of *Ipſus*, he came over into *Greece*, and performed many great exploits in favour of his brother-in-law; when his ſubjects growing weary of a ſudden of *Neoptolemus*, a king of their own ſetting up, recalled and reſtored him; when, to prevent further diſputes, he aſſociated *Neoptolemus* with him in the kingdom; but afterwards ſlew him for having framed a conſpiracy to poiſon him °. This *Pyrrhus*, though ill at eaſe in his own kingdoms, *Caſſander* was mightily afraid of; however, he ſtrengthened the frontiers of his own dominions, re-edified ſuch cities as were run to decay, and built new ones, where the ſituation of places invited. Thus near *Therma* he raiſed the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, which he ſo called in honour of his wife, and which after became the moſt conſiderable place in *Macedon*. He likewiſe endeavoured by all other means to fix the love of his ſubjects to his family, being with very juſt reaſon afraid of the inconſtancy of the *Macedonians*. But while he was thus employed, he was ſeized with a dropſy, which brought him by ſlow degrees to his end; and ſome ſay, that at laſt his body, as it corrupted, breeding lice, he became alike offenſive to himſelf, and to all who were obliged to approach him. His death happened after he had held the government of *Macedon* nineteen years; and had ruled it three years with the title of king, which he received readily from others, but took not himſelf; he was a man of conſummate prudence in peace and in war, but of deteſtable ambition. He is ſaid to have hated *Alexander* perſonally; to have remembered him with fear and ſpight, and to have ſuffered his malice againſt him to inſtigate the utter extirpation of his family (C). By *Theſſalonica*, the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, he had three ſons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*; the eldeſt of theſe, viz. *Philip*, ſucceeded him, but died ſhortly after of a con-

° PLUT. in Demet. & in Pyrrho.

(C) We learn from *Plutarch* the following circumſtances as to the hatred which *Caſſander* bore *Alexander*, and the cauſes thereof. It happened, when *Caſſander* was juſt arrived from *Greece*, and was full of that freedom in which he had been educated, the firſt time he ſaw the *Barbarians* adore the king, he was ſurpriſed at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing out aloud at it; which ſo incenſed *Alexander*, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and violently knocked his head againſt the wall. Another time *Caſſander* would have ſaid ſomething in defence of *Antipater* to thoſe who accuſed him; but *Alexander* interrupting him, *What is it you ſay? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come ſuch a journey only to calumniate your father?* To which when *Caſſander* replied, *That this very thing was a great evidence of their calumny, for the farther they are come, the farther they are got from thoſe proofs that could confute them, and clear the innocent.* *Alexander* ſmiled at this, and ſaid, *Thoſe are ſome of* Ariſtotle's *ſophiſms which will ſerve equally on both ſides; but,* added he, *both you and your father ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, if it appears that the complainants have received the leaſt injuſtice at your hands.* This menace made ſuch a deep impreſſion of fear on *Caſſander*'s mind, that long after, when he was king of *Macedonia* and maſter of all *Greece*, as he was walking one day at *Delphi*, and looking on the ſtatues, at the ſight of that of *Alexander*, he was ſuddenly ſtruck with horror, and ſhook all over, his eyes rolled, his head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himſelf (6).

(6) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*

a consumption, whereby a way was opened to a long and fatal controversy about the kingdom [p].

Antipater, on the demise of his brother *Philip*, caused himself to be declared king; but herein he found himself opposed by his brother *Alexander*, who was supported in his pretensions by some of the *Macedonian* lords, and secretly, as *Antipater* conceived, by the queen his mother. The first step therefore that he took, to secure himself against *Alexander* was, to take away the life of *Thessalonica*, which, if he did not with his own hands, he permitted to be done in his presence, though she besought him by the breasts that had given him suck to spare her. A fact beyond all example cruel. After this, by the assistance of *Lysimachus* his father-in-law, he for some time main-
b tained himself in the possession of the kingdom. But *Alexander*, persisting in the com-petition and vehemently desiring to revenge his mother's death, invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, and also *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, to his assistance. *Pyrrhus* came first with a potent army, and did him such service, that for it he demanded and re-ceived all the maritime coast of *Macedonia*, together with *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. He then applied himself to conquer the rest of the kingdom, that *Alexander* might have no occasion to repent of his bargain; upon which *Antipater* and his wife *Eurydice* strongly solicited *Lysimachus* to assist them. His affairs were at
c that time in such disorder, that he could not in prudence spare any part of his forces; however, knowing that *Ptolemy* had a mighty influence over *Pyrrhus*, and that his re-quests had the force of laws, he forged a letter from him to *Pyrrhus*, desiring him on the payment of three hundred talents to leave *Antipater* half the kingdom. This deceit *Pyrrhus* easily detected; for whereas *Ptolemy* was wont to address his letters thus: *The father to the son greeting*, this letter ran, king *Ptolemy* to king *Pyrrhus* health; however, it did the business as well as if it had been a true letter, for he, perceiving that money might be had, struck up an agreement between the two bro-thers, to which, however, he would not swear, because one of the three victims died as it was led to the altar at the time of the performance of this solemnity; whence the soothsayer predicted, that one of the kings would shortly die. Immediately after this agreement, whereby two kings seemed to be established in *Macedon*, *Demetrius*
d arrived on its frontiers, in order to have assisted *Alexander*. The young prince, know-ing how largely he had paid *Pyrrhus*, was afraid of having more protectors upon his hands; wherefore he posted away to meet *Demetrius*, in order to inform him of what had happened, and to decline his aid, which he no longer wanted. In the former chapter we have shewn the issue of this business, how *Alexander* was slain, and how *Demetrius* gained the kingdom. Here, however, it may not be amiss to observe, that it is in a manner impossible to know the truth as to *Alexander*'s death; that is, whether *Demetrius* slew him on account of his having conspired against himself, or whether he invented that story to colour the murder of the young king. The autho-rity of *Plutarch* is on all sides of the question in the life of *Demetrius*; he affirms, that
e *Alexander* intended to have slain him, and that he prevented it by a day; in another place he in general terms relates this accident as an act of treachery in *Demetrius* [q]; yet elsewhere he particularly ascribes the death of *Alexander* to his modesty, in not refusing to visit *Demetrius* when he invited him, for fear he should seem to distrust him [r]. However it was, *Alexander* was slain, and *Demetrius* with his forces and his own compelled *Antipater* to leave him sole master of the kingdom, who thereupon fled to the court of his father-in-law *Lysimachus*, hoping by his assistance to be restored. But there were two reasons why *Lysimachus*, if he had been better inclined to him than
f he was, could not have yielded him any great help. The first, that he was engaged in foreign wars: The second, that there were great dissensions in his family. To this we may add, that he was afraid of uniting *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus*; whereas he well hoped, that if they were left to themselves, they would quickly fall out, which he inti-mated to his son-in-law, and exhorted him to be patient. *Antipater* and *Eurydice*, how-ever, could not comprehend the force of this reasoning, and therefore they clamoured loudly against what they called his neglect of his children. *Lysimachus*, who was a fierce and arbitrary prince, thought fit thereupon to imprison them both, and a-while after directed *Antipater* to be put to death in prison. Thus the whole race of *Cas-sander* was exterminated almost as soon as he was dead [s].

Demetrius,

[p] Justin, lib. xvi. Plut. in Demet. [q] Plutarch. in vit. Pyrrh. [r] De Verecund.
[s] Justin. lib. xvi. c. 1. Plut. in Demet. & Pyrrh.

Demetrius becomes king of Macedonia. Year after the Flood, 2705. Before Christ 294.

Demetrius, from being in very low and desperate circumstances, was now become more potent than *Cassander* had been; for with the kingdom of *Macedon* he held *Thessaly*, the best part of *Peloponnesus*, and the two great cities of *Megara* and *Athens*. He thereupon resolved to make himself master of all *Greece*; in order to which he turned his arms first against the *Bœotians*, who on his coming were inclined to submit to him; but *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* engaged them to stand out, which occasioned the siege of *Thebes*, of which *Pisis* a *Thespian* was governor. When *Cleonymus* saw the prodigious engines which *Demetrius* made use of, he was so frightened, that he would have had the *Thebans* immediately to surrender, which *Pisis* refused, and made a very gallant defence, till *Cleonymus* withdrew himself, which so intimidated the people, that he was forced to give up the city. *Demetrius* dealt very gently with the *Thebans*, appointed *Hieronymus*, the good old friend of *Eumenes*, governor of *Bœotia*; and sending for his prisoner *Pisis*, he highly commended his valour, and then sent him to govern his countrymen the *Thespians*. The king then returned into *Macedon*, where he was guilty of a very mean act; for hearing that *Lysimachus* was taken prisoner by the king of the *Getæ*, he immediately advanced with a great army to the frontiers of *Thrace*, hoping to subdue his dominions in his absence. But before he was able to make any impression, *Lysimachus* was restored to liberty, and *Demetrius* recalled by the defection of the *Bœotians* whom he had so lately subdued. *Antigonus* his son had on the first advice of the revolt led the forces left with him against them, and having routed them in battle, shut up the remains of their army in *Thebes*, to which he laid siege. Thither *Demetrius* came with the gross of his army out of *Macedon*; but he had not been there long before he received news of an irruption made by *Pyrrhus* into *Thessaly*, upon which he marched to oppose him, and left his son *Antigonus* to carry on the siege. Before *Demetrius* arrived in that country, *Pyrrhus* was withdrawn; he therefore contented himself with the leaving ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to the guard of *Thessaly*, and then returned with the rest of his army for *Thebes*. *Antigonus*, who had continued the siege all this while, perceiving that, through the obstinate defence which was made by the besieged, numbers of his men were slain; could not help one day speaking to his father in this manner; *I beseech you, Sir, to consider what reason there is you should expose so many of your valiant soldiers to continual danger, when---Ay, sweet Sir,* interrupted *Demetrius*, *what reason have you to afflict yourself? Don't you know that the more there are killed here, the fewer you will have to provide for?* This he said in his passion; but when he was in a cooler temper, he alledged the ingratitude of the *Thebans* as the true cause of his persisting in the siege, in which he exposed his person as much as the meanest soldier, till in one of the attacks he received a stroke of a javelin quite through his neck, whereby his life was extremely indangered. However, he refused to stir, till at length the *Thebans*, quite tired out, were constrained to surrender at discretion. Then it was, that they expected a desolation as general as that which happened thirty years before, when *Alexander* destroyed their city. But it proved quite otherwise; *Demetrius* ordered thirteen persons who were principally concerned in the revolt to be put to death, and received all the rest of the citizens into his favour. He afterwards celebrated the festival of the *Pythian Apollo* at *Athens*, because the *Ætolians* had shut up the passages to *Delphi*, so that he could not go thither [t].

The ill conduct of Demetrius *loses him the affections of his people.*

WHEN *Demetrius* returned into *Macedonia*, he discovered such a restless uneasy temper in his subjects, that he was constrained to think of employing them in some war, to prevent their making an ill use of peace. With this view he marched against the *Ætolians*, but before he could come to an engagement he had advice, that *Pyrrhus* was about to invade *Macedon*. To oppose him he marched in person, and left *Pantauchus* to command the forces he thought sufficient to bridle the *Ætolians*. *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* both missed their intentions: The former, passing by the latter without knowing of it, entered *Epirus* without opposition, wasting and plundering the country where-ever he came, till he had satiated the avarice of his soldiers, and, as he conceived, had fully revenged himself for what *Pyrrhus* had done in *Thessaly*. In the mean time *Pyrrhus* engaged *Pantauchus* the general of *Demetrius*, whom on a challenge given he encountered hand to hand, and, after an obstinate combat, wounded and dismounted him. The battle also ended in his favour, wherein, after cutting to pieces a multitude of *Macedonians*, he took five thousand prisoners. This loss was in itself a great

[t] PLUT. in vit. Demet. PAUSAN. in Bœoticis.

a a great mortification to *Demetrius*, but in its conſequences was far more detrimental than he either foreſaw, or than the thing itſelf ſeemed to indicate. Upon the return of *Demetrius*, *Pyrrhus* retired haſtily into his own dominions: but from the time that the *Macedonians* had beheld this prince fighting hand to hand with their general, they continually talked of him as a prodigy of valour, and amongſt other praiſes this was perpetually in their mouths; that the other kings reſembled *Alexander* in his robes, his quick tone of voice, and the turn of his neck; but that in *Pyrrhus* they ſaw his vivacity in fight, and his courteous behaviour towards his ſoldiers. At firſt perhaps *Demetrius* did not mind this, or, it may be, was never made acquainted with it. Certain it is, that his conduct tended ſtrongly to alienate the minds of his ſubjects: b In his garb he was vain to exceſs; his robes ſeemed fitter for a ſtage than a court; his head was inriched with the novelty of a double diadem; and his very ſhoes ſhone not only with gold, but with precious ſtones. In ſhort the garment of his, which was left unfiniſhed, and wherein he intended to have had the whole univerſe diſplayed, remained for ages after a monument of his pride, and of the modeſty of his ſucceſſors, who neither wore it, or ſo much as ſuffered it to be finiſhed. His conduct was abſurd and extravagant; he ſpent his time in revelling with women and paraſites, waſted away immenſe ſums of money, and ſet the nobility of *Macedon* a moſt ſcandalous example. His behaviour alſo was remarkably altered; for, inſtead of that kind and obliging deportment, by which he had formerly attached the minds of all men to his c perſon, he grew humourſome at leaſt, if not moroſe, affecting to treat every body with diſdain, and to put on ſuch airs of inſolence as were inſupportable. He ſuffered the *Athenian* embaſſadors to wait two years before he gave them audience, and one day when he had graciouſly condeſcended to receive all the petitions that were offered him, at his return to his palace he opened his robe, and ſuffered them all to fall into the river *Axius*. This effectually loſt him the hearts of the *Macedonians*, who from that day forward wiſhed for another maſter. Some ſmall time after he fell ſick of a fever at *Pella*, induced by hard drinking, and while he ſtruggled with the violence of the diſtemper, *Pyrrhus* entered his dominions with an army, and penetrated as far as *Edeſſa*. He might have poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole kingdom, if he had known how much the *Macedonians* were diſpleaſed with their king, and how far they were prejudiced in favour of himſelf; but plunder was all he ſought; and when his ſoldiers had loaded themſelves, he had thoughts of retiring. *Demetrius*, ſick as he was, quitted his bed, and mounted on horſeback: ſome of his friends drew together immediately ſome troops; and at the head of theſe he marched againſt *Pyrrhus*, who avoided a battle by a quick retreat. As ſoon as the king returned into *Macedon*, he determined to put an end to the difference between himſelf and his brother-in-law. To this end he ſent embaſſadors who were kindly received, and the treaty they were ſent to negotiate quickly concluded. This point once got over, *Demetrius* raiſed a powerful army, and led it againſt *Lyſimachus*; but before he e reached his confines, *Pyrrhus*, at the perſuaſion of *Ptolemy*, invaded *Macedon*, and marched ſtrait to *Beræa*. This brought *Demetrius* and his army back to oppoſe him, but when they were encamped over-againſt each other, *Pyrrhus* was adviſed by deſerters that his ſoldiers were inclined to deſert *Demetrius*, and to revolt to himſelf. To try their temper therefore, he rode out of the city near the camp with his head bare, but finding none came over to him, he expreſſed his ſurprize to the deſerters, who adviſed him to put on his helmet; which when he had done, and the *Macedonians* perceived by the plume that it was *Pyrrhus*, they came out to him in throngs and ſaluted him king. *Demetrius*, finding himſelf deſerted, retired privately to *Caſſandria*, having loſt a kingdom as unaccountably as he found it[n].

f *Pyrrhus* doubted not his holding the crown he had acquired, without diſpute at leaſt with any but *Demetrius*, but he had ſcarce time to flatter himſelf with theſe expectations before another competitor appeared; for *Lyſimachus*, having raiſed an army to oppoſe *Demetrius*, as ſoon as he had heard what had befallen him, marched ſtrait into *Macedon*, and advanced towards *Pyrrhus*, from whom he demanded half the kingdom for his ſhare, alledging, that *Demetrius* had been compelled to fly by his approach. *Pyrrhus*, who was very ſenſible that this claim had not the leaſt foundation, yielded, however, to his requeſt, deſiring rather to have him his friend and collegue upon any terms, than to have to deal with him as an enemy, knowing the ficklenеſs of the *Mace-*

Demetrius loſes Macedon.

[n] PLUT. in Demetrio.

Macedonians, and remembring that *Lysimachus* was their countryman. Each then took a part of the kingdom of *Macedon*, not to content himself but his partner, for each privately designed to make himself master of the whole [w].

Pyrrhus *becomes king of* Macedon. *Year after the flood* 2712. *Before Christ* 287.

Pyrrhus, now king of *Macedon*, thought the small remains of empire which his brother *Demetrius* retained in *Greece*, were just appendices to his kingdom, and therefore could not enjoy in peace what with so much pains he had acquired, till he had considered of some method for outing that unfortunate prince and his son of what their ill fortune had left them. In order to this he commenced a war, in which he gained the quiet possession of *Athens*, whither he went to sacrifice, and being received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect by the citizens, he gave them thanks with great civility; but at the same time told them, that he believed it would be for their b safety, if for the future they made it a rule with them not to admit sovereign princes into their city upon any terms. This he said to furnish them with a pretence for excluding *Demetrius*; a mean and scandalous contrivance to deprive him of a retreat, when he had deprived him of a kingdom. But he was quickly punished for his own ambition by the ambition of his neighbour; for when *Lysimachus* was at leisure from other wars, he immediately came pouring into *Macedon* with a very numerous army. In the first place he carried off some convoys, whereby he distressed the army of *Pyrrhus*: In the next he caused manifestos to be scattered through the kingdom, complaining of the injury they did to the *Macedonian* name, by accepting a foreigner for their king to the exclusion of him who was a native, and who had been a principal commander in their armies, when under the auspice of *Alexander* they acquired c the command of the world. These arguments were plausible enough to furnish with a pretence for rebellion a people who were prone to it. In short *Pyrrhus* saw himself reduced to the same necessity to which he had reduced *Demetrius*, and was constrained to leave *Lysimachus* by flight a kingdom which himself had stolen. One would have conceived, that, having this leisure, he would have fallen upon *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, who resided at *Corinth*, and had many cities under his jurisdiction in *Peloponnesus* and the rest of *Greece*. But either *Pyrrhus* was afraid of acquiring the sovereignty of so fickle a people, or else he willingly left *Antigonus* behind him, in hopes that he might create *Lysimachus* some trouble. However it was, he chose to fall into *Italy* to acquire new kingdoms, and laid aside all thoughts of *Grecian* conquests, till a more convenient season, which we shall hereafter see dawn upon him when he least expected it [x].

Lysimachus *acquires the kingdom.* *Year after the flood* 2714. *Year before Christ* 285.

Lysimachus, who had now *Macedonia* to himself, as well as the provinces he had held since the division of *Alexander*'s empire, might, if he had so pleased, sate down satisfied and contented, having also fifteen children living to be the comforts of his old age. But so it was, that, like the fair city *Lysimachia*, which he had built and called by his own name, and which was swallowed up by an earthquake; he suddenly saw himself and his fortunes, his foreign and domestic hopes, not only turned upside down, but destroyed for ever. His eldest son *Agathocles*, a prince of great hopes, because of great prudence and greater humanity, he had married to *Lysandra* the daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice* the daughter of *Antipater*, and some time after himself married *Arsinoe* the daughter also of *Ptolemy* by *Berenice*, a widow lady, who had accompanied his wife *Eurydice* into *Egypt* as her friend. These ladies, *Eurydice*, *Berenice*, *Lysandra*, and *Arsinoe*, introduced scenes of blood and confusion into both courts. In that of *Ptolemy* first, *Berenice* procured a preference to be given to her children, to the prejudice of those of her mistress; whereupon *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the king's eldest son, fled to the court of *Lysimachus*, where he was kindly received by his brother-in-law *Agathocles* and his sister *Lysandra*. But in this court he found *Arsinoe* the daughter of his implacable mother-in-law, as powerful and more cruel than she. This lady infused it into her husband's head, that his son, his eldest son *Agathocles*, who had conquered for him half his empire, and in whom the army and people had their hopes bound up, was secretly his enemy; upon which the hapless young prince was first imprisoned, and then poisoned. A fact which struck not only the family, but all the subjects of *Lysimachus* with horror, and the fright of which induced *Lysandra* to fly, with her children and her brother *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to *Seleucus*, where they found not only a civil, but a kind reception. Many of the officers in *Lysimachus*'s army, and some of the principal lords of his court followed them, and all concurred

[w] PLUT. in Pyrrho. JUSTIN. lib. xvi. c. 3. [x] JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

concurred in beſeeching him to make war upon this unnatural parent, who, vexed with the reflections made on what he had already done, became every day more and more cruel. *Seleucus*, though he was ſeventy-ſeven years old, had ſtill all the vigour and activity of a young man: He therefore lent a willing ear to theſe inſinuations, the rather, becauſe he had no rival left, but *Lyſimachus*, and him once ſubdued, he ſaw no cauſe to doubt that his own empire might be extended as far as that of *Alexander* his maſter. Inſtantly therefore he fell upon the dominions of *Lyſimachus* in *Aſia*, and ſtript him of them almoſt as ſoon as he attacked them; but before he could tranſport an army into *Europe*, *Lyſimachus* paſſing the *Helleſpont*, met him at *Corupedion* in *Phrygia* with a gallant army, where, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, *Lyſimachus*, having firſt loſt all his children except two, fell in the field, and left the victory with his kingdoms to *Seleucus*, juſtly ſirnamed *Nicator*, or *the conqueror* [y].

Seleucus *aſſumes the title of king.*

Led by a warm deſire of taking poſſeſſion of *Macedonia*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, *Seleucus* paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and with his army advanced as far as *Lyſimachia* in *Thrace*. In the neighbourhood of this city, he obſerved as he marched an old altar, concerning which he aſked certain queſtions, whence he learned that it was called *Argos*, at which he was exceedingly ſurprized; for he had been warned by an oracle to have a care of *Argos*, which hitherto he thought had referred to *Argos* in *Peloponneſus*. But while by farther queſtions he ſought to ſift into this matter, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whom he had ſo generouſly relieved, for whoſe ſake he had commenced this war; and who, after ſettling his own affairs in *Macedonia*, he intended by force to have reſtored to his father's kingdom, came behind him, and baſely thruſt him through, ſo that in ſeven months ſpace, and by a violent death alſo, he followed *Lyſimachus*, having ſo long worn the title of king of *Macedon* [z].

Ptolemy *becomes king of* Macedon. *Year after the flood* 2681. *Before Chriſt* 318.

Ptolemy Ceraunus having performed this execrable deed, eſcaped away to *Lyſimachia*, where having got about him a band of his companions, he put on a diadem, and boldly declared himſelf king of *Macedon*. We do not find it very clearly laid down, by what title he deſired to hold his crown; however, he made uſe of many pretences to gain him friends. To thoſe whom he diſcerned to be lovers of the houſe of *Antipater*, he obſerved, that he was his grandſon. To ſuch as were to the laſt loyal to *Lyſimachus*, *I am*, ſaid he, *his avenger*. To all he made vaſt promiſes, and, which muſt appear moſt ſingular, he was believed by all; ſo that the army and people accepted him as lawful king; the city of *Caſſandria* only ſtanding out. Three enemies he had to deal with, who all threatened him at the ſame time, *Antiochus* the ſon of *Seleucus*, on account of the murder of his father; *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, who claimed the kingdom of *Macedon* as his hereditary right; and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, though fully bent on his *Italian* expedition, would needs have before he went ſome ſatisfaction for the kingdom of *Macedonia*. *Antigonus*, being neareſt at hand, came with a fleet and army to diſpute with *Ptolemy* the poſſeſſion of his new-acquired dominions; the latter, ſuperior to him both in naval and land-forces, engaged, and routed him. Thus delivered from one rival, he had art enough to rid himſelf without fighting from the other two. *Antiochus* he pacified by fair words. To *Pyrrhus* he lent five thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and fifty elephants for two years, whereupon *Pyrrhus* married his daughter, and appointed him protector of his dominions in his abſence. All this ſo well brought about, the new king of *Macedon* wrote to his brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, telling him, that he acquieſced in his father's diſpoſition of his paternal kingdom, being ſatisfied with that which he had honourably obtained by the death of his father's enemy. Next he applied himſelf to his ſiſter *Arſinoe* the widow of *Lyſimachus*, who had obliged him to fly from the court of her huſband. She was poſſeſſed of the ſtrong caſtle and rich city of *Caſſandria*, where ſhe reſided with her two ſons. *Ptolemy*'s ſuit to her was, that, forgetting all former quarrels, ſhe would remember her near relation to him, and conſent to ſhare the kingdom with him, promiſing to marry her, and to adopt her children. She, credulous as ſhe was, readily embraced the offer, and in conſequence thereof put *Ptolemy* in poſſeſſion of the city of *Caſſandria*; where on the very day of the nuptials, *Ptolemy* cauſed her two ſons to be ſlain, and turned herſelf out attended only with two maid-ſervants to lead a ſolitary life in *Samo-Thrace*, from whence ſhe afterwards paſſed into *Egypt*, where ſhe married her other brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who for her ſake divorced and baniſhed *Arſinoe* daughter of *Lyſimachus*.

Ptolemy

[y] Appian. in Syriacis. Memnon. ap. Phot. Cod. ccxxiv. c. 9. Justin. lib. xvii. c. 1—2.
[z] Justin. ubi ſupra. Memnon. ubi ſupra. Pausan. in Atticis.

Ptolemy now looked upon himself as thoroughly fixed in the *Macedonian* throne; but he had not sat on it above a year before a people he had scarce heard of sent to demand of him a tribute. These were the *Gauls*, who with three different armies broke into *Pannonia*, *Thracia*, and *Macedon*. This last corps was commanded by *Belgius*, who sent deputies to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to inquire of him in few words, how much money he would give for peace. *Ptolemy*, proud of his own performances, and not at all doubting the fidelity of the *Macedonians* against these barbarous invaders, slighted the message, and returned for answer, that unless the principal officers of their army were given up to him for hostages, he would not allow it to them. The *Gauls* in their turn derided the haughtiness of this rash monarch, and marched immediately against him with a mighty army of horse and foot. *Ptolemy* failed not to meet them with b the whole force of *Macedon*, and a battle was fought with great obstinacy on both sides. At last *Ptolemy*, being much wounded, was thrown by his elephant, and taken prisoner. The *Barbarians* shewed him as little pity as he had shewn others; for those who took him tore him to pieces, and then exalting his head on the top of a pike, his army were so intimidated, that they immediately began to break, and were soon after surrounded and cut to pieces. This misfortune was wholly owing to the confidence of *Ptolemy*, whose army was overthrown, not so much by the valour as by the multitude of their enemies; for whom they would have been at least a more equal match, if he had not refused twenty thousand men offered him by the king of the *Dardanians* with this proud boast, that he had an army composed of the children of c those with whom *Alexander* had subdued the east. This miserable end had *Ptolemy* himself, after he had been a king no more than eighteen months [a].

Meleager, Antipater, *and* Sosthenes.

The *Macedonians* in this distress knew not well what to do, either in respect to preservation of their country, or the choice of a king. *Meleager* the brother of *Ptolemy* was at hand, him therefore they saluted king, but finding with the name they were not able to bestow on him the qualities requisite to a monarch, after two months they deprived him, and in his stead exalted *Antipater* the son of *Philip*, the brother of *Cassander*. Upon him they bestowed the firname of *Etesian*, because he governed but forty-five days, during which time the *Etesian* winds blew. Then an interregnum followed; the *Gauls* making havock of every thing, till *Sosthenes*, a young noble- d man of great merit, collected as well as he could a body of able youths, and having disciplined them, and brought them by degrees to a tolerable knowledge in military discipline, he with them, taking proper seasons and all the advantages resulting from the thorough knowledge of the country, greatly harassed, and at length totally destroyed the *Gauls*, and, as is generally believed, slew *Belgius* their commander. These noble exploits might well have intitled him to the kingdom, if his modesty had not induced him to refuse regal honours. He caused the soldiers to swear to him as their general, and with that title ruled happily in *Macedon* for two years; about the end of that time came a new inundation of *Gauls* under the command of *Brennus*, and broke into this country. His army consisted of one hundred and forty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, besides an innumerable train of retainers. *Sosthenes* bore up against him with great courage, till himself and his army were overwhelmed with numbers; then they ruined and pillaged all the country, till being quite fated with booty, or rather finding there was nothing more to be had, and having received vast recruits from *Gaul* and *Illyria*, they left *Macedonia*, and poured down into *Greece* [b].

Antigonus Gonatus *restored.* *Year after the flood*, 2686. *Before Christ* 313.

Sosthenes being dead and the kingdom of *Macedon* deserted by the *Gauls*, *Antigonus Gonatus*, so called from the place of his birth, revived his claim to the kingdom, as son to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*; but he was opposed by *Antiochus Soter* the son of *Seleucus Nicator*, who also pretended title to the kingdom, in right of his father who had conquered it, though he never possessed it. *Antigonus*, who had already reigned ten years in *Peloponnesus*, came with a great fleet and army and took possession of the kingdom, before his rival was in any condition to contest it with him; yet this did not at all discourage *Antiochus* from prosecuting his claim; for he immediately raised a great army, and threatened to transport it from *Asia* into *Europe*. It so happened, that during this dispute *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* entered into a treaty with *Antigonus* for their mutual defence; whereupon *Antiochus* carried the war on into his kingdom, which he invaded with a powerful army; yet there happened no decisive action, but

[a] Justin. lib. xxiv. 3—5. Memnon. ap. Phot. ubi supra. [b] Justin. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxii.

a but after the armies had for some time observed each other, a treaty was made, whereby all these differences were adjusted. *Antigonus* married *Phila* the daughter of *Seleucus* by *Stratonice* the sister of *Antigonus* himself, and as this lady was half-sister and daughter-in-law to *Antiochus*, he resigned his right to the kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus* on account of the marriage. Being now peaceable possessor of the kingdom of *Macedon*, he applied himself with all imaginable industry to the restoring of the towns and villages which had been ruined by the *Gauls*. But while he was intent upon such matters, the *Gauls* threatened another invasion; but before they entered his country, they sent to him as they had to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to know if he was inclined to purchase peace, for they were well informed that he had brought a great b treasure out of *Peloponnesus*. *Antigonus* entertained the embassadors splendidly, and having shewn them his camp, his army, and his treasures, told them, these were not to be given away, but to be employed for the just defence of his subjects. When these deputies returned home, and had reported not only the king's answer, but also what splendid things they had seen in his camp, the *Gauls* were impatient to go and take possession of all the fine things they talked of; for though they were but fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet they made no question of subduing *Antigonus*, as they had done some of his predecessors. That they might perform this the more easily, they made forced marches in order to surprize him; but *Antigonus*, being aware of their intent, withdrew his forces into a wood, and so avoided an engagement: however, the *Gauls* rifled his camp, and then proceeded to plunder his ships; but the seamen and soldiers on board, perceiving that they observed no order, and that they were quite intoxicated with success, fell upon them and cut off numbers of them. In the mean time *Antigonus* and his soldiers being apprised of what had happened, they also attacked the *Gauls* in the rear, and gained over them so complete a victory, as for the present established *Antigonus* firmly on the throne. But before he had time to perform what he endeavoured, the restoring of the kingdom to its ancient lustre, he had another enemy upon his hands, more formidable than the *Gauls*, viz. *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, returning with the shattered remains of an army from *Italy*, after he had continued a little time in his own country, invaded the frontiers of *Macedonia*, in hopes of plunder; but finding little resistance, he advanced into the c very heart of *Macedon*, where two thousand men who had been posted in the adjacent towns for their defence by *Antigonus*, deserted to him; whereupon he resolved to venture a battle, notwithstanding the *Macedonian* army was more numerous, and composed of better troops than his own. This once resolved on, he prosecuted his march against *Antigonus* with the utmost diligence, and coming up with him in a defile, he charged his forces briskly. The rear of the army was composed of *Gauls*, whom *Antigonus* had taken into his service; they made a very gallant defence, and continued fighting till most of them were cut to pieces. When these were destroyed, *Pyrrhus* made himself master of the elephants, and, elated with his success, advanced towards the phalanx which *Antigonus* commanded in person, and which alone was ca- c pable of defeating his army: yet *Pyrrhus* vanquished it without a stroke. For when he drew near enough to be heard, he called not only some of the principal, but also many of the inferior, officers by their names, and thereby drew them and the troops under their command over to his party, so that of a sudden *Antigonus* saw himself without troops; whereupon with a few of his friends he retired from the field, and had much ado to reach the coast of *Macedon*, where by means of his fleet some of the maritime cities were held in his obedience [c].

Pyrrhus was once again owned king of *Macedon*, for the royal city of *Ægis*, and all the places of any importance in the neighbourhood, submitted without farther dispute. Yet, as soon as he got possession of the kingdom, he by an unaccountable act of f folly, or rather of wickedness, lost the hearts of the people; for after plundering the city of *Ægis*, and using its inhabitants with very great severity, he placed a garison of mercenary *Gauls* therein. They, as soon as he was departed, took it into their heads that there must be vast riches buried in the sepulchres of the ancient kings; wherefore they, without more ado, entered the silent repositories of the dead, and having impiously scattered the ashes of the deceased princes, tore away whatever they found of any value in their monuments. *Pyrrhus*, when informed of this, shewed very little concern at it, and never so much as pretended to revenge it: all his care

Pyrrhus expells him, and seizes the kingdom.

was

[c] Plutarch. in Pyrrho. Justin. lib. xxv. 3.

was to keep the kingdom, and make the moſt of it. When he was obliged to quit it for ſome time, he left his ſon *Ptolemy* as his vicegerent. This opportunity *Antigonus* took to return with what troops he could get together from the ſea-coaſts, in hopes of reconquering the kingdom. But *Ptolemy* advancing againſt him with the army left him by his father, an engagement enſued, wherein *Antigonus* was routed, and with much ado eſcaped with no more than ſeven attendants. Of this, when *Pyrrhus* received advice, he was ſo intoxicated with his good fortune, that he ſaid, by way of raillery, *That* Antigonus *was a very impudent fellow, ſtill to wear a purple robe*: A moſt unmannerly and ill-grounded ſarcaſm, ſince that prince, diſtreſſed as he was, held ſtill very conſiderable territories in *Greece*, and had both ſpirit and ability to maintain a longer conteſt for the kingdom of *Macedon*. When *Pyrrhus* had held the kingdom two years, he raſhly, and almoſt without any ground, involved himſelf in a war with the *Lacedæmonians*, and, in order thereto, marched down into *Greece* with the flower of his army; there he miſſed taking *Sparta* by delay, and while he endeavoured to retrieve his miſtake, he had news that *Antigonus*, having recovered a great part of *Macedon*, had followed him to *Greece*, and was in the neighbourhood of *Argos*; whither himſelf being invited by the oppoſite faction, he, according to his wonted cuſtom, laid hold of that opportunity to deſert an unlucky enterprize, in hopes of entering on one more fortunate. But when he drew near the city, he was met by a deputation from thence, who were ſent to inform him, that *Antigonus* was encamped on the neighbouring hills, and that it was the humble requeſt of the city, that neither of them would enter it. *Pyrrhus* promiſed that he would do as they deſired; but in the mean time he ſent to defy *Antigonus*, and to challenge him to fight hand to hand before both armies for the kingdom. To which *Antigonus* returned him for anſwer, *That himſelf in making war, uſed not only arms, but time; and that if* Pyrrhus *was weary of life, there were ways enow to death, which lay directly before him.* To the deputies from *Argos* who made him the ſame propoſition they had *Pyrrhus*, he anſwered, *That he came to do them good, but if his retiring would be more for their intereſt, he was content to retire, and, as a proof of his ſincerity, to give them his ſon for a hoſtage.* They thankfully received the young prince, and then ſent to demand hoſtages of *Pyrrhus*, which he refuſed, but promiſed to keep his word, though he never intended it. For in the night he entered the city, and *Antigonus*, at the requeſt of the citizens, having ſent forces to aſſiſt them, a battle enſued in the ſtreets, where, in the morning, *Pyrrhus* was ſlain. *Alcyoneus* the ſon of *Antigonus* taking the head by the hair, rid with it full ſpeed to his father, and, finding him talking with ſome of his favourites, threw it at his feet. *Antigonus* looking upon it, and knowing it, not only thruſt his ſon from him with diſdain, but ſtruck him with his battoon; *Barbarous wretch*, ſaid he, *why didſt thou think, that he whoſe grandfather was thus ſlain, and whoſe father died a captive, ſhould rejoice at ſuch a ſight?* Then taking the robe from his ſhoulders, he covered the head, and at the ſame time let fall a ſhower of tears, giving orders that the body ſhould be carefully looked for, and that they ſhould be burnt together, with all the funeral honours due to a king. While he was ſpeaking, *Alcyoneus* having diſcovered *Helenus* the ſon of *Pyrrhus* in a thread-bare coat, he ſpoke to him kindly, and with great reſpect preſented him to his father; *Well, my ſon*, ſaid *Antigonus*, *this is better than you did before; however, you have done leſs than your duty ſtill, in that you have ſuffered a perſon of his quality to approach me in that thread-bare coat, which is not a diſgrace to him, but to our victory.* Having then comforted *Helenus* for the loſs of his father, he entertained him kindly, and afterwards ſet him at liberty, and ſent him home to *Epirus*. The principal officers in *Pyrrhus*'s army he ſent for, aſſured them of his favour, and incorporated the troops they commanded into his own[d].

Antigonus *reſtored, and again expelled.*

Antigonus now held not only the kingdom of *Macedon*, but alſo very large poſſeſſions in *Greece*; yet was he as far as ever from being freed from enemies, new ones ariſing up as the old ones were deſtroyed. The *Gauls*, breeding him new diſturbances, threatened no leſs miſchief than they had heretofore done himſelf and his predeceſſors; but *Antigonus*, having made all the neceſſary preparations for ſubduing them, firſt cut off numbers in ſkirmiſhes, whereby they were ſo provoked, that in a rage they maſſacred their wives and children, and then put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were defeated, and in a manner exterminated. After this victory *Antigonus*

[d] PLUT. in vit. Pyrrho. JUSTIN. lib. XXV. c. 5.

a *Antigonus* led his army againſt *Athens*, and, notwithſtanding it was powerfully ſupported, compelled it to receive a gariſon; but in the midſt of his ſucceſs he was recalled into *Macedon*, by the news that *Alexander* the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, being become king of *Epirus*, had entered *Macedon*, and committed great depredations. *Antigonus* on his return marched directly with a great army to repel the invader. Then, when he leaſt expected it, the *Macedonians* again deſerted him, and went over to *Alexander*, who thus acquired the kingdom without a ſtroke. *Antigonus* was ſo much ſurprized and confounded at the ingratitude and infidelity of a people, whom he had uſed ſo well, that he even deſerted them and retired into *Greece*. His ſon *Demetrius*, a very boy, remained in *Macedon*, where having with much difficulty collected a body of troops, b he daily did ſome exploit or other, which ſo charmed the *Macedonians*, who were always fond of active princes, that they liſted willingly under his banners, and thereby enabled him not only to regain the whole kingdom, but alſo to proſecute his father's quarrel in *Epirus*, the hereditary kingdom of his father's enemy, which he did with ſuch effect, that in his turn he expelled *Alexander*, who fled for ſhelter to the *Ætolians*, amongſt whom he collected a freſh army with an intent to make a briſk inroad into his own kingdom, once more to try the affections of his ſubjects. In this attempt he had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, for the *Epirots* joined him in ſuch numbers, that *Demetrius* found it convenient to leave that kingdom, in order the more effectually to ſecure *Macedonia*, which he had recovered for his father [e].

Antigonus Gonatus *his reign and death.*

Antigonus, returning to this kingdom, governed his ſubjects for many years in peace, making uſe of every advantage afforded him by the fluctuating ſtate of things in *Greece*, to ſtrengthen and inlarge his authority there. In his declining years he conceived a ſtrange ungovernable deſire of getting the citadel of *Corinth* into his hands, which he purſued with incredible vehemence and aſſiduity. It had been formerly held, together with *Sicyon*, by *Crateſipolis*, the wife of *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon*; from her it was taken by *Ptolemy*, and, having often afterwards changed its maſters, it was now in the hands of one *Alexander*, who eſteemed himſelf a prince, but was deemed by the *Greeks* a tyrant. The famous *Aratus* had contrived a ſcheme for ſurprizing it, but, before he was ready to put it in execution, *Alexander* entered into the *Achæan* league. Then it was, that *Antigonus* conceived an opinion that he ſhould never be able to ſupport his authority over the *Greeks*, unleſs he had this important place in his hands, which he compaſſed thus. *Alexander* being taken off by poiſon, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* was ſent by his father to court the widow, whoſe name was *Nicæa*, an old woman full of vanity, but ſuſpicious and very cunning; a ſtrong gariſon ſhe kept in the citadel, but ſhe could not keep her own underſtanding from being impoſed upon by the pretences of *Demetrius*; in ſhort ſhe was weak enough to believe, that one of the handſomeſt princes of his time, and in the full vigour of his years, might be paſſionately in love with a woman of an advanced age. A marriage was therefore ſpeedily concluded, and *Antigonus* himſelf came to grace the ſolemnity. c *Nicæa*, however, kept the citadel, nay, and was more cautious of it than ordinary, of which *Antigonus* took no notice; but ſpent all his time in feaſts, ſhews, and theatrical entertainments. One day, when *Amæbeus*, a famous muſician, was to perform on the theatre for the amuſement of *Nicæa*, *Antigonus* would needs accompany her as ſhe was carried thither in a ſplendid chair; but when they came to a paſſage which led up to the citadel, *Antigonus* bid the bearers of the chair go on; then with more ſpeed than could be expected from a man of his years, he aſcended to the gate of the citadel, which finding ſhut, he knocked at it with his ſtaff, and in a quick tone bid the ſoldiers open it; they, ſurprized to behold the king in perſon, did as he commanded; and *Antigonus* being once within the place, eaſily tranſacted things d there according to his pleaſure. The joy he conceived on the happy ſucceſs of his project, led him into great acts of indecorum, for he not only drank to exceſs at the feaſts he gave his friends, but when he was full of wine went and danced in the ſtreets, embraced every one he met, and in ſhort acted as if the taking of *Corinth* had taken away his ſenſes. From this time forward he employed all his care and thoughts in the proſecution of his views in *Greece*, where he ſupported all the petty tyrants againſt the free ſtates, appointing new ones on the demiſe of the old, or ſwallowing them up as occaſion offered, thereby enlarging his own dominions; though not much to the reputation either of his arms, or of his honour. But the *Achæans*,

[e] Justin. lib. xxvi.

Achæans, and especially *Aratus*, their glorious general, gave him not a little quiet: they openly professed a desire of restoring *Greece* to freedom, which was the same thing, as if they had declared they would extirpate the *Macedonian* power in *Greece*. Yet *Antigonus* did not make war on them, for he had in his life-time experienced such variety of fortune, that he was fearful of staking any thing in the open field; and therefore sought by promises to bring over *Aratus*, and by smooth language to amuse the *Achæans*. His policy without doubt was right; yet it did not very well answer his end, for *Aratus* and the *Achæans* acted just as he did, they laid hold of every opportunity to augment their own power, and pretended to surprize cities, and to take under their protection countries dependent on *Antigonus* without breaking the peace. At length *Aratus* ventured upon *Corinth*, and actually surprized it in the night, about eight years after it had been taken by *Antigonus*. *Archelaus*, who commanded the king's garison, he dismissed; but for the treasure in the citadel and the ships in the haven, those he retained. It does not appear, that even this engaged *Antigonus* in an open war against the *Achæans*; on the contrary, we find he prosecuted his old method of countenancing and supporting their enemies, whereby he impeded their power at least, though somewhat at the expence of his own. Other acts of his we find none, except that he thoroughly settled the realm of *Macedon*, and so effectually conciliated the minds of the people to him and his family, that they were ever after very loyal subjects to his descendents. In fine, after a reign of upwards of thirty years, he died, being somewhat above fourscore, with the character of a mild and generous prince, one whose wisdom surpassed his valour, and yet one who, in cases of necessity and when all was at stake, had shewn himself personally brave[f].

Demetrius II. *Year after the Flood* 2756. *Before Christ* 243.

Demetrius succeeded his father, and, on account of the great things he had performed while a youth, much was expected from him. Yet after he obtained the crown, he seemed to have altered his conduct, and to have acted with greater caution than vigour. He had married the daughter of *Antiochus Hierax*, and so long as he kept to this wife, his affairs went peaceably enough at home. Abroad he had some trouble with the *Ætolians*, a restless uneasy people, who were impatient of any wrong done to themselves, and yet were continually robbing and spoiling their neighbours. *Demetrius*, to blunt the edge of their courage, stirred up against them *Agrion* king of *Illyria*, who came down against them with a great army, engaged, and routed them; for joy of which he made vast feasts, and at them drank so heartily, that he was seized with a fever, and died in a few days time. He was succeeded by his wife *Tuta*, who was as successful, and made as bad use of her success, as her husband; for having experienced the valour of her subjects, she not only permitted, but encouraged, them to commit all sorts of robberies and piracies on the neighbouring nations, which ended at last in their destruction. *Demetrius* in the mean time found himself engaged in a war against the *Achæans*, who under the command of *Aratus* had invaded *Attica*. *Bythis*, who was general for the king in those parts, instantly took the field, and at *Phylacia* it came to a battle, wherein the *Achæans* were beaten, and it was reported, that *Aratus* was either slain, or made prisoner. At *Athens* the former was so firmly believed, that the citizens, to shew their affection to the *Macedonians*, put on garlands, as if some mighty good luck had befallen them; whereas in truth, *Aratus* intended to restore them to their liberty; their behaviour therefore was at once chargeable with gross flattery and rank ingratitude. What confirmed them in all probability in their notion of the death of *Aratus* was a message sent by *Diogenes*, who was governor of the *Pyræus* for the king, to *Corinth*, commanding the *Achæans* immediately to quit that city; but this order was very indifferently obeyed, because *Aratus* himself was then in the city, where receiving information of the joy shewn by the *Athenians* for his death, he, with such troops as he could first draw together, invaded their territories, to let them see that he was alive, and penetrated as far as the academy, where being met by certain deputies, to excuse the conduct of their countrymen from the visible force they were under, he suffered himself to be appeased, and withdrew his forces without doing any considerable mischief. In *Macedon* the latter report of his being a prisoner, was so well received, that *Demetrius* sent a ship directly to *Athens* to bring him from thence in chains. The *Ætolians*, having been relieved from their late distress by the *Achæans*, recovered their old disposition with their prosperity, and

[f] Justin. lib. xxviii. Plut. in vit. Arat.

a and in consequence thereof endeavoured to tear away that part of *Acarnania* which was subject to the crown of *Epirus*. This kingdom was at that time governed by *Olympias* the sister and widow of *Alexander*, as guardian to her sons *Pyrrhus* and *Ptolemy*. She therefore, to rid herself of these barbarous enemies, applied to *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and prevailed on him to marry her daughter *Phthia*. This produced the queen and her children very little good, though it proved the cause of no small mischief to *Demetrius*; for his first wife was so much enraged thereat, that she left him, and retired to her brother, whom she earnestly excited to make war upon her husband; which though the unsettled state of his own affairs would not permit, yet the inclination he shewed to revenge his sister's quarrel obliged *Demetrius* b to take all the precautions necessary to repel an invader. All that we know farther of this king of *Macedon* is, that he added *Cyrene* and all *Libya* to his dominions; but at what time, or by what means, we are not able to say. During his whole reign the *Achæans* struggled with him in *Greece*, and the barbarous nations on his frontiers gave him no small trouble. In defending himself from their attacks he spent the ten years in which he enjoyed the regal authority, and then died, leaving behind him a young son named *Philip* [g].

Macedonia could not be without a king, and as their lawful prince was little more than two years old, there was a necessity of appointing a regent. Some historians say, that *Demetrius* assigned his brother *Antigonus* to be the tutor of young *Philip*, which is probable enough; but he did not long continue to exercise this office, for c having by his gentle and obliging conduct gained the good-will of the *Macedonians*, as also of the widow of the deceased king, he took her to wife, and was by them saluted king. Yet, imitating the policy of his predecessor *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, he did not offer the least violence to his nephew, but, on the contrary, caused him to be brought up with great care, and, as we shall see, made him his successor. He was indeed a prince of great abilities, equally capable of maintaining peace at home, and of carrying on war abroad. He had a great reputation for his justice, was renowned for his clemency towards his enemies, and for his kindness and affability towards his friends. With all these great qualities he had very high ideas of the regal d dignity, and of the honour of the *Macedonian* name: he is said to have been slower in performing than promising, and therefore the *Greeks*, who in this age were more remarkable for saying quick things, than for doing wise ones, sirnamed him *Doson*, i. e. *will-give*. He had scarce begun to meddle with the administration, when *Diogenes*, whom the late king had made governor of his several forts in the city of *Athens*, most basely sold them, together with the island of *Salamis*, for a hundred and fifty talents. In the transacting of this treaty, the *Athenians* made use of *Aratus*, whom they had so lately treated as an enemy, and he not only lent them his advice, but furnished twenty talents out of his own pocket. So true a friend was he to the liberty of *Greece*, and so strongly was he at this time persuaded, that nothing cramped it so much as the e *Macedonian* power. But in process of time, when the *Ætolians*, by lending assistance to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, had enabled him to give check to the *Achæans*, and even to defeat *Aratus* in battle; this great man began to change his sentiments, and to have another opinion of the *Macedonians*. Yet, not caring to be himself the author of a motion for calling in *Antigonus* once more into *Peloponnesus*, whom himself had so earnestly laboured to expel, he found means to engage the *Megalopolitans*, who were in immediate danger of being destroyed by *Cleomenes*, to demand succours of *Antigonus*, who very politicly answered, that he would readily send them assistance when the *Achæans* should desire it. When this answer was reported in the assembly of the *Achæans*, and generally applauded, *Aratus* alone opposed it, and advised the f *Achæans* to try what they could do with their own forces, before they called in so powerful an ally; yet this he did only to colour the business, foreseeing what quickly after fell out, that they would be under a necessity of applying to *Antigonus*; and when this happened, he readily agreed to the motion, and sent his own son to the king, not only to negotiate the affair, but to be a hostage. *Antigonus* received the young man with great civility, and the request made by his father and the *Achæans* with the highest satisfaction; for he of all things desired to retrieve his interest in *Greece*, and to assert that authority which the kings of *Macedon* from the time of *Philip* had maintained therein. One thing, however, from the beginning he insisted on,

Antigonus Doson. *Year after the flood* 2762. *Before Christ* 237.

[g] Justin. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Polyb. lib. ii. Porphyr. in Græcis. Euseb. Scalig. p. 229.

on, which was, that the citadel of *Corinth* ſhould be put into his hands. For, as *Plutarch* obſerves, he looked on the *Greeks*, as a high-mettled horſe, too dangerous to be rid without a bridle. To this condition, to avoid falling under the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Achæans* ſubmitted, and for the performance of this, the ſon of *Aratus* became hoſtage. The king therefore ſoon after his coming prepared to perform his part of the treaty, and, in order thereto, aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, with which he intended to have deſcended into *Theſſaly*; but his march that way was hindered by a meſſage ſent him by the *Ætolians*, that they would oppoſe his paſſage at *Thermopylæ* with their utmoſt force. He then tranſported his forces into *Eubœa*, but when he was come thither, he was informed that *Cleomenes* lay with a gallant army juſt within the iſthmus, and that he had fortified it b with lines which were not to be forced, but at the expence of a great number of men. All this made him very uneaſy, eſpecially as it happened in the very beginning of a war, when all croſs adventures are moſt apt to diſcourage an army. *Aratus* came by ſea to *Pegæ* with ſome of his friends, there *Antigonus* met and complimented them, treating all with great civility; but receiving *Aratus* with particular marks of friendſhip. This was the effect of policy, for he had been his old enemy, and was but lately become his friend; yet when they had converſed a little together, and *Antigonus*, who was an excellent judge of men, had thereby an opportunity given him of diſcourſing freely with this great politician, he grew into a ſincere friendſhip with him, treating him ever after with the utmoſt familiarity and confidence. The c firſt ſtep of the war was the attacking the lines of *Corinth*, which were better defended than any other lines mentioned in the *Greek* hiſtory; but the city of *Argos* in *Peloponneſus* revolting, *Cleomenes* was forced to abandon his lines, leſt he ſhould have an enemy on both ſides. *Antigonus* purſued the war to the ſatisfaction of the *Achæans* for ſome time, and then having the citadel of *Corinth* put into his hands, he made a pompous feaſt there for all the generals in the army. At this entertainment *Aratus* was placed next the king, who feeling himſelf on a ſudden very cold, called for his cloak, and when the ſervant brought it, turning to *Aratus*, *My friend*, ſaid he, *don't you think the weather very ſharp? Yes*, replied *Aratus*, *I never felt it ſharper.* The king thereupon pulled him cloſer to him, and bid the ſervant throw the cloak d over them both; upon which *Aratus* fell a laughing; of which when the king demanded the reaſon, *I will tell you, Sir*, ſaid *Aratus*; *a little before our treaty with you, when I had offered a ſolemn ſacrifice, the ſoothſayer finding in the liver two gall-bags in one cell, he pronounced it his opinion, that two perſons, then thought irreconcileable enemies, ſhould very ſoon become moſt intimate friends; I ſmiled at the prediction then, and laughed at its accompliſhment juſt now, for I believe your cloak covers thoſe gall-bladders at preſent.* The hiſtory of this war the reader has already had in our former volume; we ſhall therefore only touch on ſuch points as relate immediately to the conduct of *Antigonus*, and are not mentioned there. As the advantages obtained by the *Achæans* were entirely due to the aſſiſtance he had brought them, the king thought it but rea- e ſonable that *Orchomenus*, and ſome other places that were taken, ſhould be gariſoned by *Macedonians*. He alſo cauſed the ſtatues of thoſe who had ſurprized the citadel at *Corinth* to be thrown down, excepting only that of *Aratus*. In *Argos* he reſtored the ſtatues of thoſe whom the *Achæans* ſtiled tyrants, but who had been protected in the authority they exerciſed by his anceſtors. Theſe things created a great deal of trouble to *Aratus*, who was made accountable by his countrymen for every thing that happened, as if after they had admitted *Antigonus* into their country, had choſen him their captain general, and had veſted him with ſupreme power, he would not conduct things a little according to his own will, and not intirely in conſequence of the advice given him by others. Yet it ſeems, that to gratify the *Achæans*, he ſent the greateſt part f of his forces to take up their winter quarters in *Macedonia*, which gave *Cleomenes* an opportunity of deſtroying all the country about *Argos*, under the noſe of the king, who with a few mercenary troops lay in the neighbourhood of the city. It was upon this occaſion that he performed the greateſt action of his life, which was abſolutely refuſing to fight, when he could not do it without manifeſt diſadvantage, notwithſtanding he was inſulted by the enemy, and railed at by his confederates. His prudence preſerved him from that diſgrace, which would have attended a defeat; and when his forces were returned, he made himſelf ample amends for the injury his reputation had received by the glorious victory at *Sellaſia*, where he totally defeated *Cleomenes*, and, in conſequence of his victory, took the virgin city of *Sparta*. If

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any thing could add to his glory after this, or rather, if any thing could eclipſe the luſtre of his victory by its ſuperior ſplendor, it was his behaviour on this occaſion; for he not only prevented the plunder of the city, but declared to the magiſtrates, that he did not carry on the war againſt the *Spartans*, but againſt *Cleomenes*; with reſpect to whom, as he was fled, he had no farther rancour. He left the city in three days, and left it as free as he found it, being obliged to make a precipitate march back into *Macedonia*, on account of his having received information, that the *Illyrians* had invaded that kingdom with a great army. In his return he came to *Tegea*, where he reſtored that little republic. Thence he proceeded to *Argos*, and arriving there at the time the *Nemæan* games were celebrated, had the ſatisfaction of receiving the higheſt compliments, and ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of reſpect from the *Greeks* in general, and from every little ſtate in particular. When he arrived in *Macedon*, he found all things in confuſion; his own people dejected, the enemy fluſhed with ſucceſs. He did not, however, deſpair, but, having recruited his army, advanced to meet the *Illyrians*, who had brought with them a mixt rabble of *Barbarians*, and had hitherto bore down before them all things like a deluge. A battle quickly enſued, which proved deciſive, the *Macedonians* obtaining a victory equally glorious and complete; but they gained it at a very great expence, the king dying a few days afterwards of a ſpitting of blood, induced by ſtraining his voice during the time of the engagement. Thus *Antigonus* died, as he had lived, in the ſervice of his country, having adjured the army to remain faithful to his nephew and pupil *Philip*; who, though a very youth, was now to take the government into his own hands. The people were in general very much grieved on the death of ſo good a prince; however, he left them in a better condition than they had ever been in ſince the days of *Antipater*; for they were well united, and began to reſume their ancient liberty [h].

Philip began his adminiſtration very happily, and, which is not a little ſingular, had both better reputation, and better ſucceſs, while he was ſo young as to be governed by others, than after he managed all things according to his own will. His natural abilities were very great, for he was brave in his perſon, very eloquent, ſkilled in all the learning worthy of a king, and one who knew how to make himſelf acceptable to all degrees of people. In the beginning of his reign, he was engaged in the ſocial war in *Greece*, which drew after it a train of other military expeditions againſt the *Illyrians*, *Ætolians*, and other nations, who either made war upon the *Achæans*, or invaded *Macedon*, in order to divert *Philip* from ſuccouring the laſt-mentioned people. All of theſe we have conſidered at large in our former volume: here therefore it would be ſuperflous to repeat them, and for that reaſon we ſhall only glance on ſuch points, as are neceſſary to introduce the hiſtory of the remaining part of *Philip*'s life, unaccounted for in that part of our work. The courſe of his affairs diſcovered to him before he was a very old man, that he had ſome true friends, and ſome very falſe ones; but which were his true friends, and which only pretended to be his friends, he could not diſcover; at leaſt not certainly; which was the reaſon that he often treated his falſe friends with confidence, and his true ones with diſdain. In the end, however, he fell to deſtroying them all. *Apelles* and *Ptolemy*, who had been in his councils from his acceſſion to the throne, he put to death, the latter with, the former without, the ordinary forms of juſtice; neither without cauſe. But for *Aratus* the elder and his ſon *Aratus* the younger, men of the greateſt worth and honour, men who had been the ſupport of his family, his guides in his beſt actions; thoſe who procured to him, and thoſe who preſerved to him, the affections of the *Greeks*, theſe he treated moſt deteſtably. The former he poiſoned, the wife of the latter he debauched, while he was his gueſt; and then practiſed upon himſelf by giving him drugs, which by degrees diſturbed his ſenſes, and induced him to perpetrate ſuch actions, as made his death appear rather ſeaſonable to his friends, than untimely, as it really was. *Philip*, however, from ſuch practices as theſe grew odious at home and abroad, yet he maintained his authority by dint of his ſkill in government, and his experience as a general; for though he was ſeldom fortunate either in conducting his projects, or in the field, yet he had happy talents in negotiation, could put on an appearance of firmneſs in the worſt circumſtances, and could improve every opportunity that offered of retrieving his affairs, though, when he had retrieved them, his ambition would never ſuffer him to be quiet. Wars, loſſes, treaties, repeated over and

Philip. *Year after the flood* 2778. *Before Chriſt* 221.

[h] Polyb. lib. ii. Plut. in vit. Arat. Justin. lib. xxviii. c. 3, 4.

and over again, employed thirty years and upwards of his reign; till the *Romans* had reduced him to such a miserable state, that he was forced to submit to the orders they sent him; to send his younger son *Demetrius* to *Rome* as a hostage, and to undertake to live in peace with all his neighbours, in consideration of their leaving him the kingdom of *Macedon*, circumscribed within its ancient bounds, with other hard conditions, such as delivering up his ships of war, and paying by way of fine a thousand talents at several times[i].

Philip *struggles with the* Romans.

THE subsequent war between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* seemed to offer *Philip* an opportunity of restoring in some measure his power; but he passed it by, not through negligence or want of discernment, for no prince in the age in which he lived was either quicker in executing, or could penetrate farther than he: but the cause of his not stirring was this; he saw clearly that the strength of his kingdom was much exhausted, and that his revenues were in no condition to support the charges of a war. When this struggle was over, and the war against the *Ætolians* commenced, he attempted to take part therein for his own advantage, coming down with an army to the siege of *Lamia*, at the same time that the consul *Acilius* lay before *Heraclea*. But when *Philip* had brought the town almost to extremity, the consul sent to command him to raise his siege, not with any design to save the city, but that he might take it himself. However, the king was allowed to turn his arms for the present into *Athamania* and towards *Thrace*; but no sooner had he made some conquests of importance, than complaints were made against him at *Rome*, and the *Romans* immediately appointed commissioners, who were to go over to *Greece*, with full power to hear and determine; in consequence of which, they did accordingly summon all parties before them, pronounce judgment against *Philip*, and order him to content himself with *Macedonia* in its ancient state. *Philip*, stung with so severe a sentence, could not help saying, that he had not seen his last sun set, of which many constructions were made, most of them little to his advantage. In the mean time there sprung up divisions in his family, and a spirit of discord began to appear among his subjects. His eldest son *Perseus* he had begotten on a concubine, whence he was not so much respected as his younger brother *Demetrius*. This *Demetrius* was not only happy in the people's affections, but was really a prince of extraordinary merit. He had a sincere affection for his father, a most tender love for his country, and had conceived a high respect for the *Romans*; among whom he had remained some time a hostage, and was afterwards dismissed with great respect. His brother *Perseus*, observing what regard *Philip* paid him, how fond the *Macedonians* were of him, and what an interest he had at *Rome*, began to hate him very heartily, and to do him privately all the mischief he could. The hatred of *Philip* towards the *Romans* began by degrees to appear, not only by words escaping him at unawares, but by his endeavouring to increase his revenues, by augmenting the customs upon merchandize, and causing the mines to be every-where put under a new regulation, at the same time that he granted large privileges to certain cities, and endeavoured all that in him lay to encourage foreigners to come and settle in his kingdom. *Demetrius* saw plainly the drift of this, and therefore advised his father to desist from all projects against the *Romans*, who, as he affirmed, would be ever too powerful for him; wherefore it was better that he should use their friendship for the supporting at least, if not for the augmenting, his dominions, than that, out of a vain hope of recovering part of what he had lost, he should hazard all that remained, and which he might be said to hold from their courtesy. *Philip* was too great a politician not to discern the strength of his son's arguments, yet he could not prevail with himself to follow them. He remembered the great reputation of his ancestors, and was ashamed to see himself, with greater abilities than most of the kings of *Macedon*, cramped up in narrower bounds than their enemies had ever prescribed them. He took this the worse, because, as he conceived, he had deserved well of the *Romans*; he alone had assisted them in the *Ætolian* war; he had given a passage to their army through his country, and had yielded obedience to their decrees when they touched him to the quick. He could not therefore endure, that *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* should be gratified by them in every thing he asked, and himself at the same time as steadily refused things which in his opinion were his right. His discontent was augmented by a decree of the *Romans*, which peremptorily required him to withdraw his garisons from *Ænus* and *Maronea*, maritime towns of *Thrace*.

[i] PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopœm. POLYB. Hist. lib. iv. JUSTIN. lib. xxx, xxxi, xxxii.

a *Thrace.* *Philip* pleaded, that if theſe cities were at liberty, they would become weak and defenceleſs places, and fall eaſily into the hands of the *Thracians* and *Dardanians*, wild and barbarous nations, whom, by retaining theſe cities in his hands, he kept from doing what they had often practiſed in former times, *viz.* making inroads into *Macedon.* The *Romans* looked on all theſe pretences as ſo many frivolous excuſes, which when *Philip* underſtood, he determined with himſelf to comply with their demands, but at the ſame time to revenge himſelf on the *Maronites*, whoſe clamours had obtained the decree. With this view he ſent orders for his gariſons to leave thoſe cities, yet at the ſame time ſent inſtructions to *Onomaſtus*, who was his governor of the maritime coaſt of *Macedonia*, to ſtrike ſuch a blow, as that the *Maronites* might not be too much tranſported with their liberty. *Onomaſtus* tranſmitted his orders to *Caſſander*, one of
b the king's officers in *Maronea*, adviſing him privately to let in the *Thracians*, which he did; and they plundered the city with all the circumſtances of cruelty and avarice which could poſſibly be imagined. Without all doubt, a contrivance of this ſort was executed with as much ſecrecy as poſſible; yet ſo it fell out, that the *Roman* deputies gained ſuch poſitive intelligence, that they charged it home upon the king; and the *Romans* thereupon directed that he ſhould juſtify himſelf before the ſenate. This was a new mortification, the rather, becauſe he was commanded to ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* thither; which he conceived to be an high indignity offered to him, who was an independent prince, and expected to have been believed on his word. Yet, to preſerve himſelf from being deſtroyed, before he was ſtrong enough to make
c reſiſtance, he yielded, though with ſome conſtraint, to the conditions impoſed upon him. *Onomaſtus* he proteſted he could not ſend, becauſe he was a perſon whoſe ſervice he needed, and whoſe innocence he affirmed ſufficiently appeared in that he was not near the city at the time it was taken and ſacked. *Caſſander* he ſent, but took care to have him poiſoned by the way, and then well-knowing, that the *Romans* would not paſs by ſuch a ſcene of extraordinary actions, he ordered his ſon *Demetrius* to repair to *Rome*, with notes of the anſwers he had to make to the objections raiſed againſt his conduct, and alſo a ſchedule of grievances which might ſerve to juſtify his conduct, if it ſhould appear as extraordinary as it was repreſented. *Demetrius*, fur-
d niſhed with theſe credentials, came to *Rome*; but when he was admitted to defend his father's cauſe before the ſenate, he was ſo much amazed at the weight of the ſeveral charges brought againſt him, that he was not able to return any anſwer at all. Yet, in regard to his youth, his inexperience, and the great perſonal regard they had for him, he was permitted to make uſe of his father's notes, out of which he read what he thought would have greateſt weight. The cauſe over, he had liberty given him to return home, and by him was ſent the ratification of the treaty formerly made, and his excuſes accepted; but with this expreſs clauſe, that all was done out of regard to his ſon, which was alſo ſignified to him by the embaſſador reſident in *Macedon.* A cir-
e cumſtance which did not pleaſe *Philip*, and did very little good to *Demetrius*, whom his father begun to believe more attached to the *Romans* than himſelf; though in truth the young man only ſtood in more fear of them than his father did, becauſe he was better acquainted with their power and arts than he. *Philip* failed not to uſe the leiſure he had acquired by his ſon's negotiation, in providing effectually for war, when all negotiation ſhould fail. In purſuit of this deſign, he took ſuch ſteps as proved him to be a man of deep foreſight, and one who was as well able to ſtruggle with fortune as any king that ever lived. In the firſt place, perceiving his ſubjects on the ſea-coaſt were not only greatly addicted to peace, but likewiſe ſtrongly inclined to the *Romans*, he immediately tranſplanted theſe into *Æmathia*, and brought multi-
f tudes of *Thracians* to inhabit the ſea-coaſt, who were in themſelves a hardy warlike people, and who he was ſure would depend upon him as the author of their ſettlements, and him from whom they were to expect all things. Finding the *Dardanians*, a barbarous nation, who were the implacable enemies of the *Macedonians*, not to be wrought upon by fair means, and that it was no way in his power either to bridle or ſubdue them by force, he bethought himſelf of a very extraordinary expedient for the ridding himſelf and his people of theſe bad neighbours, and of getting better in their room. He ſent certain deputies whom he could truſt to the *Baſtarnæ*, a very numerous people, inhabiting the banks of the river *Iſter*, now the *Danube*, to perſuade them to leave their old ſeats, and to come and poſſeſs themſelves of *Dardania*, which was a country far preferable to their own, and in the conqueſt of which he promiſed to aſſiſt them. There was one difficulty, however, to be adjuſted, which

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was their getting to *Dardania*, becauſe in their march thither, they were firſt of all to lead with them their wives and children, and ſecondly, they were to croſs the dominions of ſeveral *Thracian* princes. The firſt ſeemed to require a great deal of time, the latter to render the ſcheme abſolutely impracticable. *Philip*, however, deviſed means for removing both difficulties; he offered to remit them money to furniſh them with neceſſaries for their journey, and by preſents made to the petty princes of *Thrace*, he procured for them a ſafe paſſage through their dominions. But while his mind was big with theſe vaſt projects, he found things of importance enough to diſquiet him near home. His ſubjects, whom he had tranſported from the coaſts of *Macedonia*, teſtified their diſcontents aloud, and complained vehemently of the king's want of affection towards his countrymen, that could conſent to tranſport them hither and thither, merely to make way for ſtrangers and barbarians. If *Philip* had taken little notice of theſe paſſionate ſpeeches, it is very probable they would in a ſhort time have paſſed over; for except that they had loſt their old habitations, theſe people had ſmall cauſe to repine, being rather gainers than loſers by the exchange they had been forced to make. But the king, who was naturally cruel, and grew more and more jealous as he grew in years, conſtrueing thoſe ſharp ſpeeches into rebellion, began with acts of ſeverity to exaſperate the people, and to make ſuch diſloyal who were before but impatient. Theſe ſteps, inſtead of ſupporting, embarraſſed all his other projects, and induced by degrees ſuch miſchiefs, as with all his policy he knew neither how to remedy, nor how to endure. The quarrels in his family grew daily wider and wider; *Perſeus* encouraged all who either ridiculed or declaimed ſeriouſly againſt the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* openly vindicated the *Romans* againſt all ſuch. An accident at laſt happened, which increaſed thoſe diſſenſions which were already but too fierce, and was attended with ſuch conſequences as could hardly have been foreſeen. *Philip* at a certain ſtated ſeaſon gave directions for luſtrating the army, a ceremony heretofore deſcribed, and of which we ſhall ſay nothing more here, than that it was concluded by the repreſentation of a fight, the army dividing for that purpoſe, and one half combating the other. The two young princes were commanders in this mock engagement, and their companions raſhly inſtigating them to ſhew their ſkill and bravery therein, a great deal of miſchief enſued. In the end, *Demetrius* prevailed. *Perſeus* at the firſt was very much diſcontented, but when his counſellors ſhewed him that this intemperate heat in his brother might furniſh him with a very plauſible complaint to his father, he grew better ſatisfied, and conſulted on this ſubject with his confidents. In the evening, both princes entertaining their friends, ſome of *Perſeus*'s ſpies were diſcovered at *Demetrius*'s table, and, on account of their inſolent behaviour, were firſt well beaten, and then expelled. But when the company had drank more freely, *Demetrius*, who was naturally good-humoured, would needs go to ſee his brother, that he might ſhew he was no way diſaffected to him; thoſe young men, who had lately beaten his ſpies, deſired *Demetrius* to excuſe them, to which he would by no means conſent, believing that he ſhould be able ſo to compoſe matters, as to give *Perſeus* ſatisfaction. Thoſe young men, having quite another opinion of his brother's temper, took care privately to arm themſelves for fear of the worſt, which when others, who were *Perſeus*'s diſcreeter ſpies obſerved, they inſtantly went and acquainted him with; he and the counſellors about him immediately determined, that this was the grand opportunity they ſought, wherefore they cauſed the doors to be immediately barricadoed, at which on his arrival *Demetrius* expreſſing great ſurprize, his brother from within called to him to be gone, told him, he muſt take ſome other time, for that at preſent he was too well guarded to be aſſaſſinated. Preſently after *Demetrius* was accuſed by his brother to their father of an attempt to murder him; and it was ſuggeſted, that he did this in confidence that the *Romans* would ſupport him; and to give colour to this ſuggeſtion, *Perſeus* took notice of a letter from *T. Quintius*, wherein it was recommended to him to ſend *Demetrius* once again to *Rome* better attended than formerly, as the beſt means to procure favour for himſelf. *Demetrius* on the other hand defended himſelf boldly, and without ſhewing any apprehenſion for the conſequences; he recapitulated all the paſſages of the day; he bitterly inveighed againſt his brother for turning the exerciſe of the army into a ſtruggle for the crown, and for repreſenting actions of merriment and play as the effects of ſome gloomy conſpiracy; he avowed his purpoſe to viſit his brother, but diſclaimed any ſiniſter view, or any thought in himſelf, to practiſe againſt his brother's life. As for any dependence on the *Romans*, he ſaid, that thoſe only who

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were unacquainted with that people, could ſuggeſt, they would ſupport ſo baſe and black a conſpiracy; that the affection they had for himſelf proceeded, if not from his own virtue, at leaſt from their opinion of it, which would have been effectually forfeited by ſo nefarious an enterprize; he concluded with a ſolemn aſſeveration, that, notwithſtanding what was paſſed, he ſtill loved *Perſeus* as his brother; that he revered the king as his parent and his ſovereign, and that he had ever ſought to promote the peace of *Macedon*, as that which was moſt conducive to its power and grandeur. *Philip*, having calmly heard all that was ſaid on both ſides, decided prudently, and with a great ſhew of juſtice. He blamed *Demetrius* for acting in ſuch a manner, as to give the leaſt colour to his brother's charge; he reprehended *Perſeus* for putting the worſt conſtruction on dubious actions; riſing at length from his ſeat, he declared, that he would paſs no judgment on the paſſages of a day, and the diſcourſes at a dinner, but would believe of his ſons whatever their future actions ſhould ſpeak them, exhorting them to take what had now happened for warning, and to be extremely circumſpect in their conduct for the future. Notwithſtanding this grave and diſintereſted ſpeech, the king leaned for the time to come wholly to his eldeſt ſon; with him he conſulted on all his affairs; and him only he made privy to the projects he had formed, for regaining a part at leaſt of what the *Romans* had taken from him. As for *Demetrius*, he countenanced him publicly, but kept him a ſtranger to his councils. In the mean time he formed in his own breaſt a ſcheme, which, as he thought, would put him out of doubt, as to the intentions of his younger ſon, either by demonſtrating his innocence, or making his guilt apparent. With this view he choſe *Philocles* and *Apelles*, *Macedonian* noblemen, who, as far as his intelligence reached, had never ſided with either of the brethren, to go embaſſadors to *Rome*; their public inſtructions ran to aſſure the ſtate of his maintaining the preſent good correſpondence between himſelf and them; but they were privately directed to inquire into his ſon's conduct there, who were his intimates, and what ſchemes he had been forming. Theſe worthy embaſſadors, perceiving on which ſide the king's affections leaned, addreſſed themſelves immediately to *Perſeus*, and with him concerted what report they ſhould make on their return before they ſet out for *Rome*. The reſult of their contrivances was, that when *Philocles* and *Apelles* came back, they ſpoke very tenderly of *Demetrius*, and preſented the king a letter from *Titus Quintius*, whoſe ſeal, before he opened it, the king, who was well acquainted with it, obſerved; wherein the *Roman* interceded earneſtly for his younger ſon, excuſing his wrong practices from his youth, and beſeeching the king to paſs by the meaſures he had taken to ſupplant his brother, the rather, becauſe all *Demetrius*'s hopes from the *Romans* were vain and ill founded, ſince himſelf, who loved him ſo well, would never have countenanced ſo baſe an action. *Philip* made no queſtion that he had now diſcovered the truth, and therefore marched his army towards mount *Hæmus*, on a frivolous pretext of viewing the country, but in truth, that he might have the better opportunity of putting *Demetrius* under an arreſt, which he accordingly did, giving one *Didas* the command of the guard placed upon him. This commander too was one of *Perſeus*'s creatures, and by his directions found a way to compleat the ruin of the young prince. He inſinuated to him, that though his father had placed him as a kind of keeper, yet he was ſo much moved with a ſenſe of his misfortunes, that to deliver him out of them, he would be content to run any riſque whatever. The hapleſs *Demetrius*, ſwallowing the bait, confeſſed that he deſired to fly to *Rome*, there to paſs his days in ſafety out of the reach of his vindictive brother. *Didas* having communicated this to the king, received from him a command to take off his priſoner by poiſon; but withal, he was cautioned to do it privately, on account of the love born by the *Macedonians* to the young prince, as well as for fear of the *Romans*. *Didas*, according to his maſter's orders, poiſoned *Demetrius*; but the drug working ſlowly, and the young man complaining bitterly, the buſineſs began to take air; upon which *Didas* picked out two ſtout ruffians, who ſmothered that hopeful prince in the twenty-fifth year of his age. This was the firſt fact of its kind, which had fallen out in the houſe of *Antigonus the Great*, which till now had been remarkable for nothing ſo much as the piety of children towards parents, and the affection of parents towards children; a doctrine which *Philip* himſelf had formerly inculcated to his ſons, and which he now diſpenſed with merely from reaſon of ſtate [i].

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[i] Liv. Hiſt. lib. xxxix. xl. Polyb. excerpt. Hiſt. lib. vii. & ix. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi. Justin. lib. xxxii.

Philip *falls into a deep melancholy.*

The unfortunate *Demetrius* was hardly in his grave, before his brother and his father altered their conduct. *Perseus*, having obtained all he sought for, began to be less assiduous about his father, and to act more independently than he was wont; he did not disguise the satisfaction which the death of his competitor gave him, or endeavour to conceal the number of his dependents and the strength of his faction. *Philip* was too quick-sighted not to discern this alteration in his son's conduct; he began from that moment to doubt whether all that had been told him was true, or whether a base and cruel son had not contrived to deprive him of a worthy and deserveing child. These thoughts having once entered his head, he saw daily more and more circumstances tending to heighten the suspicion. At length he communicated his apprehensions to his cousin *Antigonus*, a man of great honour and integrity, whose frank behaviour and honest counsels had long before rendered him obnoxious to *Perseus*. This man readily agreed with the king, that his jealousy of *Perseus* was better grounded than that which he had conceived of his brother; he farther informed him, that there was one *Xychus* about the court who, he had good grounds to believe, was privy to the whole contrivance; whereupon, by the king's express command, this traitor was seized, and brought into his presence; where, for fear of the torture, he confessed that the letter of *T. Quintius Flaminius* was a forgery, and that he had been employed to frame it. *Philip*, distracted with the thoughts of having destroyed his own child, and tortured *Herodorus* a *Macedonian* nobleman to death, merely for being his favourite, gave himself up to a melancholy, which differed very little from madness. However, by fits and starts he acted as a king; for laying suddenly hold of *Philocles*, he first extorted from him a confession, and then put him to death; *Apelles* would have shared his fate, if he had not secured himself by flight, withdrawing into *Italy*, in hopes of receiving there the news of his master's death, whom age and grief had now brought into a very declining condition. As for *Perseus*, though he did not retire out of *Macedon*, yet he kept upon the borders, quite deserting his father's court, expecting with impatience the happy minute which should make it his own. *Philip*, having now a true sense of his misery, plainly perceived that his arts served only to render him suspected; that his cruelty had made him odious; that the *Romans* spared him only out of respect to his ancestors; and that his death, as it was expected, so it was also generally wished for at home and abroad. In this untoward situation he formed a design of altering the succession of the crown, and having exposed the whole contrivance of his son *Perseus* against his brother *Demetrius* to the *Macedonians*, he earnestly recommended it to them to set *Antigonus* on the throne, which a little after he left vacant, dying of grief, when he had reigned forty-two years, and began to draw towards threescore. This end had *Philip*, who with great natural parts had an excellent education, and in process of time all that experience could add to perfect his wisdom. He was the author of his own misfortunes, for his tutor *Antigonus* left him in far happier circumstances than he could ever arrive at, after he presumed by his own judgment to change the face of affairs. In him it is pretended the prophecy of a certain *Sibyl* was fulfilled, who foretold, that as the *Macedonians* owed the extension of their power to a *Philip*, so a *Philip* should bring on its extinction. It is indeed observable, that these *Philips* had a likeness in their characters, though not in the success of their designs; they were both generals, both orators, both politicians; but they differed in this, that the first *Philip* was debonaire, open, and full of clemency, affecting empire, but affecting also so mild a government, as to leave men in doubt whether they should not prefer it to liberty; whereas the other *Philip* was suspicious, implacable, ready to shed blood, and alike covetous of power, and of making himself terrible by his power. The first was prosperous in all things, the latter prospered not in any[k].

Perseus.
Year after the flood 2820.
Year before Christ 179.

If *Philip* had entered upon this scheme of his ever so little earlier, he had in all probability succeeded; for we do not find that the *Macedonians* were much addicted to *Perseus*, or, that they at all disliked *Antigonus*; but inasmuch as the king thought not of it till his life grew near a close, *Perseus* found means to bribe his physician *Caligines*, who gave him from time to time notice of his father's state of health, and who advised him of his death a considerable time before he suffered it to be known to the public. *Perseus*, laying hold of this opportunity, came unexpectedly to the city of *Demetrias*, where his father died, with a body of troops, and seated himself on

[k] Tit. Liv. lib. xli. Justin. lib. xxxii.

a on the throne by force. His firſt care was to ſettle himſelf firmly, which he conceived could not be done, till *Antigonus* was taken off; he began his reign therefore with ſhedding blood, and little regarding either the virtues of the man, or his near relation to his own family, he cauſed him to be put to death. Then he began to take gentler meaſures, and to put on the appearance of clemency and generoſity; virtues with which in truth he was wholly unacquainted. We have before-mentioned *Philip*'s inviting the *Baſtarnæ* to change their cold barren ſeats for the fruitful country of *Dardania*. This project with much difficulty he had brought to bear in the very laſt year of his life, and theſe people were then actually on their march through *Thrace* to the country he had offered them. But when the news of *Philip*'s death
b came to be publiſhed, this buſineſs began to go backwards. The *Baſtarnæ* themſelves doubted, whether it were beſt for them to proceed, and the *Thracians* were irreſolute as to the permiſſion of their further progreſs. Hereupon quarrels enſued, under pretence that the *Thracians* exacted on the *Baſtarnæ* in their markets, whence a war took riſe, in which at firſt the *Thracians* were grievouſly handled, loſing all the plain country to their new gueſts, who, not contented therewith, began to follow them to the mountains. In this expedition their fortune failed them, and either the deſpair of the *Thracians*, or, as ſome authors have reported, a miraculous tempeſt of hail, rain, and lightning, compelled the far greateſt part of theſe barbarous invaders to return with their wives and children to their ancient dwellings. Only thirty thouſand
c penetrated into *Dardania*, and began there to carve out for themſelves new ſettlements, wherein they were privately aſſiſted by *Perſeus*, who well knew both the nature and importance of his father's ſcheme. His circumſtances did not allow him to act according to his inclination; his pride and avarice ſwelled his boſom with almoſt all the vices capable of deforming the human will; his fear, however, taught him to counterfeit ſome of the virtues which give the higheſt luſtre to a crown. Moved by the terror of their greatneſs, he ſent an embaſſy to the *Romans*, intreating them to renew the league made with his father, and to acknowledge him for king of *Macedon*, promiſing in return to act as their faithful ally, to leave his neighbours in peace, and to undertake no war without their permiſſion. At home he affected all things that
d might reconcile him to the minds of the people; he not only curbed his innate thirſt of wealth, and made a ſhew of generoſity, but his adminiſtration was alſo wonderfully mild, and, above all, he affected a rigid regard to juſtice. He ſat daily to hear cauſes, and, having a clear head, decided upon them with ſome applauſe. Towards the *Greeks* he behaved with the utmoſt moderation; he gratified them in all things they deſired of him; he relinquiſhed all the pretences of his anceſtors upon any of their cities; in ſhort he behaved ſo over graciouſly, that his very favours rendered him ſuſpected. The *Romans*, when they had heard his miniſters, ſent over embaſſadors of their own into *Macedon*, who were kindly entertained by *Perſeus*, till they began to act like tutors. Firſt, they interrogated him about the *Baſtarnæ*, and began
e to intimate, that the *Romans* would not ſee the *Dardanians* ſubjected by theſe barbarians. *Perſeus* affirmed, that he did not invite them; but that would not ſerve his turn, they were for forcing him to drive them back again. Shortly after the *Dolopians*, who were the ſubjects of *Perſeus*, rebelled, and ſlew *Euphanor* his governor, under pretence that he had behaved tyrannically; *Perſeus* marched againſt them with an army, and by force reduced them again under his dominion, not without chaſtiſing them pretty ſeverely for their revolt; this furniſhed the *Roman* embaſſadors with new cauſe of complaint; they ſaid, he was tied up by his treaty from making war without the conſent of their ſtate; they intimated as much to *Perſeus*, while he was in the field; but he would not hear of being tied up from puniſhing rebels, which
f to him appeared little leſs than taking from him his kingdom. Henceforward therefore the *Romans* and he were never upon good terms, though they were not immediately engaged in war, which, however, the uneaſineſs only of their reſpective circumſtances hindred, and not any inclination in either to enter into an amicable diſquiſition of the cauſes whence the diſcord between them ſprung. After ſubduing the *Dolopians*, *Perſeus* went to make a viſit to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, marching, however, at the head of his army; this ſeemed to be at once a dangerous and unneceſſary expedition, on account of his paſſing through the territories of ſtates little affected to him, and to whom indeed the conduct of his father might have juſtly rendered him obnoxious; yet *Perſeus* ſo managed it, as not only to avoid giving farther offence, but alſo to make this very march a means of reſtoring friendſhip

and

and confidence between himself and these states. He took such care in quartering his army, that none were oppressed, and paid so exactly for whatever they had, that many thought his passage a benefit to them. The deputies which were sent to compliment him, he received kindly and with respect; and when he had performed his journey to *Delphi*, he returned without leaving any mark either of resentment or ambition behind him. This was a new cause of complaint at *Rome*, where, if the king lived upon ill terms with his neighbours, it was resented as a mark of his thirst of power; and if he was desirous of being upon good terms with them, that too was resented as an indication of his seeking allies, in case he made war with the *Romans*. To say the truth, suspicion reigned at present in *Italy* and in *Greece*, the *Romans* holding none for friends who scrupled obedience in any thing; and the *Greeks* began to distrust the *Roman* friendship, when they found it as fatal to their liberty as the enmity of others [k]. Hence two factions sprung up in *Greece*, the one wholly dependent on *Rome*, the other desirous of restoring the ancient glory of their country, and therefore favouring the king of *Macedon*, who on all occasions affected to speak warmly on this topic, and to represent the independency of *Greece* as the main point he had in view. As a war was generally expected, and as the king himself meant at last to recur to force, he took great pains to be well provided for it; he cultivated the friendship of the *Rhodians*, who had been his father's open enemies, and this with such success, that in a most sumptuous manner they conveyed to him *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus*, son of *Antiochus the Great* [l]. About the same time he married his sister to *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, whom he had engaged in alliance with him. With the *Thracians* he not only struck up a peace, but drew them to consent to furnish him with soldiers, when and in what proportion he pleased. In his own kingdom of *Macedon*, he not only laid up vast sums of money, but provided magazines of provisions for a great army for ten years, keeping up at the same time thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. These steps appeared so prudent to the *Greeks*, that, forgetting *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, their old favourite, upon whom they had heaped extravagant honours, they began to incline to *Perseus*, who gave himself out for the patron of the *Greek* liberty against the pride of the *Romans*; *Eumenes*, provoked at this, and being also an hereditary enemy to *Perseus* whom he greatly hated, determined to make a special journey to *Rome* on purpose to incite the senate to pull down his competitor, whom he now looked on as the idol of *Greece*. *Perseus* had also his embassadors, the chief of whom was one *Harpalus*, at *Rome*, who, when *Eumenes* had been heard, requested to speak in the king's defence. This was granted them, and *Harpalus*, who was at the head of the commission, either of his own head, or by direction from the king, spoke in very high terms. He said, that *Perseus* had hitherto and would always give every reasonable satisfaction to the *Romans*, but that he would still remember he was a sovereign prince; and if reasonable satisfaction would not content them, he would not be afraid of betaking himself to arms. The senate acted with its usual caution, concealed the substance of *Eumenes*'s speech, that it might be thought to contain more than it really did, and gave the embassadors of *Perseus* a cold general answer. *Eumenes*, when he went from *Rome*, resolved to imitate the conduct of his rival, and, in order to regain the favour of the *Greeks*, to visit the temple at *Delphi*; *Perseus* having intelligence of this, took special care for his reception, by causing four assassins to hide themselves behind a wall making one side of a narrow passage from the sea to the temple, whence with stones they might destroy *Eumenes* without being discovered themselves. This scheme was carried into execution, and very narrowly missed meeting with success. These bravos took the king at the proposed disadvantage, and so effectually stoned him, that they had not the least suspicion of his escaping death. They then endeavoured to provide for their own safety, and one of them being slower of foot than the rest, they killed him to prevent his making any discovery. However, the king came afterwards a little to himself, and was conveyed to the island of *Ægina*, where he lay concealed, till such time as he was perfectly recovered. In all probability, *Perseus* would have been well contented, notwithstanding the miscarriage of his design, if it had remained a secret; but it was his misfortune to have the whole break out with such evidence as could scarce be denied. One *Praxo*, a lady of quality at *Delphi*, with whom king *Perseus* had lodged, had entertained the assassins, and one of them was known to be *Evander*, a *Cretan*, who was

[k] LIV. Hist. lib. xli. JUSTIN. lib. xxxiii. c. 4. [l] POLYB. Legat. lx.

a was general of the auxiliary troops in the ſervice of the king of *Macedon*. *Valerius*, a *Roman* embaſſador in *Greece*, cauſed *Praxo* to be ſeized and ſent into *Italy*, where they had ſcarce made diſcovery of the plot againſt *Eumenes*, than the news of another, which more nearly concerned them, came from the diligence of the ſame perſon. *Valerius* brought with him one *Rammius*, a citizen of *Brunduſium*, who opened the following ſcene: he ſaid, that having a large houſe in his native city, he had often entertained the *Macedonian* embaſſadors, when paſſing to *Rome* and returning thence home. That king *Perſeus*, having given him to underſtand that he took very kindly his civility to his miniſters, invited him into *Macedon*, and when he was come thither, cauſed to be propoſed to him the giving of a certain poiſonous drug to the principal b ſenators who were eſteemed enemies to the *Macedonian* intereſt, which poiſon *Rammius* was informed would work imperceptibly. That for fear of his own life he had accepted this commiſſion, but had immediately diſcloſed it to *Valerius*, and with him came home. The *Romans* upon this diſpatched orders to their embaſſadors in *Macedon* to acquaint *Perſeus* with the crimes laid to his charge, and to demand direct anſwers; of which the king being informed, he put off their audience ſeveral times, and having at length tired out their patience, they reſolved to return home. When they were about to put this deſign in execution, he ſent for them, and heard all they had to ſay. In anſwer to their harangue, he fell rudely upon their maſters: he ſaid the *Romans* were grown ſo intolerably proud, ſo exceſſively inſolent, and ſo unrea- c ſonably greedy of authority, that they would not be content to have princes for their allies, unleſs they were alſo their ſlaves. That under colour of ſending embaſſadors, they ſent ſpies, and ſometimes tutors; that as to the league made with his father, he had nothing to do with it. That he had indeed ſubmitted to it on his firſt coming to the crown, becauſe his affairs were unſettled; but that for the future he would not look upon himſelf to be bound by it, though he was content to make a new treaty upon equitable terms. The embaſſadors having according to their inſtructions defied him; he commanded them to depart his dominions in three days. It was the misfortune of this king to have at ſome times too much, and at other times too little, ſpirit. If he had begun the war with the ſame vigor that on this occaſion he ſeemed to declare d it, in all probability he had ſucceeded therein; but ſuffering fear to get the better of him, and entertaining falſe hopes of peace, he once more fell into a train of negotiation, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to his affairs. Before we proceed farther, it will be neceſſary to take notice of the conduct of the princes, whoſe dominions bordered on thoſe of *Macedon* in this nice conjuncture. *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, and the *Rhodians*, inclined to the *Macedonian* ſide, for which reaſon the *Romans* dealt haughtily with them for the preſent, and very ſeverely afterwards. *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* did not only diſcover his uſual complaiſance for the *Romans*, but alſo the moſt fierce and implacable hatred againſt *Perſeus*. *Pruſias* king of *Bythinia* deſired to ſtand neuter. He had obligations to the *Romans*, and he had married the ſiſter of e the king of *Macedonia*. *Antiochus* king of *Syria* declared for the *Romans*; ſo did the regency in *Egypt*, where the king was a child. *Cotys* king of the *Odryſians* declared for the *Macedonians*. As for the *Greek* cities, thoſe in the government were, generally ſpeaking, in the intereſt of *Rome*, and the people in moſt of them as generally favourers of *Perſeus* [m].

War breaks out with the Romans.

THE freſh applications of the king for peace produced no other anſwers than this, *That if he was ſincerely inclined to treat with the* Romans, *he might have an opportunity of doing it ſhortly in his own dominions, into which they were about to ſend their conſul with an army*. They were not at all worſe than their words. P *Licinius Craſſus* was immediately after diſpatched with an army; but, before he could arrive in *Greece*, *Perſeus* had attempted another method of treating; for having been informed, that *Martius*, a *Roman* legate, was in *Theſſaly*, he came himſelf down to *Lariſſa*, and there deſired to have an interview with him, with which *Martius* complied. At this conference the artful *Roman*, though he talked in the high ſtrain of his country, yet he mingled ſo many obliging expreſſions, and teſtified ſuch perſonal reſpect for the king, as put him upon ſending embaſſadors once more to *Rome*, when his affairs required leading down a good army into *Greece*, which would have enabled his friends there to have acknowledged their attachment to him, and have prevented the *Bœotians* and others from declaring as they did for the *Romans*, merely out of fear. When *Martius* the *Roman*

[m] LIV. lib. xlii. POLYB. Legat. lxi. lxii. lxiii. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi.

Roman embaſſador returned home, he valued himſelf very much for having ... reached the king, and drawn him into a truce; for he had agreed to one for a certain time, whereby himſelf, who was in a condition of acting, was bound up, and the *Romans* had time given them, till they could be in a condition to act. The embaſſadors of *Perſeus*, who came in conſequence of this truce to *Rome*, had audience given them; but, notwithſtanding they ſignified the king's readineſs to give full and ample ſatisfaction on every head, they received a very ſhort anſwer, and were commanded to quit *Italy* in thirty days. When theſe embaſſadors returned, *Perſeus* with much ado perceived that peace was upon no terms to be had, and therefore, as if it had been againſt his will, though his counſels had hitherto always led that way, he began to prepare for opening the war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his army at *Citium*, whither when he himſelf came, he offered a hecatomb to *Pallas*, and then proceeded to a general review. He muſtered on this occaſion thirty-nine thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; the moſt numerous and by far the fineſt army, that, ſince *Alexander*'s expedition into *Aſia*, any *Macedonian* king had brought into the field. The king having viewed them, mounted his tribunal, from whence he made a long and laboured harangue, entering into a detail of all that had paſſed between himſelf and the *Romans*, from his acceſſion to the crown to that time, which the ſoldiers heard with ſome attention and moderate ſigns of ſatisfaction; but when at the cloſe he repreſented the ancient glory of the *Macedonians*, and the miſery to which the *Romans* fought to reduce them in pathetic terms, the army ſhouted aloud, and promiſed him that they would die in the field to a man, rather than not equal their anceſtors, and redeem their country from any apprehenſions of being ſubjected by this new and arrogant ſtate. The king after this gave audience to the deputies from the ſeveral cities of *Macedon*, each of which offered men, money, and proviſions for carrying on the war. *Perſeus* teſtified the pleaſure he received from theſe tokens of their loyalty, but told them in anſwer, that as the war he made was for their defence, ſo he would endeavour, that it ſhould be carried on without any burthen or expence to them, and therefore, except carriages for his baggage, he would expect nothing at preſent from them. Theſe were quickly furniſhed, and the king took his rout into *Theſſaly*, whither ſoon after came the *Roman* conſul with two legions, in hopes of finding a confederate army, ready to receive him, ſtrong enough to have faced *Perſeus*; but herein he was miſtaken, and, as ſoon as he found his miſtake, was compelled to act ſlowly and cautiouſly. The *Macedonian* king in the mean time had abundance of cities opened to him, and ſeveral of thoſe that did not yield, he took by force. At length he began to waſte the country about *Pherea*, notwithſtanding the conſul lay with his army within a few miles of it; and though he had in his army ſeveral kings and princes, who came on purpoſe to ſhew their fidelity to the *Romans* and their hatred to *Perſeus*. The conſul, however, durſt not adventure to offer the enemy battle, which when the *Macedonian* perceived, he advanced within twelve miles of him, and with his horſe and light-armed troops came and inſulted him in his camp. This he repeated ſeveral days together, though he was obliged to ſend every day carriages laden with caſks of water to refreſh his troops, there being none in the road. At length he took a nearer ſtation by ſeven miles, from whence he could with greater facility march to and diſturb the *Roman* camp. Accordingly, inſtead of coming as he was wont to do a little before noon, he appeared next morning before the *Roman* camp by break of day. The whole camp was in confuſion, and the ſoldiers began to have but an indifferent opinion of a conſul, whoſe firſt intelligence of the enemy came from the noiſe of their arms. *Licinius* drew up the foot within the camp, the horſe and light-armed troops he ſent to fight the *Macedonians*. When *Perſeus* perceived them iſſuing from their camp, he drew his own forces into a line within five hundred paces of their retrenchments. *Cotys* king of the *Odryſians* took poſt with his own troops on the left. The *Macedonian* and *Cretan* horſes on the right. The king with his houſhold troops in the centre, having before them a forlorn of four hundred ſlingers and archers. On the other ſide all the *Roman* and *Italian* horſe were in the right, under the command of *Caius Licinius Craſſus*. The troops of the allies in the left. *Quintus Mucius* with a choice corps of horſe was in the centre, having before him a troop of a hundred *Gauls*, and three hundred of the horſe brought by *Eumenes*. Four hundred *Thracian* horſe were placed as a corps of reſerve on the left of the left wing, and the reſt of the forces of *Eumenes*, under the command of himſelf and his brother *Attalus*, drew up behind the laſt line of horſe between them and the retrenchments. The ac...

...ively, and quickly over, ending every-where to the advantage of the *Macedo*... *Cotys* with his *Thracians* beat the flower of the *Roman* cavalry. King *Perseus* ... the centre broke the auxiliaries, and greater slaughter had been made, if the *Thessa*... horse with the light-armed troops had not covered the retreat of the rest into the camp. The troops on each side were about four thousand. The *Romans* lost two hundred horse killed on the spot, as many taken prisoners; and of the foot there were no less slain than two thousand. Of the *Macedonians* there fell twenty horse and forty foot only. While *Perseus* remained in the field, his generals, *Hippias* and *Leonatus*, without staying for his command, brought up the phalanx, and pressed him to storm the enemy's retrenchments. If he had followed their advice, in all probability he had put an end to the war; for by this time the very *Greeks*, who were in the service of the *Romans*, began to perceive they were rivetting their own chains, and would gladly have laid hold of any opportunity of declaring against their masters with safety. But the cowardly counsel of *Evander* the *Cretan*, who had managed the assassination of *Eumenes*, prevailed with *Perseus* to let things remain as they were till next day; but the consul prevented his taking such an advantage a second time, by passing the river *Peneus* in the night, and betaking himself to an advantagious post. The next day *Perseus* came with his horse and foot to take a view of what they might have done the day before; afterwards he advanced to *Mopselus*, under colour of straightening the *Romans* in their new quarters, but in truth, that he might have an opportunity of treating with the consul. Accordingly he sent deputies to acquaint him, that, notwithstanding his late victory, he was contented to accept of the terms which had been granted to his father *Philip* after he was vanquished. The consul answered, that he would grant him no terms, but those of submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the *Roman* people. The king, not yet to be discouraged, sent again to offer tribute, and when he found this application also vain, he retired to his old camp. This pusilanimous conduct ruined him in the opinion both of friends and foes; the *Romans* would grant him nothing, and the *Greeks* were afraid to express any inclination towards him, having no reason to expect that he would defend them, who had so little heart to defend himself. When *Perseus* found that he had no choice but war, he began to renew it, and as he had once been very near surprizing the *Roman* camp, he thought to be quicker the next time; but the *Roman* consul was become more careful, and so his forced marches had no other consequences than fatiguing his troops. He then fell upon their foragers with some success, but this drawing on another horse battle, he was routed with considerable loss; whereupon he retired into *Macedon* [n]. On his retreat the consul recovered several places in *Thessaly*, and *Lucretius* the *Roman* admiral levied heavy contributions on the *Greek* coast. Afterwards *Appius Claudius* was sent to penetrate *Macedon* on the side of *Illyria*; but he had very ill entertainment, for the inhabitants of a frontier town pretending to betray it, the *Roman* general entered it so carelessly, that they had an opportunity of falling upon his troops, which they used so well, that he was glad to make a very precipitate retreat. However, not long after he took it, while *Perseus* with great trouble made an expedition into *Ætolia*; the principal city in which it was promised should be yielded up to him. In this the king miscarried; but in his return he took several places, and having strengthened one of his lieutenant generals with some recruits, that general fell upon *Claudius*, routed him, and retook *Uscana*. The next spring the consul *Martius* was sent to command against *Perseus*. As soon as he came to the army he began to make war in earnest; his intent was to penetrate into the very heart of *Macedonia*, which, however, he found a very difficult matter. *Perseus* had distributed his forces in such a manner as to guard all the passes, not knowing where the enemy would break through; encamping himself at *Dium* with a considerable corps of troops, that he might be ready to assist any of his guards that should be attacked. This was wisely enough contrived, if he had executed his scheme with tolerable courage. The *Roman* consul attempted to pass over a very high mountain at a small distance from his camp; the road through which he was to pass was extremely narrow, and very much encumbered, so that if there had been no enemy at hand to oppose him, the passage had been difficult enough. *Hippias*, however, with a body of *Macedonian* foot appeared in his way, and such trouble they gave him, that he neither knew how to proceed, nor how to retire. If *Perseus* had supported

[n] Liv. lib. xliii.

ported his own ſoldiers, the conſul had been undone; but he ſpent his time in making
courſes with his cavalry, ſo that *Hippias* was left to fight it out, and *Martius* with
much ado got into the famous vale of *Tempe*, contrary to all expectation, and when
he might have been repelled with eaſe, or, which was worſe, might have been ſtarved
with all his army. As ſoon as the timorous *Perſeus* received the news of the *Roman*
conſul's being in full march towards him, he inſtantly ſlighted *Dium*, a place ſtrong
by ſituation, and well fortified, crying out, that he was vanquiſhed without a battle,
and that all was loſt; he alſo diſpatched orders to *Andronicus*, governor of *Theſſalonica*,
to burn the arſenal there with all the naval ſtores he had with ſo much pains laid up;
and to *Nicias*, governor of *Pella*, he ſent poſitive directions to throw all his treaſures
into the ſea. The former of theſe orders, *Andronicus*, who received them, had too b
much wiſdom to execute; the latter *Nicias* conceived delivered in terms too preciſe to
be diſobeyed, ſo the treaſures were inſtantly thrown into the ſea. When the king reco-
vered his fright a little, and perceived that the conſul now he was come into *Macedon*
could effect no great matter, he ſent to have his treaſures recovered by *divers*, which
was alſo done, and then to reward the wiſdom of *Andronicus*, the loyalty of *Nicias*, and
the labour of thoſe poor men who had plunged to the bottom of the ſea to ſerve him,
he ordered them all to be put to death, hoping by this means to conceal from the
world his ſcandalous meanneſs of ſpirit, in throwing up all hopes the very moment he
was attacked. With the ſame view he ſent for *Hippias* and *Aſclepiodatus*, who had ſo
bravely defended the paſſages, and after having with great heat reproved them at c
the head of the army, he with much ſeeming reluctancy left them in their commands:
had they attempted to defend their conduct, which in itſelf was above cenſure, they
had without doubt ſhared in the fate of *Andronicus*, *Nicias*, and the *divers*. In the
mean time the conſul *Martius* took poſſeſſion of *Dium*, and advanced farther into
Macedonia, having ſent orders to the prætor *Lucretius* at *Lariſſa* to tranſport with all
diligence proviſions for his army into *Macedon*. Whether the prætor executed the
commands ſent him with all the care he was able, or whether the badneſs of the roads
permitted not the waggons to proceed farther than *Phila*, certain it is, that there
they ſtopped. The conſul the farther he marched found his diſtreſs ſtill increaſe, ſo
that, terrified with the fear of loſing his whole army, he ſuddenly did what the king had d
done before, abandoned all that was already in his power, and marched precipitately
back to *Phila*. *Perſeus* ſeized this opportunity, and, after having given directions for
repairing *Dium*, encamped on the river *Eunipus*, where he fortified himſelf ſo well,
that the conſul durſt not attack him, and, which was ſtill worſe, could not advance
farther into the country, ſo that except taking the city of *Heraclea*, he did nothing
throughout the whole campaign. To ſhew his good-will, however, he ſent orders to
the *Roman* admiral to make deſcents on the ſea-coaſt, and to make himſelf maſter
of all, or at leaſt of moſt of, the conſiderable ports[n]. In obedience to theſe dire-
ctions, the admiral firſt attempted *Theſſalonica*, but with very indifferent ſucceſs; the
country about it he ravaged, but for the city itſelf he found his forces were not either e
able to inveſt, or to attack it, ſo he ſailed ſtill along the coaſt, landing and attacking
the little cities of *Ænia* and *Antigonia*, without being able to take either. Then pro-
ceeding to *Caſſandria* he was there joined by king *Eumenes* with twenty ſhips of war;
they both agreed to beſiege the citadel of *Caſſandria* in form, which accordingly they
did, and for ſome time proceeded ſucceſsfully by ſap; but while they ſounded an
alarm in their camp, and made other diſpoſitions for a falſe attack to amuſe the gari-
ſon, the beſieged ſuddenly ſallied and ſurprized them, cutting off the miners, and
the troops who were ſent to ſupport them. A little after they received relief by ſea,
whereupon king *Eumenes* and the *Roman* admiral reimbarked their troops, and
ſtood away for *Demetrias*. When they arrived before that city, they again landed; f
but there they found *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* general, who, having a fine corps of
troops under his command, not ſatisfied with preſerving the city, encamped before
it, and would not ſo much as ſuffer the *Romans* to pillage the country without calling
them to a ſevere account; whereupon the admiral once more imbarked his forces,
being obliged to put an end to the campaign on his ſide, having done juſt nothing
at all. The prætor *Appius Claudius* lay all this while in *Illyria* with a body of troops;
but whether he was never ſtrong enough to invade *Macedon*, or whether king *Perſeus*
by himſelf or his lieutenants defeated him in any expedition for that purpoſe, we know
not,

[n] Tit. Liv. Hiſt. lib. xliv.

not, having none but *Roman* guides to inſtruct us; this is certain, that by the end of the campaign he was in a very miſerable condition, inſomuch, that he earneſtly demanded of the *Achæans* a reinforcement of five thouſand men, which he had certainly received, if the envy of *Martius* the conſul had not induced him to ſend a contrary order under pretence of ſparing the *Roman* allies o. Theſe ſucceſsleſs proceedings, joined with ſome apprehenſions that the *Romans* were not very well affected to any kings, induced *Eumenes* to think of changing ſides, and of coming to ſome agreement with his old enemy *Perſeus*. He thought, however, that his friendſhip, being of great value, ought to be well paid for, and knowing that the *Macedonian* had heaped up large treaſures, he ſet his amity at a very high price, no leſs than fifteen hundred talents. This alſo he required to be paid down, promiſing to give hoſtages for his obſerving an exact neutrality; and if a farther ſum was paid him, to make peace for him with the *Romans*. *Perſeus* liked every thing but parting with the money, and to this even the giving of hoſtages would not perſuade him, though nothing could be clearer, than that the ſingle detaching of *Eumenes* from the *Roman* intereſt was of much greater value than that ſum. The policy of *Perſeus* ran quite a contrary way, he fancied, that his very negotiations would produce the deſired effect without parting with a talent; and herein he was right, for they did produce an inveterate hatred between the *Romans* and their old friend *Eumenes*; but that hatred did not produce him any good, and we ſhall ſee that the ſame conduct had the like event in other places. *Illyria* was the only ſide of the *Macedonian* kingdom which afforded a plain and open paſſage. This had hitherto been well ſecured, partly by force, and partly by artfully keeping up diſſenſions and diſputes between *Gentius* king of *Illyria* and the *Romans*. *Perſeus* was very deſirous of puſhing this matter ſtill farther; he knew well, that if he could kindle a war againſt *Rome* on this ſide, it would at leaſt protect his territories, and at the ſame time divide the forces of the republic. He therefore commiſſioned his embaſſadors to make *Gentius* large offers, in caſe he would break with the *Romans* and carry on the war with vigor. This young *Illyrian* prince hearkened willingly to the offers made him, for he comprehended eaſily enough, that the *Romans* would extend their dominions on all ſides, and that to be their ally would be only in other terms to become ſubject to them. He therefore plainly anſwered *Perſeus*, that he was content to take a ſhare in the war, but that he by no means could ſtir till he had a conſiderable ſum of money. This mention of money ſtopped *Perſeus*'s mouth for a time; however, when the conſul broke into *Tempe*, *Perſeus* thought he might as well give *Gentius* his wealth, as throw it into the ſea; wherefore he ſent him ten talents by way of earneſt, and ſealed up three hundred more, which was the ſum agreed on in the preſence of the *Illyrian* embaſſadors, and ordered them alſo to be conveyed to his ally; yet here again covetouſneſs getting the better of his fear, he directed they ſhould make very ſlow marches, and ſtop upon the frontiers, till they had further orders. When *Gentius* had received from *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* miniſter ten talents, and letters from his own embaſſadors, importing, that three hundred more were actually upon the road, he was perſuaded to take what was called the firſt neceſſary ſtep on his ſide, which was to ſeize the *Roman* embaſſadors, in open violation of the law of nations. Of this when *Perſeus* had advice, he ſent immediately to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the treaſure waggons; for he knew that *Gentius* would be forced for his own ſake to engage in a war, on account of his having impriſoned the legates of the republic. This low policy iſſued in the ruin of the *Illyrian*, his kingdom, and family, at the ſame time that it produced *Perſeus* no good in the world. Theſe miſtakes one would have thought might have induced the king to have thought better for the future; but he was everlaſtingly ſteady in wrong meaſures, and would never be brought to act otherwiſe, than as a moſt careful treaſurer for his enemies. It happened, that *Clondicus*, who, from the beſt intelligence we have, ſeems to have been king of the *Baſtarnæ*, that is, of ſuch of them as had ſettled themſelves on the frontiers of *Macedon*, had agreed to bring a very conſiderable reinforcement to the king's army, provided, that they might enter into preſent pay upon reaſonable terms. *Perſeus* promiſed all things, and *Clondicus*, not dreaming that a king would break his word, ſet out with ten thouſand foot and as many horſe, all choice troops and well diſciplined. As ſoon as king *Perſeus* had intelligence of their approach, he ſent one *Antigonus*, a lord of his court, to congra-

o Polyb. legat. lxxviii

congratulate *Clondicus*, and to desire him to hasten his march to the camp; when *Antigonus* had delivered his message, *Clondicus* answered him, that the *Gauls* could not march a step farther without money, and that if he had not brought it with him, he must return to his master and demand it instantly. *Antigonus*, having received this short answer, returned with all imaginable speed to his master. *Perseus* hereupon called a council of war, in which he made a long speech, tending only to save his money. He said, that the coming of such a number of *Gauls* might have a very bad tendency, and that it might be as difficult to get them out of the kingdom, as the *Romans*; though it was evident enough, he might have employed them immediately in *Thessaly*, where, whether they had acted according to his instructions or not, they must have made a very powerful diversion, and compelled the *Romans* to have quitted *Macedonia*. When *Perseus* had declaimed upon this head sufficiently, he proceeded to shew, that five thousand horse would be as many as he should have occasion for; and when he had delivered himself so fully on this subject, how could it be expected that any in his council should oppose it? *Antigonus* therefore was sent back to *Clondicus* to inform him, that king *Perseus* would accept no more than five thousand horse; intelligence which might have stirred a man of base principles to act in such a manner as *Perseus* most feared. *Clondicus*, however, made no other answer than this: *That it was very extraordinary, the king should not have considered how many he wanted before they had marched so far*, and at the same time recurred to his old demand, *viz.* whether he had brought pay for those five thousand men? *Antigonus* being forced to own that he had not, *Clondicus* and his *Gauls* would have no longer patience; but immediately began their march home again, spoiling some part of *Thrace* in their way, which created *Perseus* new enemies, at the same time that he was justly deprived of the assistance that he hoped from his friends. Besides the attempts already mentioned, this prince made some others, as well for the support of himself, as for the withdrawing some of their allies from their attachment to the republic. With this view he sent embassadors to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, with orders to represent to him, that the *Romans* were alike enemies to all kings, and that his turn would be next, if once *Macedonia* was subdued; wherefore he prayed him to interpose so far, as either to oblige the *Romans* to leave himself in quiet possession of the kingdom of his ancestors, or, by joining with him, bring about such a reduction of the power of the commonwealth, as to compel her to allow peace to all princes, without pretending to prescribe them laws in their own dominions. *Perseus* also solicited the *Rhodians*, who at this time were very powerful at sea, and, by flattering them, induced a favourable regard to be shewn to his interests. The consul *Martius* had also some points to carry with these people, he therefore insinuated to them, that if they sent deputies to *Rome*, they might be a means of restoring peace to this part of the world, through their mediation: but in this he most egregiously deluded them, as they found to their cost; for when their ministers had audience of the senate, and in their harangue proposed their mediation, they received an answer, not only harsh and severe, but contemptuous also in the highest degree. The embassadors of the king of *Bythinia*, who likewise laboured the same point, had a cold return made them; but *Onesimus*, a *Macedonian* nobleman, whose attachment to the *Romans* had obliged him to leave his country, was not only favourably heard by the senate, but had a very large pension assigned him, and in all public places was treated with the highest respect. But it is now time to return to the war, which ended the next campaign in the ruin of *Perseus* and the total reduction of his kingdom, though that campaign was over in a fortnight[p].

P. Emilius *sent into* Macedonia.

THE *Romans* had no reason to be satisfied with those who had hitherto commanded in *Macedon*; for though it did not appear, and perhaps it was never suspected, that they were biassed from their duty, yet they had very clearly shewn, that they wanted courage and conduct to finish the war. These commanders therefore were all removed, and new ones appointed. The consul *Paulus Emilius* had the command assigned him of the army already in *Macedonia*; *Octavius* was appointed admiral, and *Anicius* sent into *Illyria*. These changes were all so much for the better, that it is not easy to say, which of the three executed his charge the best. *Emilius*, when he arrived in the *Roman* camp, found about thirty thousand men therein, of whom upwards of twelve thousand were *Roman* foot. The soldiers thought to have treated him

[p] POLYB. legat. lxxx. lxxxvi. lxxxvii. &c. LIV. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Æmil.

a him as they had done his predeceſſors, ſo they began to queſtion all his commands, to reaſon upon his orders, and to diſcuſs in their own minds the worth of thoſe motives upon which he acted. The conſul would bear nothing of this; he adviſed them to whet their ſwords; as for the duty of a general, he would not lay ſo heavy a burthen upon any of his ſoldiers, but was content to take it intirely upon himſelf. To ſhew them, however, that he really knew more than either they or thoſe who had hitherto commanded them, he decamped, and drew nearer the enemy, a motion hitherto thought impracticable on account of the want of water. *Emilius* rightly conceived, that though there were not either ſprings or rivulets viſible, yet it could not be, that ſo great a mountain as *Olympus*, ſo covered with fine graſs and beautiful trees, ſhould want water; he therefore ordered wells to be ſunk, which perfectly b anſwered his purpoſe, by their becoming preſently full of water; this alſo raiſed the courage of his ſoldiers, and made them perfectly tractable. *Emilius* next directed inquiries to be privately made, whether there were not ſome roads, however difficult or round about, that led to the top, and ſo over the mount *Olympus*; for the conſul ſaw plainly, that to attack *Perſeus* in his retrenched camp, where with extreme diligence he had fortified himſelf, would be to expoſe his troops to a moſt bloody and at the ſame time a moſt hazardous, encounter. His enquiries were not fruitleſs; he was in a ſhort time informed, that there was ſuch a way as he apprehended there was, and that, as it was extremely ſteep and craggy, ſo the guard poſted there was but ſlender. This news rejoiced him, and he thereupon detached five thouſand light-armed troops, under the command of *Scipio Emilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own ſons, but adopted into other families. When this detachment marched from the camp, it took the road to the ſea, the conſul giving out, that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of *Octavius* lay upon the coaſt, in order to waſte the maritime parts of *Macedonia*. But when *Scipio* and *Q. Fabius* had received the neceſſary proviſions, and night began to fall, they faced about, and marched with all imaginable diligence up the mountain. Three days they employed in paſſing it, and during thoſe three days *Emilius* drew out his forces, and attacked the *Macedonian* camp, notwithſtanding that *Perſeus* by the ſituation and fortifications of his camp, with the engines placed upon them, eaſily and conſtantly repulſed the *Romans*. At length the detachment reached and defeated the *Macedonian* guards, whom they ſurprized aſleep, though they afterwards ſtood to their arms, and made ſome defence. This obſtacle removed, *Scipio* and *Fabius* with their men deſcended by the channel of a brook, now dry, into the country below, and appeared ſuddenly on the other ſide of the *Macedonian* camp. *Perſeus* appriſed of this, and frighted with the report of his guards, immediately decamped, and retired precipitately to *Pydna*. There he held a council of war, in which ſome of his beſt friends adviſed him to gariſon his ſtrongeſt cities with his beſt troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having ſhewn that the *Macedonians* were better able to keep cities, than the *Romans* were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from e this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he choſe for his reſidence might be firſt beſieged. Thoſe who with him diſliked this ſentiment, were for putting all upon a battle. The reaſons they aſſigned in ſupport of their judgment were theſe: Firſt, that the army of *Perſeus*, which conſiſted of ſomewhat more than forty thouſand men, exceeded the conſul's in number: Secondly, that his troops were the flower of the *Macedonian* infantry and horſe: Thirdly, that they were to fight now for their cities, wives, and children, and would therefore not only behave valiantly, but like deſperate men: Fourthly, that the king and moſt of the nobility being preſent would greatly encourage them: Fifthly, they had now leiſure to chuſe their ground, ſo as f to bring the phalanx, hitherto invincible, to act with the greateſt advantage. It muſt be confeſſed, theſe poſitions were very plauſible, and therefore we need not wonder, that they prevailed on *Perſeus*, who was a prince of a very deſultory genius, ſometimes violent in one opinion, and preſently recurring with the ſame violence to a contrary ſentiment. When once it was reſolved to fight, the ground was next conſidered, and a line of battle marked out perfectly advantagious to the phalanx, and whereby the wings of the *Macedonian* army were flanked by the city on one ſide, and by the mountains on the other; theſe diſpoſitions gave the ſoldiers ſuch ſpirits, that, inſtead of being apprehenſive, they rather wiſhed for an engagement, as, on the other hand, *Paulus* marched with all imaginable ſpeed, that he might overtake the *Macedonians*, and decide the war at once, being afraid of nothing ſo much as being obliged

obliged to take city after city, whereby the war would have been exceedingly protracted. When the troops under the command of the conſul had joined thoſe commanded by *Scipio* and *Fabius*, they perceived the enemy drawn up in battalia before them. It was growing late, but the ardor of *Scipio* engaged him to preſs *Emilius* not to loſe the preſent opportunity, but to engage immediately. The fact is certain, but the diſcordance between what is ſaid by *Livy* [q] and by *Plutarch* [r], as to the ſpeeches of theſe captains on this occaſion, ſhew, that under their names we have the ſentiments only of thoſe authors. In this they agree, that *Emilius* over-ruled the propoſition, and would not hear of attacking with ſoldiers wearied by a long march men juſt come out of quarters, and who had proviſions and refreſhments at hand. The conſul, however, directed, that the army ſhould form in order of battle; but b while the firſt line remained under arms, the ſecond was employed in diſpoſing and retrenching a camp, into which, after they had amuſed and haraſſed the enemy, the whole *Roman* army retired, the *Macedonians* being exceedingly ſurprized to ſee them ſafely and regularly encamped, without their having the leaſt notice of their breaking ground. The ſame evening there happened an eclipſe of the moon, which, as *Livy* tells us, *Sulpitius Gallus*, one of the *Roman* tribunes, foretold, firſt to the conſul, and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror, which eclipſes were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the ſoldiers more and more diſpoſed to confide in officers of ſo great wiſdom and of ſuch general knowledge. In the *Macedonian* camp, however, things went not ſo well, the army were terribly amazed c at the eclipſe, and began to affright themſelves with the apprehenſion of its portending the extinction of their glory. Early the next morning *Perſeus* made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for battle, and did every thing in his power to encourage the ſoldiers to behave themſelves bravely. On the other hand, the conſul alſo made the proper diſpoſitions, and when he had ſo done, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Hercules*, who it ſeems was not eaſily pleaſed, for twenty victims were offered without any ſigns of ſucceſs. Upon the offering of the twenty-firſt, the ſoothſayer pronounced his judgment, that the victory would be to the *Romans*, if the enemy attacked them. It is not improbable, that *Emilius* himſelf gave into this delay, for all the morning the ſun was full in the eyes of his ſoldiers. About three a clock in the after- d noon, he ordered a horſe to be turned looſe, as ſome ſay, or, as others affirm, ſent out a party to forage, that the *Macedonians* might be tempted to attack them, and ſo bring on a battle. However it was, by deſign or chance, a horſe running into the water, and two or three *Roman* ſoldiers following to catch him, ſome *Thracians* adventured to take him from them; whereupon a great fray enſued, and ſoon after a general engagement. The *Macedonian* army was extremely well drawn up; the *Thracians*, mercenaries, and auxiliaries making a very martial appearance; but the phalanx ſtruck a peculiar terror from the excellency of its order, and the condition of thoſe who compoſed it; all picked men, all habited in ſcarlet, their ſhields bright and ſhining, and thoſe of the veterans of poliſhed braſs, with their long ſpears, diſ- e poſed with the utmoſt exactneſs, as if they were drawn up for a review, and not for a battle. The *Romans* were in their uſual line of battle, and ſhewed the greateſt alacrity in doing their duty, to which *Emilius* encouraged them by ſhewing himſelf every-where. *Polybius* and *Livy* agree in relating, that *Perſeus*, after the field oration, retired into the city of *Pydna*, and there ſpent his time in ſacrificing to *Hercules* [s]. But one *Poſidonius*, a *Greek* writer, who affirmed he was preſent in the battle, tells us quite another thing: he ſays the king had the day before received a kick of a horſe on his thigh, which diſabled him from fighting; but that, againſt the advice of his friends, when the engagement was begun, he ordered a pad to be brought, and being ſet on the horſe unarmed, he rode into the midſt of the battle, encouraging f his ſoldiers by his voice and preſence, till he was wounded by one of the *Roman* darts, then indeed he withdrew [t]. But where-ever king *Perſeus* was, the engagement ſeemed at the beginning to go in his favour. The light-armed *Macedonians* charged with ſuch vigor, that, after the battle was over, the bodies of ſome of them were found within two furlongs of the *Roman* camp. When the phalanx came to charge, the points of their ſpears ſtriking into the *Roman* ſhields, kept their heavy-armed troops from making any motion, while, on the other hand, *Perſeus*'s light-armed men did terrible execution. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, *Emilius* tore his cloaths, and almoſt

[q] Hiſt. lib. xliv. [r] Plut. in vit. Æmil. [s] Liv. ubi ſupra. Polyb. ab Plut.
[t] Poſidon. ap. Plut.

almoſt gave up all hopes. However, perceiving as that the phalanx gained ground,
it loſt its order in ſeveral places, he cauſed his own light-armed troops to charge in
thoſe ſpaces, whereby the *Macedonians* were ſoon put into confuſion. If *Perſeus* with
his horſe had on the firſt appearance of this charged the *Romans* briſkly, his infantry
would have had time to recover themſelves; but inſtead of this, they baſely pro-
vided for their own ſafety by a precipitate flight. The foot finding themſelves de-
ſerted, at laſt fled too, but not till twenty thouſand of them were ſlain. *Perſeus* with
the horſe had taken the road to *Pella*; the foot took the ſame road, and when it was
almoſt night, overtook them in a wood, where they halted; there they fell to up-
braiding them with their ſcandalous behaviour; and laſt, grudging ſuch cowards
b ſhould have horſes to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, fell to pluck-
ing them off, and mounted themſelves. At which *Perſeus* was ſo frighted, that with
a few of his friends he ſtruck into a by-road, pulled off his purple cloak, and tied
it before him, and carried his diadem in his hand. About midnight he arrived at
Pella, very ſlenderly accompanied; his noblemen being more afraid of him than
of the *Romans*, knowing that he ever loved to ſhift his own ill conduct upon others.
In his capital he found *Euctus* and *Eudeus*, two of his chamberlains, and ſome other
officers of his houſhold, who came to wait upon him as they were wont; but *Euctus*
and *Eudeus* laying hold of this opportunity to demonſtrate to the king the folly of
his former conduct, and to exhort him to act more ſteadily for the future, *Perſeus* in
c a rage drew his dagger, and ſtabbed them both, of which wounds they died in his pre-
ſence. After this his court conſiſted but of three perſons, viz. *Evander* the *Cretan*,
Archidemus the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bœotian*, with about five hundred *Cretan* ſol-
diers, who remained with him, not out of fidelity, but becauſe they could not depart
from the treaſure which he carried along with him. As *Pella* was the chief city of
Macedon, ſo it was alſo one of the ſtrongeſt. It was ſeated on a hill in the midſt of
impaſſable marſhes, and was commanded by a citadel much ſtronger, and more inac-
ceſſible than itſelf. *Perſeus*, however, who could not think himſelf any-where ſafe,
fled from thence as precipitately as from the battle, marching with incredible expe-
dition to *Amphipolis*. When he came thither, he found that *Diodorus* the governor
c had by a ſtratagem expelled his *Thracian* gariſon, leſt they ſhould plunder the city.
This, however, did not hinder the king from ſtirring up the *Biſaltæ* to take arms and
come to his aſſiſtance. But when he found all this was in vain, he grew very diſ-
conſolate, and began to fear, that, to preſerve themſelves, the *Amphipolitans* would
deliver him up to the *Romans*. He therefore came out with *Philip*, the only child he
had with him; and having mounted the tribunal, began to ſpeak; but his tears flowed
ſo faſt, that, after ſeveral trials, he found it impracticable for him to make an ora-
tion. Deſcending again from the tribunal, he ſpoke to *Evander*, who then went
up to to ſupply his place, and actually began an harangue; but the people hating him,
refuſed to hear him, crying out, *Be gone, be gone; we are reſolved not to expoſe our-*
c *ſelves, our wives, and our children, for your ſakes. Fly therefore, and leave us to make*
the beſt terms we can with the conquerors. The king, now at his wits end, ſhipped
his money, which he ever carried with him, on board ſome barks, ſuffering his *Cre-*
tans to plunder him of fifty talents, which he left upon the ſhore for them, fearing to
give it them, leſt the *Macedonians* in ſpight ſhould take all the reſt. Attended by
theſe guards, he came firſt to *Galipſus*, and the next day after landed in the iſland of
Samo-Thrace, where he brought on ſhore two thouſand talents, intending there to
take up his reſidence. Let us now return to the conſul, and obſerve the ſteps he took
in ſubduing the kingdom [t].

Paulus Emilius, being a man of ſtrict juſtice, gave, according to the rules of war, Macedonia
f the plunder of the camp to the infantry, and of the adjacent territory to the horſe. *ſubmits.*
As for the cities, he would not ſuffer them to be touched; and as for the royal trea- *Year after the*
ſures, he carried the laſt farthing of them to *Rome*, though it procured him the ill-will *flood* 2832.
of the army. *Hippias* with other officers who were in *Berea*, with a conſiderable body *Year before*
of forces, ſurrendered, and immediately after *Theſſalonica*, *Pella*, and the reſt of the *Chriſt* 167.
principal places in *Macedon*, ſo that the whole kingdom was given up in two days,
excepting only *Pydna*, under the walls of which the battle was fought; the reaſon
of which was, that ſeveral thouſand ſoldiers taking ſhelter there, were aſhamed to
deliver up ſo conſiderable a place without a capitulation. This was readily granted
them;

[t] PLUT. in vit. Æmil. TIT. LIV. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. xxxiii. c. 2.

them; and, as ſoon as the place was evacuated, the conſul marched away to *Amphi-* a
polis. There he received letters brought by three very mean perſons, who yet were ſtyled the embaſſadors of *Perſeus*. The conſul no ſooner ſaw them, but turning to thoſe who were about him, he ſaid, *Mark the inconſtancy of fortune; this man, who but t'other day thought the ample kingdom of* Macedon *nothing, if he was hindered from ſubduing the* Dardanians *and* Illyrians, *now confined in a narrow iſland, and an exile from his native land, ſends theſe poor men to aſk favours from me.* Then reaching out his hand to receive the letters, as ſoon as he had read the ſuperſcription, which ran thus; *King* Perſeus *to the conſul* Paulus *health*; he refuſed to open it, or to give any anſwer. As ſoon as *Perſeus* had notice of this, he readily perceived that he was now no more than a private perſon, or at leaſt ſo conſidered by the *Romans*; whereupon he wrote b
letters a ſecond time, and addreſſed them to the conſul, without aſſuming himſelf any title at all. In theſe he bewailed his own miſery, implored mercy from the *Romans*, and begged that commiſſioners might be ſent to treat with him. This laſt, which was all the conſul had in his power to grant, he readily complied with. With theſe commiſſioners let us tranſport ourſelves to *Samo-Thrace*, in order to obſerve the laſt ſcene of royalty performed by this unfortunate king, and which, if poſſible, we ſhall ſee worſe performed than any of the reſt [u].

King Perſeus *flies to a ſanctuary.*

The temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* in *Samo-Thracia* was at this time an inviolable aſylum, and in truth the whole iſland was looked upon as holy, and conſecrated to thoſe deities. This was the cauſe which induced king *Perſeus* to fly thither, as ſuppoſing he ſhould there remain in ſafety. On the arrival of *Lentulus*, *Albinus*, and *Antonius*, who were the commiſſioners ſent by the conſul to treat with him, *Perſeus* inſtantly entered into a negotiation, which, however, he managed ſlowly and improvidently, inſiſting, that he ſhould ſtill retain the title of king, which the commiſſioners told him the conſul could not grant; but that, if he would ſubmit himſelf and his affairs to the direction of the *Roman* people, the conſul would undertake for his ſafety. While theſe things were debating, *Octavius* the *Roman* admiral arrived with a great fleet, which exceedingly awed the *Samo-Thracians*. Theſe people, conſidering the inſecurity of their own condition, called frequent councils to deliberate what was moſt fit for them to do. In one of theſe aſſemblies, *Attilius*, a young *Roman*, c
appeared, and deſired leave to ſpeak; which once given him, he made a long harangue, wherein having premiſed many things concerning ſanctuaries in general, he came at laſt to put this queſtion, whether *the whole iſle of* Samo-Thrace *was not holy?* Which the aſſembly having preſently determined in the affirmative, he proceeded next to demand, *Whether it would not be polluted by a notorious murderer's taking ſhelter therein?* This being alſo admitted, he ſaid, he would prove that *Evander* the *Cretan*, who was with king *Perſeus* in the temple, had been the principal actor in the aſſaſſination of king *Eumenes*. The *Samo-Thracians* upon this ſent to inform *Perſeus*, that they expected *Evander* ſhould either ſubmit himſelf to a fair trial, or that he ſhould quit the iſland. *Perſeus* affrighted at this meſſage, and grievouſly apprehenſive of the conſequence, if *Evander* ſhould fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and, to obtain favour for himſelf, ſhould charge that aſſaſſination on its original author; ſent for him, and told him, that the neceſſity of affairs required that he ſhould voluntarily put himſelf to death to ſtop all further inquiries. *Evander* deſired that he might die by poiſon, rather than by the ſword, hoping that if he could get a little time he might eſcape. But *Perſeus*, ever vehement in thoſe ſort of enterprizes, ſuſpecting ſomething from this delay, ordered him to be immediately diſpatched; and then, fearing that the *Samo-Thracians* would look upon this as a pollution of their ſanctuary, bribed one *Theondas* with a very large ſum of money to aver, that *Evander* was his own executioner. This ſalved the matter well enough with the *Samo-Thracians*; but it effectually loſt *Perſeus* the hearts of all his friends. *Evander* was doubtleſs a bad man, otherwiſe he would not have been concerned in the attempt on *Eumenes*; but, as he did this at the command of *Perſeus*, as he had conſtantly followed the fortunes of that prince, and had never betrayed him in any thing, it was held an act of the greateſt ingratitude and meanneſs of ſpirit in the king to forget all his ſervices in an inſtant, and at the firſt ſight of danger to give him up to a violent death, not by the hands of ſtrangers, but his own ſervants. *Perſeus*, having now a proſpect of his miſery in a true light, beholding himſelf without forces, without friends, and without hopes, reſolved,

[u] Liv. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

a resolved, if possible, to escape into *Crete*, and to that end bargained with one *Oroandes* a *Cretan*, who had a small ship in the haven of *Samo-Thrace*, to carry himself, his wife, his son, his treasure, and three attendants to the island before-mentioned. The crafty master of the vessel took the money on board first, and then assigned an hour in the night for the king and his company to come on board. But as soon as it began to grow dark, he hoisted sail, and left the hapless *Perseus* to deplore at leisure his credulity and the loss of his money. At midnight the king, his wife, his son *Philip*, and three attendants, slipped by a back gate into a garden behind his apartment; then clambering with much difficulty over a wall, they made the best of their way to the port, and, after wandering till it was almost light on the sea shore, b were informed by a stranger, that *Oroandes* sailed for *Crete* the evening before. The king, his consort, and the young prince, with those who attended them, were forced to make all imaginable speed back, that they might regain the temple before they were discovered by the *Romans*. But finding the day broke before they reached the wall of the garden, they were constrained to hide themselves there behind a corner, till by degrees they could get in unperceived. It was not long after this, that the king surrendered himself to the admiral *Octavius*, moved thereto by new misfortunes, especially the two following accidents: First, the desertion of all his pages, which happened on the *Romans* publishing a manifesto or proclamation, whereby they declared, that all such as quitted the service of king *Perseus*, should not only be safe in their persons, but have their estates restored them also in *Macedon*, and remain at c full liberty. The other, the news that *Ion* of *Thessalonica*, one of the king's principal favourites, had given up all the rest of the royal family intrusted to his care to *Octavius*. He it was who had the honour of receiving prisoner also the king of *Macedon*, his eldest son *Philip*, and the few that were yet about him. *Octavius*, as soon as he had him in his power, ordered the king to be put on board the admiral, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the *Roman* fleet weighed, and stood over to *Amphipolis*. Thence the admiral dispatched an express to acquaint the consul with what had happened; to assure him, that *Perseus* was in his custody, and that he should be speedily sent to attend his pleasure [w].

The reception of Perseus in the Roman camp.

d As soon as *Paulus Emilius* received the letter of *Octavius*, he sent *Tubero* his son-in-law with several persons of distinction to receive the king. He ordered sacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings, as if a new victory had been obtained. When he was informed the king drew near, he assembled a council of war in his own pavilion, where he resolved to wait for him. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, and the crowd was so very great, that the lictors were constrained to make a way for him to go to the consul's tent. *Perseus* walked alone, covered with a mourning cloak; and when he entered the tent, would have thrown himself at the feet of the consul; but *Emilius* rising hastily, stepped forward a little, gave him his hand, and would not suffer him to kneel. He then placed him in a seat over-e against those who assisted at the council. When silence had been observed some time, the consul demanded of the king what wrong the *Roman* people had done him, which had constrained him to take up arms, and with such obstinacy to persist in hazarding his person, subjects, and kingdom, as he did. The king, looking on the ground and shedding tears, spake not a word. Whereupon the consul continued his discourse: "If, said he, you had been very young when you came to the throne, "I should have imputed your rashness to your not knowing the world. But inas-"much as you served in that war which your father waged against us, knew its "success, and knew also how faithfully we observed the treaty we made with him; "what strange policy was it for you to chuse war rather than peace, with a people, f "whose force, and whose fidelity, you had already tried; and therefore might well "apprehend, what might be feared from the one, or hoped from the other?" The king still remaining silent, the consul after some pause concluded thus: "However "these things have come to pass, whether by human error, by chance, or through "necessity, do not despair; the clemency of the *Roman* people, so well known and "so often experienced, may afford you not only hope, but assurance, of safety." All this the consul spoke in *Greek*; then turning to his council, he said in *Latin*, "You see here a notable instance of the incertainty of human grandeur and of the "mutability of fortune; let it make a proper impression on you all; but especially "on

[w] Liv. lib xlv. Plut. in vit. Æmel.

" on ſuch of you as are in the vigor of your age. Let not preſent proſperity ſo a
" far puff up any man, as to make him behave with arrogance towards another;
" neither let any man confide in his good fortune, for he cannot tell how ſoon it may
" forſake him. His courage only ſhall be admired by me, which neither the flow
" of fortune ſwells, or its ebb decreaſes; but who preſerves a ſteady temper of mind
" in all times and on all occaſions." Then he committed *Perſeus* to the cuſtody of *Tubero*, directing, that he ſhould ſup with him that night, and then and ever after treated him with all imaginable civility and reſpect. *Emilius*, having thus ſettled all things in *Macedon*, proceeded to a progreſs through *Greece*, where he ordered all matters as might beſt ſuit the intereſt of the *Romans*; and though he was naturally a merciful man, uſed ſeverity enough. At length hearing that ten legates, all men of conſular dignity, were coming from *Rome* to aſſiſt him in ſettling a new form of government in *Macedonia*, he ſpeedily returned thither, directing his courſe to *Apollonia*, where he was informed they were to land; there he was met by king *Perſeus*, whom *Sulpitius*, to whoſe cuſtody, on the conſul's going into *Greece*, he had been committed, ſuffered to go at large. *Emilius* received the king kindly; but when he came to *Amphipolis*, he checked *Sulpitius* very ſeverely for ſuffering the king to go where he pleaſed. *Poſthumius* therefore had the charge of him for the future, who kept him and his ſon *Philip* very ſtreightly; as for his younger ſon *Alexander* and his daughter, *Emilius* ſent for them from *Samo-Thrace* to *Amphipolis*, where he treated them with much kindneſs. As to the eſtabliſhing of the new government, *Emilius* iſſued his precepts, directing, that ten deputies from each of the *Macedonian* cities ſhould appear before him at a day certain, and bring with them ſuch papers of ſtate, and all ſuch ſums of money and plate as they had any knowledge of belonging to the king. At the day aſſigned, they appeared: then it was, that *Emilius* with his ten collegues mounted the tribunal, together with the prætor *Octavius*, the lictors attending. The *Macedonians*, though they had been uſed to ſee their princes do juſtice, and were no ſtrangers to courts eſtabliſhed by their authority, yet were ſurprized at this; the auſterity of the *Romans*, the uſing of the *Latin* language in all their proceedings, and their cuſtoms ſo different from thoſe of the *Greeks*, ſtruck terror and amazement into the deputies, and all who were preſent. However, they were not left long in the dark, as to what the ſenate and people of *Rome* expected from them. *Emilius* had the decree ready drawn in his hand, which he pronounced with a ſlow and audible voice, but in the *Latin* tongue. Then the prætor *Octavius* acquainted the aſſembly, that it was to the following purpoſe: Firſt, that the ſenate ordained the *Macedonians* ſhould be free, and that they ſhould enjoy all the cities and territories they were now poſſeſſed of, living for the preſent under their own laws, and electing annually their magiſtrates, as they were wont to do, paying to the people of *Rome* half the tribute which they uſually paid to their kings: Secondly, their will was, that *Macedonia* ſhould be divided into four regions; the firſt to contain all the countries between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*, together with ſuch boroughs, cities, and caſtles, as *Perſeus* held beyond the river *Neſſus*; the cities of *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and *Abdera* excepted. On the weſt of *Strymon* the territory of the *Biſaltæ* and *Heraclea Syntica* were added to this region. The ſecond included the country between *Strymon* and *Axius*, together with *Pæonia*. The third had the river *Axius* for its eaſt, and the river *Peneus* for its weſt, boundary. Towards the north it was bounded by the mountain *Bora*, the cities of *Edeſſus* and *Berea* being annexed thereto. The fourth contained the remainder of *Macedonia* beyond the mountain *Bora*, having *Illyria* on the one ſide, and *Epirus* on the other. The capital of the firſt region was to be *Amphipolis*; of the ſecond *Theſſalonica*; of the third *Pella*; of the fourth *Pelagonia*. To theſe cities they were once a quarter to be ſummoned to hold general aſſemblies to raiſe money, and to elect magiſtrates. Thirdly, it was declared unlawful for any perſon to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or ſell any lands to any who was not an inhabitant of his own region. Fourthly, they were prohibited to work any mines of gold or ſilver; thoſe of iron and braſs they were allowed to work, paying half the rent to the *Romans*, which they were wont to pay to their kings. Fifthly, they were prohibited from importing any foreign ſalt. Sixthly, they were forbid to ſell any timber fit for building ſhips to the barbarous nations. But they were allowed for their neceſſary defence to keep gariſons on their frontiers. Seventhly, the *Macedonians* were directed to inrol their names, *Emilius* ſignifying to them that he intended to give them laws. When this decree was publiſhed, it greatly affected the

a the minds of the people. Glad they were to be reſtored to their liberty; but at the ſame time they were ſorry, that they could not well comprehend what that liberty was they were reſtored to. They ſaw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it ſpake of leaving them under their own laws, impoſed many new ones, and threatened more. What moſt diſturbed them was the diviſion of the kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were torn and mangled, ſeparated and disjointed from each other. One thing, however, was generally applauded, *viz.* the prohibition to work the gold and ſilver mines, which was founded upon this caution. The ſenate ſaw, that to collect a revenue from them, tax-gatherers, ſurveyors, and receivers, muſt of neceſ-
ſity be employed; they therefore choſe to forego all the advantages theſe mines could
b produce, rather than plague their new ſubjects with officers of revenue; as *Livy* expreſsly informs us. *Emilius* proceeded next to regulate the reſt of the *Grecian* affairs at *Amphipolis*, where, at the cloſe of the proceedings, *Andronicus* the *Ætolian* and *Neo* the *Bœotian*, becauſe they had been always friends to *Perſeus*, and had not deſerted him even now, were condemned, and loſt their heads. Then came out a proclamation, whereby the ſupreme power in *Macedon* was veſted in certain ſenators. All the nobility, as alſo all their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to tranſport themſelves over into *Italy*; as were likewiſe all ſuch as ever had any commiſſion even of the ſmalleſt importance from the king or his predeceſſors; and it was declared, that whoever preſumed to contravene that
c edict ſhould be puniſhed with death. Laſt of all, *Emilius* publiſhed the laws he had promiſed, which, whether they were or were not to the liking of the *Macedonians*, they were ever after bound to obey. Theſe ſerious matters once out of the way, *Emilius* celebrated games at *Amphipolis*, with a magnificence unknown to former times. The brazen ſhields belonging to the *Macedonian* phalanx he ſent on board the ſhips. All the reſt of the arms belonging to the *Macedonians* he cauſed to be brought to *Amphipolis*,, and, as it was intended they ſhould never raiſe armies, nor be troubled with military expeditions more, theſe weapons were framed into a prodigious pile, and, after ſolemn prayers offered to *Mars*, *Minerva*, and other deities, the conſul firſt ſet fire to them with a torch he had in his hand; and then the principal officers
d in the army threw in thoſe lighted torches with which they had aſſiſted at the ſolemnity. All the rich furniture, plate, ſtatues, and other valuable things found in the royal palaces, were firſt expoſed to public view, and then put on board the fleet (D). *Emilius* afterwards marched away for *Oricum*, having firſt given inſtructions, that

(D) It is a great misfortune to ſuch as are engaged in writing the hiſtories of nations conquered by the *Romans*, that they have no materials, but the writings of *Romans*, or of *Greeks*, who flattered the power of the *Romans* more than the ſpirit of their own writers would allow them to do. *Livy*, whoſe hiſtory may be juſtly ſaid to vie with its ſubject, repreſents his countrymen as acting upon the nobleſt and moſt philoſophical principles upon all occaſions. He ſays, that with reſpect to the *Macedonians*, the conſul *Emilius* treated them in ſuch a manner as tended to convince the world, that the *Romans* did not make war with a view to enſlave free men, but, on the contrary, that they might be able to ſet free ſuch nations as were already enſlaved (7). *Plutarch* ſpeaks much the ſame language, and highly commends his hero, the ſenate and people of *Rome*, for ſo generouſly treating thoſe whom they had totally ſubdued (8). To adventure, without authority, to contradict authors ſo much and ſo juſtly in eſteem, may ſeem a high preſumption. Yet this preſumption we muſt be guilty of, in order to ſet this part of our hiſtory in its proper light; it will, however, be ſomewhat alleviated by our grounding all the obſervations we make on facts recorded by the authors from whoſe ſentiments we beg leave to differ. In the firſt place, let us remark, that *Perſeus*, from the very beginning of the war, was for ſubmitting almoſt to any thing, provided the *Romans* would grant him peace, which was refuſed him, except he would put himſelf in that condition into which the moſt unſucceſsful war could ſcarce reduce him. This the conſul *Licinius Craſſus* told him in few words, when as yet the *Romans* had not entered *Macedonia*, but were, on the contrary, in danger of being beat out of *Theſſaly*. This conduct may be ſanctified with the epithets *firm*, *magnanimous*, *heroic*; but whoever conſiders who the *Macedonians* were muſt allow, that it was at leaſt haughty, if not tyrannical. If ſubjection was ſo hateful to the *Romans*, that they thought all things lawful to ſhake it off; why ſhould it not appear in the ſame dreadful light to the *Macedonians*; and if ſo, what magnanimity was there in preſſing it upon them, and how was *Perſeus* or his ſubjects to blame for endeavouring to avoid ſo ſervile a ſubmiſſion? ſecondly, what ſort of liberty was it theſe people received from *Emilius* after his victory? To anſwer this queſtion in few words, we may juſtly alledge, that they received none at all; for which we aſſign this reaſon, that the conſul left them not ſo free as they had been under their kings. It is clear from the foregoing hiſtory, that the moſt eminent cities in *Macedonia* were like the free cities of the *German* empire; a ſort of little republics aſſociated among themſelves, and owing certain homage to their prince. The liberty they enjoyed made them populous and rich, the government they were under provided effectually for their ſafety, nor did *Perſeus* himſelf, for ought we ſee, violate the rights of theſe cities; on the contrary,

(7) *Tit. Liv. Hiſt. lib.* xliv. xlv.

(8) *Plut. in vit. P. Æmil.*

that all that part of *Epirus*, which had revolted to *Perseus*, should be plundered; and that this might be done with more effect, centurions were sent to the several cities, who gave out, that all garisons were to be withdrawn, and the *Epirots* restored to their liberty; yet on a day assigned, when the people thought themselves all safe, the troops in every city sacked and plundered it, carrying off an immense sum of money; after which joining *Emilius*, the whole army together, with the captive kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, who was taken by the prætor *Anicius*, were transported to *Italy* x (E). *Emilius*

x Plut. in vit. Æmil. Liv. ubi supra.

contrary, when their deputies offered him levies and subsidies, he declined both, and desired only that they would furnish his army with waggons. *Paulus Emilius* instantly divided the whole realm into tetrarchies, with a severe prohibition to the inhabitants of each tetrarchy to interfere with the inhabitants of another tetrarchy, in any amicable way whatsoever. He also took upon him the office of a legislator, and gave them not only new laws, but a new constitution. Where then was their liberty? Thirdly, great stress is laid on the great abatement of tribute made by the victor; for instead of two hundred talents yearly exacted by the *Macedonian* kings from their subjects, the *Romans* were contented with one hundred. Yet what intelligent person can deny that a hundred talents annually paid to a foreign people, is a heavier load than two, nay, than four, hundred, raised, and afterwards spent, at home? But, besides, one may justly wonder how it could be thought equitable to charge these people with any taxes, when such an immense sum of ready money was taken from them, as released the *Romans* from all taxes for one hundred and twenty-five years. If we sum up therefore all these regulations, *viz.* the quartering the kingdom, the settling new laws, the carrying away all the wealth, the prohibition to bring in bullion from the mines, the leaving them still burthened with a tax of a hundred talents, and add to these the carrying away of all their nobility above the age of fifteen, we shall have a right comprehension of the matter, and be well able to account for two things, *viz.* how the *Romans* came to stand less in fear of the *Macedonians*, when a free people, as they called them, than while they were under the dominion of their kings. And, secondly, how these *Macedonians* came to be so strangely ungrateful, as eagerly to lay hold of every opportunity of taking arms against these *Romans*, and of endeavouring to change their new constitution for their old one (9).

(E) The fate of *Gentius* king of *Illyria* hath such a necessary dependence on the *Macedonian* history, that there was a necessity of taking notice of it somewhere, and therefore to avoid prolixity, we thought proper to digest it into a note. The reader has been already informed, that the prætor *Appius Claudius* had been able to do little or nothing on this side, except giving umbrage to the king of *Illyria*, which made him the more ready to hearken to the propositions made him by *Perseus*. *Anicius*, who was named successor to *Claudius*, at the same time that *Emilius* was sent to command in *Macedon*, made very quick dispatch in the *Illyrian* war. He took care to have his army well recruited, and acting as he did in strict conjunction with the consul and the admiral *Octavius*, all things went on well. *Gentius* had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at *Lissus*, where he waited for the coming of the three hundred talents, intending on the receipt of them to have marched away into *Macedonia*, there to have joined the king. *Anicius* saved him this trouble, by meeting him with the *Roman* army; whereupon a smart engagement happened, in which at last *Gentius* was overcome. However, he had the strong city of *Scodra* behind him, and to which with much ado he retreated. If he had been content to have defended that city, he had gained time at least, and in the end perhaps might have made some sort of treaty; but the *Illyrians*, vexed at their late defeat, flattered themselves with better success in another engagement, and therefore on the first appearance of the *Roman* army, would needs march out to fight them. *Anicius* looked upon this to be an event more fortunate than he could have expected; wherefore he immediately gave them battle, and with great slaughter defeated them. However, the king got a second time into *Scodra*, which was a city strong by situation, and extremely well fortified. It had also in it a very numerous garison, the flower of the *Illyrian* nobility, and the king himself; yet it scarce made any defence. *Gentius* was terrified; for, to say the truth, he derived all his courage from the bottle, and having now time to be sober, grew quite out of heart. He therefore sent to the prætor, desiring leave to treat, and that a truce of three days might be granted him, which, with much ado, he obtained. This delay he procured in expectation of succours; but either his people were not over loyal, or their force was quite exhausted, so that within the space of these three days, the king had certain intelligence that his expectations were vain, which determined him to yield on the prætor's terms, that is, at discretion. In consequence of this, himself, his mother, his wife, children, brother, and friends, were yielded prisoners, and were afterwards led in triumph at *Rome*; and his whole kingdom delivered up. This conquest cost a campaign only of a month, so that *Perpenna*, one of the *Roman* embassadors, whom *Gentius* had imprisoned, carried the news to *Rome* of the ending of the war before they had any notion there of its being begun (10). The *Illyrians* were not the only people, as the reader hath seen in the text, whom *Perseus* brought into a most distressed condition: part of *Epirus* had revolted to him, and paid dearly for that revolt The occasion of it is so much to our purpose, that we cannot omit it. In the war against *Philip* the father of *Perseus*, one *Charopus*, an *Epirot* by birth, had conducted *Titus Flaminius* with the *Roman* army over the mountains; for this eminent service he and his son of the same name were highly caressed at *Rome*, and after a time the young one returned into his own country, where he affected to govern all things at his pleasure, sending private information to the senate against such of the nobility as opposed him, and thereby working such quick destruction to them and their families, as compelled them to have recourse to *Perseus* (11). The *Achæans* too, being suspected of having wished the king no evil, were for that reason constrained to send a thousand persons of distinction to *Rome*, who were immediately imprisoned as malefactors convict, and, in spight of repeated embassies in their favour, remained seventeen years in that custody, and at length thirty, being all that remained alive, were allowed to return home; among whom was *Polybius* the famous historian. Such were the fatal consequences of this *Macedonian* war (12).

(9) *Vide infra.* (10) *Tit. Liv. Hist. ubi supra.* (11) *Excerpt. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xxx.
(12) *Liv. ubi supra*

The miserable end of Perseus.

a *Emilius* sailed up the *Tiber* in king *Perseus*'s royal galley, richly adorned with the arms of his prisoners, and with the king's purple robes. Though nothing could be more glorious than the short and sudden conquest which this great general had made of so large a kingdom, yet, on account of some discontent his soldiers had taken, there arose great disputes about his triumph. Until such time as this could be decided, and afterwards, while the necessary preparations were making for the triumph, king *Perseus* was confined in a common gaol. When he knew that a triumph was decreed *Emilius*, he sent to beseech him, that he might not be made a spectacle therein; to which the general made answer, *This is intirely in his own power, he needs not ask this favour of me.* Intimating, that the king might kill himself, and thereby b avoid that shame of which he stood in fear; but if he had inclined to this, he might as well have done it in *Macedonia* or *Samo-Thrace*, unless that we suppose he relied upon the general's promise at *Amphipolis*, which was indeed very indifferently kept. On the day of the triumph, immediately after the arms, treasures, and gold plate belonging to king *Perseus*'s table, followed his sons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his little daughter, with their nurses, preceptors, and attendants; all brought to them on this occasion, not to render them any service, but to heighten the pomp of the procession. These poor people wept, and wrung their hands, and made the children also extend their arms to move the compassion of the people. Next them came *Perseus* alone, clad in deep mourning. Behind at some distance his friends and the chief nobility of *Macedon*. They moved along with their hands folded, and their c eyes fixed upon the king, as if their concern for him had swallowed up all concern for their own condition. After the triumph, *Perseus* was sent back to the gaol, and put amongst the meanest criminals, no care being taken that he should have so much as a subsistance. In this miserable state, he remained four days fasting. At last he besought some of the poor people there to give him a part of their provision, which they very readily did, and at the same time procured for him a rope and a sword, supposing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them; which, however, he did not, but continued to live on. Some time afterwards, at the request of *Emilius*, he was taken out of this prison, and put into a milder custody. Some d say, that he was sent with his son *Alexander*, his eldest son being dead, to *Alba*, where, though he had a guard placed upon him, he had a house, a table, and necessary attendants assigned him. Yet, after all, he ended his days most miserably; for some say, that having disobliged his keeper, he killed him. Others, that the soldiers appointed for his guard, taking a dislike to him, would never suffer him to sleep, and so by continual watching brought him to his end. It is but just we should observe, that some say he died a natural death, which, however, can hardly be credited, if we consider the authority on which the former opinion is built, and which we have therefore set down at large in a note (F). Here the antient and famous kingdom of *Macedon* ended, after having

(F) We are indebted to *Diodorus Siculus* for a distinct account of the death of the unfortunate *Perseus*, as we are indebted to the judicious patriarch *Photius* for preserving us this account; which is to the following effect: *Perseus*, after he had been led in triumph, fell into such extreme misery, and experienced such incredible misfortunes, that hardly any thing related by writers of romances can be compared with what is truly recorded of his ill fate. Yet still he was fond of life. "Before the senate had determined any thing as to his punishment, one of the "city prætors threw him and his children into the "gaol *Albinus*. This prison is a deep dungeon of "the bigness of a chamber, capable of nine beds at "the most; dark and full of all sorts of filth and "nastiness, by reason of the multitude of men con-"demned for capital offences, that from time to "time were thrust down there; and generally most "of such malefactors were put into this place. So "that many being shut up together in so strait a "place, those miserable creatures were even turned "into beasts. And in regard the meat, drink, and "other necessaries which were brought them, were "jumbled together into one chaos and heap of "confusion, there arose thence such a stench, that "none that came near were able to endure. In a "most miserable condition *Perseus* continued here "for the space of seven days, insomuch, that he "begged relief, and some share of the food of those "strangers in prison who had only a stinted allow-"ance. They, out of compassion to this miserable "man, with great humanity and tears in their "eyes, gave him part of that small pittance they "had, and withal offered him a sword and a rope "to use, which of them he would at his pleasure, "for the putting an end to his life. Yet nothing "seems so sweet as life, even to the miserable; "though they suffer what is equivalent to death "itself in the mean time. To conclude, he had "certainly ended his days in this extreme misery, "if *Marcus Emilius*, president of the court, out of "respect to the dignity of his person, moved by "the natural and innate humanity of the *Romans*, "had not, with some indignation, moved the senate "in his behalf, putting them in mind, that though "they feared not man, yet they should bear some "awe and reverence to *Nemesis*, who will take ven-"geance on them that use their power with pride "and insolency. Upon this he was committed to "a more moderate confinement; and while he was "feeding himself with fresh hopes, he ended his "days agreeable to the former misfortune of his "life. For after he had lived two years in this fond "love of life, having displeased his barbarous "keepers, they would not suffer him to sleep, and "so he died" (13).

(13) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xxxi. *apud Phot. Bibliothec. p.* 1157.

having ſubſiſted from the time of *Caranus* upwards of ſix hundred years, and from the death of *Alexander the Great* not quite a hundred and threeſcore. It is certain, that nothing contributed ſo much to the deſtruction of the *Macedonian* empire, as the unhappy diſpoſition of its laſt prince. *Perſeus* laid the foundation of all his ſubſequent misfortunes in his father's life-time, by deſtroying his brother *Demetrius*, whereby he loſt the affections of a great part of his countrymen, and at the ſame time drew upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the *Romans*. His capital vices were covetouſneſs and cruelty. He diſcovered the laſt firſt by murdering *Apelles*, whom his father had ſent embaſſador to *Rome*, and whom himſelf had ſuborned to deliver the forged letter, which took away his brother's life. Thenceforward he addicted himſelf to all ſorts of ſiniſter methods for filling his treaſures, and taking off his enemies. Poiſons, aſſaſſinations, murders with his own hand; actions which might have ſhaken the fidelity of any people, did not render the *Macedonians* diſloyal. Perhaps, both they and the allies of *Perſeus* ſaw clearly, that, bad as he was, he was the only inſtrument they could make uſe of to ward off that ſlavery, which, notwithſtanding all their fair pretences, the *Romans* were ſpreading over *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Afric*. Natural timidity, and the conſciouſneſs of a long ſcene of crimes, rendered *Perſeus* unable to manage ſo great a controverſy againſt ſo potent and ſo firm an enemy as the *Romans*. His own ſenſe of his incapacity, which muſt have ſaved him, if he had made uſe of it in time, moſt effectually contributed to his ruin, by ſuggeſting to him deſires of peace out of all time: all writers agree, that *Perſeus* was the very reverſe of his father; for as *Philip*'s prudence ſerved him beſt in adverſity, and taught him to reſtore to a flouriſhing condition a kingdom quite exhauſted, ſo *Perſeus*, after ſhewing great abilities in proſperity, ſeemed to loſe them all with his fortune, and to ſuffer his ſpirits to ſink as low as his condition. The treatment given him by the *Romans* cannot, however, be excuſed, either from their greatneſs, or his miſery. The former left them little to fear, and the latter took away that little which they might pretend to fear. We muſt therefore attribute their conduct towards *Perſeus* to that haughtineſs which began to grow upon them, and made them forget, as well the meanneſs of their former ſtate, as the grandeur of others [y].

His poſterity. *Perſeus*, when he was led in triumph, had two ſons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and a daughter, whoſe name we find not. As to their ages, we can ſay nothing with certainty, except that they were all very young, and the two laſt infants. *Philip* is ſaid to have died before his father; but how or where cannot be collected, becauſe the books of *Livy* and of *Diodorus Siculus*, which treat of theſe times, are loſt. As for *Alexander* he was put out to a joyner, carpenter, or turner, and grew an ingenious man in his profeſſion, and addicted himſelf alſo to the *Latin* learning; he became afterwards clerk or ſecretary to the ſenate. This was another inſtance of the *Roman* pride; for at the ſame time *Nicomedes* the ſon of *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, was educated with all imaginable pomp and ſplendor, becauſe his father had ſent him thither, and put him under the care of the republic. It may be wondered, that the allies and relations of *Perſeus* could do nothing either for him or his offspring; but we need not be at much pains to account for this; they had much ado to bring off themſelves. After *Emilius* had viſited *Greece*, the *Rhodians* were called to an account for the kindneſs they had expreſſed to *Perſeus*. King *Eumenes* was treated with great coldneſs, not to ſay contempt, for not hating that prince to the laſt, as heartily as he had done at firſt. The ſon of *Cotys* king of *Thrace*, one of the wiſeſt and moſt generous princes of his time, was made priſoner at the battle of *Pydna*; and though the *Romans* did vouchſafe to ſend him back to his father, yet they ſent embaſſadors with him, who read *Cotys* a very round lecture, exaggerating his fault, the mercy ſhewn him by the *Romans*, and how dangerous it would be for him to offend a ſecond time. As we have conducted the *Macedonian* kingdom to its cloſe, it ſhould ſeem that we ought here to put an end to this ſection. But the reader muſt remember, that the *Macedonians* were ſtill free, and our buſineſs is to ſhew how they loſt their freedom, and how that once noble kingdom came to be reduced into the form of a province; and as theſe events were not brought about, but by new and fierce wars, it is neceſſary that we enter into a detail of them, and look upon the laſt ſtrugglings of this noble nation to preſerve themſelves from being ſwallowed up by the *Roman* power.

[y] Plut. in vit. Æmil. Oros. lib. xi. Justin. lib. xxxii. Liv. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxxi. apud Phot.

power, after they had once held the empire of the world, and for a long time the supreme authority in *Greece* [z].

THE ſettlement, made by *Paulus Emilius* in *Macedon*, was extremely well adapted to the purpoſe of the ſenate and people of *Rome*; for in the firſt place, every city became a ſort of republic. Once in three months the general aſſembly of the diſtrict met, and deputies were annually choſen in each of the regions, in whom the ſupreme power, ſo far as was conſiſtent with their duty to *Rome*, was veſted. All their ancient nobility dwelt in *Italy*. Thither their wealth had been transferred, and conſequently whatever boaſt might be made of ſetting them free, they were now no better than a poor, divided, headleſs, and heartleſs people. Sixteen years they had remained b in this ſtate, when it began to be whiſpered about, that one of the ſons of *Perſeus* was living. All who ſpeak of this matter being either *Latin* writers, or ſuch as took their materials from them, we muſt be content to hear the ſtory in the form they were pleaſed to place it, though very probable it is, that the *Greek* hiſtorians of thoſe times might deliver it in another manner. The beſt accounts we have tell us, that one *Andriſcus*, a native of the city of *Adramyttium*, in the country of *Troas* in *Leſſer Aſia*, by birth and manners of the very dregs of the people, took upon him to be *Philip* the ſon of *Perſeus*. Not that *Philip* who was led with his father in triumph, but another begotten on a nameleſs concubine of his, and preſerved from ſlaughter, as he pretended, thus: He was born, he ſaid, while *Perſeus* was engaged in the war againſt the *Romans*; and the king, being already apprehenſive of its iſſue, ordered his birth to be concealed, and committed him to the care of one *Cyrtheſa* to be privately brought up, that in caſe things ſhould fall out amiſs, one of the blood royal might be preſerved, and one day aſſert his right to the kingdom. He was bred up at *Adramyttium*, by a man in mean circumſtances, till he was twelve years old, without having the leaſt ſuſpicion that he was any other than that man's ſon. But about that time his foſter-father falling ſick of a mortal diſeaſe, he diſcloſed to this *Andriſcus* the ſecret of his birth, and that his true name was *Philip*. There was likewiſe a narrative to this purpoſe ſigned with the hand of *Perſeus*, in the cuſtody of his foſter-mother, whom the dying man charged to deliver it to *Philip*, c when he ſhould arrive at the age of fourteen. This was performed very exactly, and in that memorial there was mention made of two cheſts of treaſure privately depoſited for the uſe of this ſon by king *Perſeus*. The woman, when ſhe put this paper into the young man's hand, recommended it to him to make all imaginable haſte out of this part of the world, leſt *Eumenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Perſeus* and all his race, ſhould gain intelligence of his birth, and procure him to be murdered (G). Full of apprehenſions, *Andriſcus* or *Philip* retired into *Syria*, and went to the court of *Demetrius Soter*, who had married the ſiſter of king *Perſeus*, and from whom on that account he hoped for favour and protection. This *Demetrius* having heard *Andriſcus*'s ſtory, conſidered it attentively, till by degrees either himſelf or his wife traced d out ſuch imperfections in it, as gave them grounds to ſuſpect the whole was a fallacy. The *Romans* were at this time ſo powerful, and *Demetrius* had ſo little inclination to have any diſputes with them, that, to prevent his being made accountable for any thing that this pretended *Philip* might attempt, though without his countenance or aſſiſtance, he fairly ſeized him. Under the name of *Andriſcus* an impoſtor, falſely pretending to be the ſon of *Perſeus*, he was ſent by *Demetrius* to *Rome*, who no doubt thought he ſhould by this act win great credit with that ſtate [a].

Andriſcus calls himſelf Philip the ſon of Perſeus. *Year after the flood* 2847. *Before Chriſt* 152.

THE

[z] PLUT. LIV. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. [a] Epitom. LIV. lib. xlviii. xlix. ZONAR. ex DIONE. FLOR. l. ii.

(G) It may ſeem a little odd, that ſince there were many princes who might have pretended ſome title to the throne of *Macedon*, in right of their deſcents from its ancient kings, none offered at any ſuch thing; but, on the contrary, left all things quiet, and in the ſtate they were ſettled by *Paulus Emilius*. This is, however, eaſily accounted for, if we conſider the condition of the kings of *Syria* and *Bithynia*, who were nearly allied to *Perſeus*. The former was a prince of mean abilities, and terribly afraid of the *Romans*, whoſe wrath he ſought to avert by ſending the pretender to the throne of *Macedon* to them as ſoon as he came into his dominions. He was ſenſible enough, that he held his crown almoſt by their permiſſion, and therefore durſt not think of putting in any claim to another, while he was unable to act independently in the kingdom he poſſeſſed; as for *Pruſias* of *Bithynia*, he was alſo a mean-ſpirited prince, and beſides was ſo plagued by foreign enemies and diviſions in his own family, which were at laſt attended with fatal effects, that he had ſmall leiſure to look abroad; and this encouraged *Andriſcus*, if he was indeed an impoſtor, to act as he did.

Andriſcus *eſcapes from* Rome.

The ſenate cauſed this matter to be inquired into upon the firſt arrival of *Andriſcus*; but whether it was that the conſequences of his pretences were not apprehended, or whether, as the *Roman* writers affirm, he looked, ſpoke, and acted ſo little like the ſon of a prince, that there ſeemed to be nothing dangerous in him; certain it is, that he was committed to a very gentle cuſtody, and no ſentence at all pronounced upon him. It is very poſſible, the ſenate might apprehend, that while *Alexander* the ſon of *Perſeus*, who had been led in triumph, was a peaceable man, and their ſcribe, as all the world knew, this *Andriſcus* with a lame ſtory, and, as they thought, very mean parts, would gain no credit; but that the contrary might happen, if he was ſeverely dealt with; no juſt cauſe appearing, for which he might be put to death. *Andriſcus* did not let ſlip the favourable opportunity offered him by the careleſsneſs of thoſe who had the cuſtody of him; but ſecretly ſtealing out of *Italy*, took ſhelter in *Thrace* [b].

Troubles in Macedonia, *and their cauſes.*

In the mean time the *Macedonians* were in a very bad ſituation; for as the genius of the people was wholly ſuited to a mixt government, or, in other words, a well-regulated monarchy, ſo the new conſtitution which had been given them, ſat very indifferently on their minds, ſome being too proud of their freedom, and others deſiring to ſee themſelves once more an independent nation, and as conſiderable as in former times. The *Romans*, ſending embaſſadors into *Aſia*, ordered them to paſs over from thence into *Macedonia* to appeaſe theſe troubles, and to engage the people to live peaceably under the new government. What effects the exhortations of theſe legates had, we know not; but in all probability, they did not operate very ſtrongly, ſince in a few years the ſame diſturbances broke out again with ſtill greater vehemence, ſo that it appeared plainly a popular government was little for the advantage of the inhabitants of this kingdom. The *Macedonians* dwelling at *Rome* had intereſt enough to prevent any harſh meaſures from being taken with their country-men; this intereſt they were at great pains to cultivate, attending the funerals of their conqueror *Emilius* with all imaginable marks of ſorrow and concern, applying themſelves afterwards to *Scipio* his ſon, ſurnamed *Africanus*. Him they owned for the protector of their nation, and publicly ſolicited the ſenate that he might be ſent into *Macedonia* to compromiſe the diſturbances there. But the affairs of the republic in *Spain* being fallen into a dangerous condition, inſomuch, that many declined ſerving there, *Scipio* deſired to be ſent thither, as conceiving it would be more for his country's ſervice, though he was very ſenſible of the affection borne him by the *Macedonians*, and would moſt willingly, but for this accident, have gone thither to repair the breaches which had been made in his father's ſettlement of the affairs of that people. It is very poſſible, that while the *Romans* apprehended no ill conſequence to themſelves from the diſputes among the *Macedonians*, they were not very much diſturbed at their continuance, ſince it appears clearly from *Polybius*, that the *Romans* were by this time become great politicians, and extended their own power on every ſide by practiſing on others, and taking advantage either of their misfortunes, or of their errors in government. Be it as it will, *Macedonia* was in great confuſion, and little or no care was taken to redreſs the grievances the people complained of; indeed the redreſſing of them was the more difficult, becauſe there were no *Roman* officers amongſt them; but from themſelves thoſe were taken who were made uſe of to oppreſs them [c] (H).

Andriſcus.

[b] Epitom. Liv. lib. xlix. Val. Patercul. lib. i. Zonar. ex Dion. [c] Polyb. Legat. cvii.

(H) 'Twas an eſſential maxim of the *Roman* policy, to let the ſubjects of the republic enjoy much greater quiet than their allies and dependents; and it was built on this ſuppoſition, that either by art or force the countries of their allies might be reduced into provinces, either without reſiſtance, or under colour of juſtice. Hence it was, that while they acknowledged the *Achæans* to be free, and gloried themſelves in the title of protectors of the liberties of *Greece*, they treated the former worſe and regarded the latter leſs, than the *Macedonians* had ever done, when they had the pre-eminence in that country. For whereas the kings of *Macedon* permitted the *Greek* republics to chuſe their own magiſtrates, and to judge all criminals in their own courts, and according to their own laws, the *Romans* moſtly ſent legates of their own to hear and determine differences among ſtates they pretended to call free, and not ſeldom drew the cauſes to *Rome*, whither the parties were conſtrained to follow them. We have already ſhewn how *Charopus*, almoſt againſt their wills, drove the *Epirots* into rebellion; and yet this man was again inveſted, not only with almoſt regal authority, but his mother alſo, a moſt vindictive and covetous woman, plundered and haraſſed theſe unhappy people with equal malice and impunity. In *Macedon*, thoſe who had the government of its ſeveral diſtricts in their hands, were either extremely neceſſitous, and from thence prone to oppreſſion, or were the relations and allies of the nobility who were priſoners

Andriſcus or Philip *recovers* Macedon.

a *Andriſcus*, when he firſt came into *Thrace*, depended rather on the charity of the inhabitants, and eſpecially of their petty princes, than on any pretenſions of being of uſe to them, which would have come with an ill grace from a perſon in his condition. However, by often repeating his ſtory, by ſhewing them the incroachments which were daily made on their neighbours, and by explaining the methods whereby one king was employed to ruin another, and thereby reduced into circumſtances which rendered him unfit to defend himſelf; he begat in the minds of the *Thracians* ſuch ſuſpicions, and kindled in their boſoms ſuch an ambition of being once more independent, that at firſt he had ſome attendants, which ſoon after grew into a little court, and at length he was permitted to raiſe an army; which when it had b ſwelled to a reaſonable bigneſs, he boldly led down into *Macedon*, and there began publicly to declare his title to the crown. Some places he reduced by force, others ſubmitted through fear; moſt were willing to lay hold of any pretext to rid themſelves of their new maſters, and to regain their ancient conſtitution, the loſs of which had rendered it but ſo much the more deſirable. Such as were in poſſeſſion of power, and conſequently were ſtrictly dependent on the *Romans*, endeavoured to make what reſiſtance they could; but it proved even feebler than *Andriſcus* or *Philip* could have expected. Such as had been moſt forward to ſupport theſe men in their authority for the ſake of reaping rewards, which it was only in their power to give, were the firſt to deſert them, in order to rejoin authority again; and thus *Macedonia* was reduced by one who called himſelf the ſon of *Perſeus*, in almoſt as ſhort a time as *Perſeus* himſelf had loſt it. Nay, ſo full was he of that courage, which ſucceſs uſually inſpires, that, not content with *Macedon*, he began to meditate an invaſion on the adjoining provinces, as well to gratify his own ambition, as to keep up the hopes and ſpirits of his new ſubjects [d].

Scipio Naſica *ſent into* Greece.

THE *Romans*, on the firſt news of this extraordinary event, were not a little at a loſs; they had no army in theſe parts; they had all the reaſon in the world to believe that the *Greeks* would by no means raiſe an army in favour of thoſe who had of late treated them but very indifferently. However, they ſent *Scipio Naſica* with other legates, rather to diſpoſe the minds of the people in *Greece* to remain ſteady to the *Roman* intereſt, than to perform any notable ſervice againſt the new king of *Macedon*, whom the *Romans* qualified with the name of *Pſeudo-Philippus*, i. e. *the ſham Philip*. *Scipio* and his collegues found things in quite another ſtate than they expected. For, in the firſt place, *Andriſcus* or *Philip* was much more powerful than he had been thought at *Rome*. And, ſecondly, the *Achæans*, contrary to all expectation, laying aſide all former jealouſies and ſuſpicions, appeared moſt ready to ſide with the *Romans*, and to do whatever they required. *Scipio*, as he was of great parts, ſo he was alſo naturally juſt, temperate, and courteous, in the higheſt degree; theſe good qualities ſupplied the place of an army, and rendered him more formidable to the enemies of the republic, than a perſon of another diſpoſition would have e been attended by legions. The firſt thing he did was, fully to inform the ſenate of what had happened in *Greece*: That the diſturbance in *Macedon* was not a ſudden tumultuary inſurrection, but that the people for the moſt part had not only willingly, but joyfully, received this pretended *Philip*, not ſo much becauſe he ſtyled himſelf the ſon of *Perſeus*, as on account of his declaring he would expel the *Romans* and give liberty to all *Greece*. When *Scipio* had diſpatched theſe advices, he applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his commiſſion; he viſited all the principal cities of *Greece*, harangued the people in their general aſſemblies, heard all their remonſtrances patiently, excuſed ſome things, admitted others, promiſed the redreſs of all; by which arts he drew every city to furniſh a certain quota of troops, and join- f ing theſe with a conſiderable body of auxiliaries raiſed by the *Achæans*, he at laſt entered *Theſſaly*, where he immediately ſtopped the progreſs of *Andriſcus*, or *Philip*; retook

[d] Epitom. LIV. lib. xlix. l. PATERC. lib. i. L. FLOR. lib. ii.

at *Rome*, and were therefore much more addicted to the intereſt of the republic, than to that of their country. The rebellion of *Andriſcus* might eaſily have been prevented; for he was a long time in *Thrace* before he was in any condition to invade *Macedon*; or when it was begun, it might have been preſently quaſhed; but it is probable, the *Romans* deſired neither, but rather wiſhed for an opportunity of reducing the whole kingdom into a province, which at length they obtained, and did not fail to uſe (14).

(14) *Liv. lib.* xlix. *L. Polyb. legat.* cvii. *Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib.* xxvi.

retook ſuch of the cities as he had gariſoned, and in the end compelled him with his army to retire back into *Macedon*; which was all or rather more than could have been expected from a perſon in his ſituation, whoſe commiſſion extended no farther than to provide for the ſafety of *Greece* [e].

The prætor Juventius defeated and ſlain.

At *Rome*, as ſoon as the diſpatches from *Scipio* arrived, and it was perceived that the affair in *Macedonia* was become very ſerious, the prætor *P. Juventius Thalna* and *Q. Cælius* were ſent with a great army to reduce the rebels. It quickly appeared, that an able general was capable of doing more without an army, than a raſh officer with very numerous forces. *Juventius* was a man of fire and ſpirit, one who was deſirous of performing very great things, but altogether void of that calmneſs and conduct which are ſo eſſential to the character of a hero. Hence it was, that he made all imaginable haſte to enter *Macedonia*, and, as if his preſence only would have finiſhed the war, advanced as faſt as the army was able to march towards *Andriſcus*. This *Pſeudo-Philippus*, as the *Romans* called him, was owned, attended, and obeyed as king of *Macedon*; he therefore having notice of the manner in which the prætor *Juventius* behaved, and that he regarded himſelf as a theatrical prince only, who, by putting on royal robes, had qualified himſelf to be led in triumph; *Andriſcus* was encouraged to attack him. When the *Roman* general was come within a day's march of his camp, the *Macedonian* prince began to move at the very break of day; and having refreſhed his army the next day, about noon, he in the evening ſhewed himſelf in ſight of the *Roman* camp, which, as he rightly judged it would, drew the prætor out of his intrenchments, and induce a general engagement, wherein the *Roman* army was totally defeated. The prætor *Juventius* and *Q. Cælius* being ſlain, if the night had not interpoſed and afforded the remains of the army time to retreat, there had not been a man left. Thoſe who eſcaped, made all the haſte they could out of *Macedon*; and *Philip*, purſuing the blow he had ſtruck, not only reduced the whole kingdom again to his obedience, but alſo opened a paſſage into *Theſſaly*, which he again united to his dominions, ſeeming now to be effectually ſeated on the throne, as having expelled his mortal enemies, and having about his perſon a numerous and victorious army, ready to undertake any thing at his command [f].

Andriſcus *or* Philip *proves a tyrant.*

The *Carthaginians* not long after this victory ſent embaſſadors to congratulate *Philip*, and to engage him into an alliance for reducing the exorbitant power of the *Romans*, who were on the point of beginning the third *Punic* war. The *Macedonian* received theſe miniſters very graciouſly, and made them large promiſes of aſſiſtance, which he might have fulfilled at leaſt in ſome meaſure by an invaſion on *Greece*, and thereby making a diverſion, which would conſequently have weakened the *Romans*. But him whom adverſity could not, proſperity ruined; his fortune buried his abilities and his virtues, if he really had any, and did not put on the appearance of good qualities to draw in and cajole the people. The *Romans* he thought no more of, and, inſtead of endeavouring to cheriſh his ſubjects, to revive trade, and to make them happy, he began to play the tyrant, and to make them feel the weight of his ſceptre, almoſt as ſoon as he had handled it himſelf. If he had been hurried on by the impetuous rage of any one vice, the people might have hoped for quiet, when it was ſatiated; but he ſoon diſcovered, that he had almoſt all the ill qualities which are wont to render men odious, and that he purſued every one of theſe as eagerly as if it had been his only and darling vice. His pride was intolerable; coming late as he did to royalty, he thought he could never have enough ſubmiſſion paid him. He was ſuſpicious to ſuch a degree, that imprudence was a capital crime, and a circumſpect conduct an indication of treaſon. His cruelty was ſo great, that he ſpared none whom he either diſliked, or whom he conceived to diſlike him and his proceedings. With all this he was ſo rapaciouſly covetous, as having been till lately exceſſively indigent, that he ſearched all corners of the kingdom for money, and where-ever he found it, declared himſelf its owner; urging the care of the public ſafety as a pretext for public robbery; and in ſhort, from the moment he gained the ſovereign authority, acted as if he had deſigned nothing leſs than to retain it. Yet the *Macedonians* bore all with invincible patience, and ſhewed themſelves infinitely more loyal to this *Philip* than he was true to himſelf. The reaſon of this is eaſily found; they hoped for a ſucceſſor, whoſe government might be milder, and were willing to bear any thing, ſo they might once more become an independent people [g].

When

[e] Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi. Florus, lib. ii. c. 14. V. Patercul. lib. i. c. 11.
[f] Liv. ubi ſupra. Dion. Flor. Patercul. ubi ſupra.
[g] Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi. Liv. Flor. & Patercul. ubi ſupra.

Is twice defeated by Metellus.

WHEN the news of the defeat and death of *P. Juventius* was known at *Rome*, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* was immediately named to ſupply his place, and troops were with all imaginable care tranſported into *Macedon*. Thither alſo the new prætor ſpeedily repaired, and the king found himſelf on a ſudden under a neceſſity of fighting once more for his life and crown. He ſhewed on this occaſion the only good quality he had, *viz.* unconquerable courage, a quality deſirable in all princes, and peculiarly reverenced by the *Macedonians*. He quickly aſſembled his forces, and to prevent the *Romans* from plundering the adjacent country, he encamped under the walls of *Pydna*, and there expected the prætor. *Metellus*, underſtanding *Philip*'s reſolution, marched with the *Roman* army, and encamped over-againſt him. Thus
b far both generals ſeemed to act with prudence, and military ſkill. The king of *Macedon* however quickly betrayed an extraordinary confidence in his fortune, and his forces. *Metellus* was ſtrongeſt in horſe, *Philip* ventured an engagement with cavalry only; and though the *Macedonians* were inferior in number, and not ſo well armed, yet after a long and obſtinate diſpute, they had the victory, and compelled the *Romans* to retire into their camp with ſome confuſion. This new ſucceſs completed the king's deſtruction; for underſtanding immediately after that the allies of the *Romans* were about to attack his conqueſts in *Theſſaly*, he ſent a great detachment from his army to cover them. *Metellus*, appriſed of this, attacked him now he had weakened his forces, and after an obſtinate and bloody battle, totally routed him, inſomuch that not being able to collect out of his broken army troops enough to
c keep the field, he was forced to fly to his old friends the *Thracians*. Theſe people whom we ſo often find branded by the *Greek* writers with the name of barbarians, were neither deterred by his preſent adverſity, nor by the ill uſe he had made of his former proſperity, from receiving him with open arms, and giving him all the aſſiſtance in their power, inſomuch that in a very ſhort ſpace he was enabled to enter *Macedonia* again with a numerous army, which increaſed daily, and which, if he had managed prudently, would have enabled him to have protracted the war, a thing the *Romans* could leaſt of all bear. His conduct was the very reverſe of what it ought to have been, ſince, forgetting his late misfortunes, and breathing nothing but a vehement
d ambition of becoming once again maſter of *Macedonia*, and all its dependencies, he marched directly to fight *Metellus*, and in a ſecond battle met the ſame ill fate which had attended him before. In theſe two engagements he had twenty-five thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, ſo that he found it abſolutely impoſſible to raiſe a third army in defence of his pretenſions. Conſulting therefore his own ſafety, he fled to *Byzas*, a petty prince of *Thrace*, who at firſt received him very kindly; but when he ſaw clearly that he ſhould draw upon himſelf the vengeance of the *Romans*, he delivered up *Andriſcus* to *Metellus*, who now hoped that he had put a full end to the troubles in this country; but it preſently appeared that the *Macedonians* were not ſo eaſily ſubdued, for immediately there ſtarted up a new pretender to the regal dignity, who
e called himſelf *Alexander*, and boaſted that he too was the ſon of *Perſeus*. He ſet up his ſtandard in the firſt region of *Macedonia*, that is, in the country bordering upon *Thrace*, and very quickly reduced under his obedience the whole territory between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*. But *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, who had aſſiſted *Metellus* with a fleet, remaining ſtill upon the coaſt, and the prætor advancing towards the river *Strymon*, *Alexander* found himſelf too weak to engage the numerous and victorious army of the *Romans*, and quitting his conqueſts, and the enſigns of the regal dignity which he had aſſumed, he withdrew into *Dardania*, where he ſo effectually concealed himſelf, that the *Romans* could never get him into their power. Such was the end of this war, which afforded what had been ſo long deſired, an opportunity of
f reducing *Macedonia* into a *Roman* province, a thing immediately put into execution, as well as the chaſtiſing of the *Thracians*, and other borderers, for having ſhewn greater affection to the *Macedonians*, than duty towards the republic. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, on his return to *Rome*, triumphed, and led *Pſeudo Philippus*, as the *Romans* ſtiled him, in the cavalcade; after which the victor took the ſirname of *Macedonicus*; which ſhews of what conſequence this conqueſt was, and how arduous the war by which it was obtained [h].

Year after the flood 2851. *Before Chriſt* 148.

Two other pretenders defeated.

As the *Macedonians* were reduced to the ſame ſtate with the reſt of the nations conquered by the *Romans*, by *Q. Metellus*, ſo by him alſo they were deprived of what ſmall remains of their antient grandeur *Emilius* had left behind him; among the reſt

h Liv. Flor. Patercul. ubi ſupra. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 624. Jul. Obseq. de prodigiis. Eutrop. lib. iv.

of the brazen ſtatues ſet up at *Dium*, for ſuch of *Alexander*'s guards as had fallen in a
the battle of *Granicus*. *Metellus* alſo appointed new magiſtrates, and changed in
every reſpect the government under which they had lived before. As the reſt of *Greece*
ſoon after fell under the like circumſtances, it was not doubted but the ſpirits of theſe
people were effectually quelled, and that they would never think more of throwing
off that yoke, which, after repeated victories, they had ſeen impoſed upon the braveſt
and moſt potent of their neighbours. Yet it happened otherwiſe; a new *Pſeudo-*
Philippus ſhewed himſelf on the borders of *Thrace*, and having drawn together a
ſmall band of deſperate men, began to haraſs the country, and particularly to deſtroy
ſuch as he either knew or ſuſpected to be attached to the *Romans*. The love of liberty
amongſt the *Macedonians* increaſing with the loſs of it, they reſorted in crowds to b
this new pretender, and adviſed him to invade the kingdom, with full aſſurance that
he would meet with little oppoſition. Accordingly he came down with his forces into
the heart of *Macedonia*, where he was continually joined by new recruits, making in a
ſhort time ſo quick a progreſs, as the greateſt part of the country ſubmitted to him;
and thus with the regal title he gained the power and authority of a king. To reduce
him, the *Romans* ſent a numerous army under the command of the quæſtor *Lucius*
Tremellius, who no ſooner entered the province, than he began to retake the cities
which *Philip* had ſubdued and fortified; and though he managed with much greater
prudence than *Andriſcus*, who had aſſumed the ſame name, had uſed, yet in the end
he was defeated and ſlain. He ſeems to have been the laſt who pretended to vindicate c
the liberty of the *Macedonians*, or to attempt the recovery of that kingdom, under
colour of a right derived from *Perſeus*, or any of its ancient princes [i] (I).

The Macedonians *complain of their governor* Syllanus.

The trouble which the ſubduing this province had coſt, and the manifeſt diſaf-
fection which the people had ſhewn towards the republic, encouraged ſuch as were
intruſted with the government to exerciſe great ſeverities, and no leſs grievouſly to
oppreſs, under colour of ſeverity, thoſe whom they were ſent to rule. *D. Junius*
Syllanus, a man of high quality, exceeded all his predeceſſors, as well in fleecing the
Macedonians, as in treating them with exceſſive rigor. In ſhort, though few years
had elapſed ſince their country had been reduced into a province, and they had all
the reaſon in the world to believe that their ſtrenuous endeavours to avoid it were well c
remembered at *Rome*; yet ſo much of their antient ſpirit remained, that they could
not bear the thoughts of enduring tamely ſo ſharp a ſubjection. They therefore ſent
deputies to *Rome* to repreſent their grievances, and to pray that more juſtice might be
done on their rapacious governor, than ever he had done in his province. When this
matter came before the ſenate, the deputies were heard with great ſhew of kindneſs,
and *Junius Syllanus* was commanded to appear at a certain day, and anſwer to the
crimes objected againſt him. Before that time was expired, *Titus Manlius Torquatus*
his father, a very eminent perſon, of the old *Roman* ſtamp, preferred a petition, that
the cauſe might be referred to him, and he be allowed to hear and determine it at his
own

[i] Liv. lib. liii. Varro. de re Ruſtic. lib. ii. c. 4.

(I) It muſt be eaſily diſcerned, that the hiſtory given in the text of the endeavours of the *Macedonians* to preſerve or rather to recover their freedom, is very imperfect; the cauſe of this is, that we collect from fragments; a line or two from *Polybius* furniſhes us with one circumſtance (15), an extract from *Diodorus* (16) with another; the contents of thoſe books of *Livy* which are loſt, and certain epitomes of *Roman* hiſtory, with the reſt. That it was requiſite to put all theſe circumſtances together appears from hence; the epitomizer of *Livy* tells us, that *Metellus* recovered *Macedonia*, which was before loſt (17). *Florus* intitles his detail of this buſineſs, *Of the third* Macedonian *war*. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* triumphed, led *Andriſcus* in chains, and took the ſirname of *Macedonicus*. *Florus* adds, after reciting the fate of *Andriſcus*, *De eo populus Romanus, quaſi de vero rege, triumpharet* (18). As we are now writing the *Macedonian* hiſtory, there is no queſtion to be made that the *quaſi* does not belong to us, but that we ought to treat expreſly of the reign of *Andriſcus*, ſince the *Romans* triumphed over him as over a true king. Whether he was in truth what the *Romans* ſaid, an impoſtor, and ſo far from being the ſon of *Perſeus*, that he was in fact ſprung from the very dregs of the people, is what cannot be determined, any more than who they were who afterwards called themſelves *Alexander* and *Philip*, and put themſelves at the head of the *Macedonian* armies againſt the *Romans* (19). Moſt certain it is, that the *Macedonian* kings were wont to have ſeveral wives, and not ſeldom many concubines; this being ſo, admitting none of theſe men were in reality deſcended from the royal family, it muſt remain, however, a thing difficult to prove it; and the *Macedonians* in general being diſaffected, the colour of truth was ſufficient to lead them into rebellion. This then may ſuffice for excuſing thoſe imperfections neceſſity hath occaſioned in this part of our work.

(15) *In legat.* (16) *ap Phot.* (17) *Tit. Liv. lib.* lii. (18) *Flor. lib.* ii. c. 14. (19) *Eutrop. lib.* iv.

own houſe, which was granted. There the *Macedonian* deputies appeared, and boldly opened the particular cauſes of their complaints, exhibited their proofs, and fully replied to the defence made by *Syllanus*. At length *Titus Manlius* gave ſentence that his ſon was guilty, and ordered him to be taken out of his preſence. A little after *Junius Syllanus* hanged himſelf, and when the good old man was informed of it, he ſhewed no concern; but on the very day of his funeral kept his houſe open, and tranſacted all ſorts of buſineſs, as if his ſon's deviating from virtue had divorced him from his family, and made him a ſtranger to his blood. After this we meet with nothing relating to the *Macedonians*, which deſerves to be recorded in their hiſtory, to which therefore we ſhall now put an end [i] (K).

A ſummary view of this hiſtory.

THE intelligent reader, by comparing the contents of this with thoſe of former ſections, will acquire a perfect knowledge of the ſteps by which the ſtate of *Macedon* roſe, the arts uſed by its princes to render it formidable, the wars and conqueſts by which it became arbiter of *Greece*, and ſovereign of a great part of the known world; the accidents which contributed to its quick declenſion, and the cauſes which by ſlower degrees brought on its total ruin (L). For in a political ſenſe, a government is ſaid to be brought to deſtruction, when it no longer reſides in the hands of natives, and the conſtitution under which the people live owes its form, not to their choice, but to the will of their conquerors. From ſuch a compariſon as we have mentioned, it will appear, that all this ſeries of events did not take up a ſpace of above ſeven hundred years. That the firſt ſettlement of *Caranus* and his *Argives* in the centre of that country, which was afterwards called *Macedonia*, is very obſcurely related by antient hiſtorians; and yet that we have a better account of the tranſactions of his reign than of his immediate ſucceſſors, whoſe names are all that we have tranſmitted to us. That the homage yielded by the *Macedonian* princes to the *Perſian* emperors was one great cauſe of their ſubſequent power, inaſmuch as it preſerved them from being haraſſed by the wars made by the *Perſians* on the reſt of the *Greek* ſtates, brought great ſums of money into *Macedonia*, and afforded frequent opportunities of annexing cities and diſtricts to the kingdom by grants from the great king, in truſt, as it were, for the better ſecuring their ſubmiſſion to his empire. That the declenſion of the *Perſian* power, while there were but weak princes on the throne of *Macedon*, had will-nigh cauſed the deſtruction of their kingdom, endangered alike from the rapacious violence of its barbarous neighbours, the boundleſs ambition of the *Greek* republics,

[i] TIT. LIV. Epiſt. lib. liv.

(K) The puniſhment of *Syllanus*, with the very extraordinary circumſtances which attended it, plainly proves that the *Romans* were now very deſirous of making the *Macedonians* eaſy, by preventing thoſe acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, which for the ſake of aggrandizing themſelves and their families, governors were but too ready to commit. And theſe proceedings of theirs fully juſtify an obſervation which we heretofore made, that they were deſirous to give all poſſible eaſe to their proper ſubjects, though they encouraged troubles among their allies, and in ſuch ſtates as were tributary to them. Such a conduct naturally conciliated the minds of the people, who when they found themſelves protected and well uſed, were no longer inclined to take up arms againſt thoſe who had ſo often ſubdued them; whereas neceſſity and oppreſſion would have wrought their old effects, and the *Macedonians* would have roſe in arms time after time, till they had been either relieved or extirpated. But indulgence got the better of the love of liberty, and when they were allowed to be quiet, they forgot that quiet was only allowed them, and that they did not owe peace to themſelves, but to the will of their maſters.

(L) The principal intent of the recapitulation in the text was to demonſtrate the uſefulneſs of this work, in which, without any interruptions or digreſſions, the hiſtories of nations are to be found from their infancy to their decay. In the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s hiſtory of the world, we have a very imperfect account of the kingdom of *Macedon* before the reign of *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas* (20), and no deſcription of the country at all. In Dr. *Howell*'s hiſtory, there is no amendment of this matter; the kings preceding *Philip* are but juſt mentioned, and there are ſome miſtakes, and ſeveral omiſſions, in the little which is ſaid (21). Mr. *Rollin* is by much the faireſt writer, for he ſets out with acquainting us, that the hiſtory of *Macedon* before *Philip* is very obſcure and confuſed, and ſo he leaves it (22). Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the conduct of his hiſtory, treats of the affairs of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors in a continued narration, which blends the tranſactions in ſeveral nations one with another. Dr. *Howell* avoided this, but his hiſtory of *Macedon* from the time of *Alexander* to the captivity of *Perſeus* is too conciſe, neither is the period well fixed, for it ought to have ended with the reduction of *Macedonia* into a province. Mr. *Rollin* takes the ſame method with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and one may ſafely ſay, that dean *Prideaux* is a guide he ſeldom or never forſakes. On the whole, the regular ſeries of events traced in the text is not to be met with in any other hiſtory or collection of hiſtory that has come to our hands. We alſo take the liberty to add, that what has been before laid down, may be as well applied to the hiſtories of other nations as this; for having purſued the ſame method in all, all have the ſame advantages.

(20) *P.* i. *B.* iv, *c.* 1. *ſect.* 1. (21) *B.* ii. *ch.* 2. *ſect.* 5. (22) *Hiſt. Ancien. Vol.* VI.

republics, and those civil dissentions which raged in its own bowels. But when a prince of great abilities assumed the regal dignity, he by dint of genius quieted domestic feuds, by force of arms repressed the barbarous nations, and then made a successful war against those republics which had held his immediate ancestors in a kind of subjection, till from these accessions of power, directed by his own superior wisdom, he acquired the sovereignty of *Greece*, wherein himself and his people at the beginning of his reign were scarce at all regarded, or rather contemned as *Barbarians*. That as his conduct founded, so the courage and military virtues of his successor wonderfully extended the *Macedonian* empire; which for want of his having an heir at age, was broke in pieces, and the kingdom of *Macedon* left in the same condition in which the victorious *Alexander* received it. That the successors of these great monarchs, preserving the ambition without the abilities of those they imitated, instead of restoring, weakened, and lost all the dependencies to the dominion of *Macedon*, and at last, by an ill-timed attempt to recover them, delivered up the kingdom itself into the hands of strangers (M): Against whom its inhabitants, with a spirit far superior, though as successless as that of their last princes, struggled for a time, till at last, worn out, and breathless, they yielded to the power of the conqueror, and were content that *Macedonia*, which had been the mistress of so many provinces, should now become a province herself. There remained still however some unsubjected fragments of her ancient empire, *viz.* the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt*, the history of which, to their reduction by the *Romans*, the next sections will relate.

(M) We chose to give a list of the princes who ruled in *Macedon* after the death of *Alexander the Great* rather in a note at the end of the history, than at the beginning of this section, because of their different titles and authorities which could not there, but will be here easily understood.

A Table of the *Macedonian* Princes.

Aridæus or *Philip* the son of *Philip*.
Alexander the son of *Roxana*.
Cassander the son of *Antipater*.
Philip the son of *Cassander*.
Antipater and *Alexander* his sons also.
Demetrius Poliorcetes the son of *Antigonus*.
Pyrrhus.
Lysimachus.
Ptolemy Ceraunus.
Meleager.
Antipater the son of *Philip*.
Sosthenes.
Antigonus Gonatus son of *Demetrius*.
Demetrius the son of *Antigonus*.
Antigonus Doson, first protector, then king.
Philip the son of *Demetrius*.
Perseus.
Andriscus, or *Pseudo-Philippus*.

They were all as to the power alike sovereigns of *Macedon*, but they differed as to the authority they claimed, and as to the titles by which they claimed. Some were lawful princes, as *Aridæus* and *Alexander*; others downright usurpers, as *Cassander* and his sons. The choice of the people bestowed the crown on *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*. Conquest gave the small right they had to the princes interfering between *Demetrius* and his son *Antigonus Gonatus*. After him the kingdom continued hereditary to its extinction.

SECT.

SYRIA, after y Death of ALEXANDER the GREAT



Taurus Mons

CILICIA CAMPESTRIS

MARE CILICIUM

MARIS MEDITERRANEI PARS

PHOENICIUM MARE

COMMAGENE

Cyrrhestica

SELEUCHIS

CHALCIDENE

Chalcidene

ANTIOCHENE

Casiotis

Apamene

Abilene

COELESYRIA PROPRIA

MESOPOTAMIA

Chaucha beni Solitudo Palmyrena

ARABIA DESERTA

Arabes Scenitæ

CHALDAEA

BABYLONIAE FINES

Nereus
Cydnus Flu.
Lamotis Lacus Flu.
Antiochia
Tarsus
Aleii campi
Pinarus Flu.
Amanus Mons
Epiphanea
Hiaria
Germanica
Doliche
Zeugma
Cyrrhus quæ et Cyrus
Amani Portæ
Pagra
Sola
Pompeiopolis
Mallos
Aegea
Ujsus
Alexandria
Pylæ Syriæ
Gindarus
Myriandria
Sinus Issicus
Pieria
Pierius Mons
Seleucia
Gephyra
Litarbi
Fabe
Berrhœa Berœa
Sinaras Flu.
Callecome
Samosata
Antiochia ad Taurum
Bemaris
Edessa
Batnæ
Anthemusia quæ et Osroene
Masius Mons
Clibera
Ballatha
Cyrrhestica
Europus
Cæcilla
Euphrates Flu.
Aniana
Carrea
Anthemusium
Acraba
Bambyce Hierapolis
Gerrx
Belius Flu.
Dausana
Paphara
Nicephorium
Callinicum
Barbarissus
Maguda
Aboras sive Chaboras Flu.
Eleia
Bhesena
Chalcis
Thema
Athis
Rosapha
Alalis
Adrona
Acoraba
Oriza
Asaph
Chalybon
Seriana
Circesius ſ. Circesium
Gordiani sepulcrum
Thibora
Idaala
Dura
Alamata
Sura
Thapsacus Amphipolis
Euphrates Fluvius
Phatusse Vicus
Palmyra Thadmor
Pombedita
Berſabora
Fiſsenia
Nearda
Sitha
Dacira
Arca
Orthosia
Simyra
Eleutherus Flu.
Tripolis
Dei Facies Prom.
Botrys
Byblus
Palæbyblus
Aphaca
Lycus
Berytus
Leontum
Oppid.
Leontes Flu.
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyrus
Palætyrus
Libanus Mons
Antilibanus
Abila
Damascus
Raphanæ
Arethusa
Emesa
Mariam
Solaramia
Coara
Danabe
Laodicea Cabiosa sive ad Libanum
Mamuga
Lubon
Heliopolis
Paradisus
Iabruda
Casama
Atera
Beana
Laodicea
Casius Mons
Gabala
Paltos
Balanea
Marathus
Caranus nauale
Aradiorum
Aradus Insula
Antaradus
Seleucia ad Belum
Mariama
Larissa
Toimidissa
Epiphanea
Ipamea
Lysias
Orontes Flu.
Marsyas Flu.
Chrysorrhoas Flu.
Libanus Mons
Abila
Heraclea
Daphne
Lydia
Antiochia
Posidonium
Aphaca
Casius Mons
Belus Mons
Seleucia ad Belum
Mariama
Orontes Flu.
Chrysorrhoas Flu.
Libanus Mons
Antilibanus
Abila
Damascus
Iabruda
Paradisus
Helioplis
Lubon
Mamuga
Laodicea Cabiosa sive ad Libanum
Danabe
Solaramia
Coara
Arethusa
Raphanæ
Emesa
Mariam
Orontes Flu.
Zabatus Flu.
Euphrates Fluvius
Bambyce Hierapolis
Europus
Cæcilla
Aniana
Anthemusium
Acraba
Dausana
Belius Flu.
Gerrx
Nicephorium
Callinicum
Barbarissus
Maguda
Aboras sive Chaboras Flu.
Eleia
Bhesena
Thapsacus Amphipolis
Euphrates Fluvius
Phatusse Vicus
Sura
Dura
Alamata
Thibora
Idaala
Circesius ſ. Circesium
Gordiani sepulcrum
Palmyra Thadmor
Pombedita
Berſabora
Fiſsenia
Nearda
Sitha
Dacira
Euphrates Fluvius
Zabatus Flu.
Euphrates Fluvius
BABYLONIAE FINES

Occidens
Oriens
Septentrio
Meridies
35
36
37
34
35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45

J. Wheatley Sculp

SECT. IX.

The history of the Seleucidæ *in* Syria, *to the reduction of their dominions by the* Romans.

AFTER the battle of *Ipsus*, wherein *Antigonus* was slain, and *Demetrius* put to flight, the empire of *Alexander* was, as we have related above [a], by a new partition, divided into four kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Palestine*; *Cassander Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and some other provinces beyond the *Hellespont* and the *Bosphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. The two kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* continued in the same families through a long series of princes, without any considerable alteration. But *Macedon* often changed its masters, and the provinces, which fell to the share of *Lysimachus*, were, upon his death, as they lay at a great distance from each other, seized by different princes, and so dismembered, that his kingdom may be truly said to have ended with his life. The history of the kingdom of *Macedon*, from its foundation to *Alexander the Great*, and from that period to its being reduced to a *Roman* province, we have already delivered, and shall therefore now proceed to the two other kingdoms, which the above-mentioned division of provinces produced, *viz.* those of *Syria* and *Egypt*. The kingdom of *Syria*, to which, as the most powerful and extensive of the two, we shall give the precedency, was not confined to that country alone; but, besides *Syria*, comprehended those vast and fertile provinces of the upper *Asia*, which formed the *Persian* empire; being, in its full extent, bounded by the *Mediterranean* on one side and the river *Indus* on the other. These vast spreading dominions were commonly called the kingdom of *Syria*, because *Seleucus*, the first of the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, having built the city of *Antioch* in that province, chose it, as did likewise his successors, for the usual place of his residence. Here his descendants, from him stiled *Seleucidæ*, reigned, according to *Eusebius* [b], for the space of two hundred fifty-one years, that is, from the one hundred and seventeenth olympiad, when *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, to the third year of the one hundred and eightieth, when *Antiochus Asiaticus*, the last of the race of *Seleucus*, was driven out by *Pompey*, and *Syria* reduced to a *Roman* province. Before we proceed to the history of the *Seleucidæ*, we shall exhibit a series of the kings of that race, with the years of their respective reigns.

c *A table of the kings of* Syria, *from the foundation of that monarchy, to its being reduced by the* Romans, *with the years of their respective reigns.*

Seleucus Nicator	32	*Alexander Zebina*	5
Antiochus Soter	19	*Antiochus Theus*	2
Antiochus Theus	15	*Antiochus Sidetes*	9
Seleucus Callinicus	20	*Antiochus Grypus*	19
Seleucus Ceraunus	3	*Antiochus Cyzicenus*	21
Antiochus the Great	36	*Seleucus*	months 7
Seleucus Philopator	11	*Antiochus Eusebes*	1
Antiochus Epiphanes	11	*Demetrius Euchærus*	3
Antiochus Eupator	2	*Philip*	7
Demetrius Soter	12	*Antiochus Dionysius*	3
Alexander Balas	6	*Tigranes*	18
Demetrius Nicator	13	*Antiochus Asiaticus*	4

Seleucus, the founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, was the son of *Antiochus*, one of the chief captains of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. We are told by *Justin* [c], that his mother *Laodice*, nine months before he was born, dreamt, that *Apollo*, being in bed with her, presented her with a precious stone, on which was engraved the figure of Seleucus Nicator.

[a] Vol. III. p. 441. [b] Euseb. in Chron. [c] Justin. l. xv.

of an anchor, commanding her to deliver it to the ſon ſhe ſhould bring forth; and that next morning upon waking ſhe found in her bed a ring, with a ſtone like that which ſhe had ſeen in her dream. The ſame author adds, that not only the child ſhe was afterwards delivered of, but all the *Syrian* kings of his race had the mark of an anchor on their thigh (A). The ancients ſpeak of ſeveral other dreams, prodigies, reſponſes of oracles, *&c.* portending to *Seleucus* ſome extraordinary riſe and good fortune; but the eminent parts he brought with him into the world, joined to a great ſweetneſs of temper, to an obliging behaviour, and a no leſs gallant than prudent conduct, were the ſureſt prognoſtics of his future greatneſs. He ſerved under *Alexander* from his tender years, attended him in his expedition into *Aſia*, and was by him honoured with the chief command of the elephants, a commiſſion of great truſt and reputation. After the death of that conqueror, *Perdiccas*, whom the officers had unanimouſly appointed regent of the empire, put him at the head of the cavalry of the allies; in which command he acquitted himſelf with ſuch reputation, that *Antipater*, who ſucceeded *Perdiccas* in the regency, raiſed him to the government of *Babylon* and its territory. In this poſt he was tempted, by the example of the other captains of *Alexander*, who aſpired to the ſupreme power in their reſpective allotments, to betray his truſt, and entertain thoughts of ſetting up for himſelf; whence, when *Eumenes*, on his march into *Suſiana*, preſſed him to join the governors of the upper provinces againſt *Antigonus*, who had openly revolted, he not only refuſed to lend them any aſſiſtance, but even attempted to deſtroy both *Eumenes* and his army, by cutting the ſluices of the *Euphrates*, and laying the whole plain where they were encamped under water. *Eumenes*, however, tho' thus ſurprized, gained an eminence with his troops, before the waters roſe to any height, and the next day, by diverting their courſe, found means to eſcape the danger, without the loſs of a ſingle man. *Seleucus*, finding this ſtratagem prove unſucceſsful, ſent emiſſaries under-hand into *Eumenes*'s camp, ſoliciting, with mighty promiſes, the *Argyraſpides* and *Antigenes* their leader, to abandon *Eumenes* and come over to him; but not being able to prevail with them upon any terms whatſoever, he made a truce with *Eumenes*, granting him a free paſſage thro' his province. However, he ſent an expreſs at the ſame time to *Antigonus* in *Meſopotamia*, adviſing him to come with all poſſible expedition, and fall upon *Eumenes*, before he was joined by the governors of the upper *Aſia* [c]; for as *Eumenes* was unalterably attached to the intereſt of the kings, and withal the beſt general and greateſt ſtateſman *Alexander* had left behind him, *Seleucus*, as well as the other governors, who were prompted by their ambition to uſurp the ſovereign power in their governments, were under no ſmall apprehenſion of his ſuperior merit and genius. *Antigonus* followed the reaſonable advice of his friend *Seleucus*, and being attended in his expedition againſt *Eumenes* with the great ſucceſs we have related above [d], he returned to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* received him with rich preſents, and, at a vaſt charge, feaſted his whole army. But when *Antigonus* demanded an account of the revenues of his government, he told him in plain terms, That he was not accountable to any-body for the revenues of a province, which the *Macedonians* had beſtowed upon him, as a reward for his ſervices in *Alexander*'s life-time. This blunt anſwer occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between him and *Antigonus*, who, as the breach grew daily wider and wider, waited only for an opportunity of cutting off this new rival, as he had already treated others,

Made governor of Babylon.

Aſpires to the ſovereign power in his government.

Falls out with Antigonus, *and flies to* Egypt.

[c] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. Plut. in Eumen. Corn. Nep. c. 7. [d] Vol. III. p. 429.

(A) To this *Auſonius*, ſpeaking of the cities of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, alludes in the following verſes.

Et vos ite pares, Macedúmque attollite nomen,
Magnus Alexander te condidit, illa Seleucum
Nuncupat: ingenitus nævus fuit anchora ſignum:
Qualis juncta ſolet generis nota certa: per omnem
Nam ſobolis ſeriem nativa cucurrit imago (1).

But *Appian*, without taking any notice of this native mark, as *Auſonius* ſtiles it, tells us, that *Laodice* was warned in a dream to deliver to her ſon the firſt ring ſhe ſhould find, and aſſured, that he ſhould reign in the country where the ring ſhould be loſt. In compliance with this admonition, *Laodice*, having ſome time after found an iron ring, with the figure of an anchor engraved on it, gave it to her ſon *Seleucus*, who loſt it near the *Euphrates*, where he afterwards reigned. The ſame author adds, that *Seleucus*, on his march to *Babylon*, having ſtumbled againſt a ſtone, and cauſed it immediately, out of a ſuperſtitious obſervance, to be dug up, found under it, deep in the ground, a ſmall anchor; and hence the cuſtom among the *Seleucidæ* of *Syria* to uſe an anchor on their ſeals (2).

(1) *Auſon. de clar. urbib.*

(2) *Appian in Syriac.*

a others, whoſe abilities gave him umbrage; but *Seleucus*, ſuſpecting his deſign, ſtole away with fifty horſe only, and put himſelf under the protection of *Ptolemy* governor of *Egypt*, whoſe kindneſs and courteous behaviour, towards all who fled to him for ſhelter, was every-where cried up. *Antigonus*, when informed of his flight, expreſſed great joy, being thereby put in poſſeſſion of a rich province without ſtriking a blow, or being obliged to imbrue his hands, as he had reſolved to do, in the blood of his old friend and confederate [c] (B).

Seleucus being got ſafe into *Egypt*, and received there by *Ptolemy* with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and friendſhip, repreſented ſo effectually to that prince, as he did alſo to *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*, the formidable power and ambitious b views of *Antigonus*, that he engaged them all three in a league againſt him. This *Antigonus* apprehended, and therefore, to prevent them from entering into any meaſures prejudicial to his intereſt, ſent an embaſſy to each of the three, with new aſſurances of his friendſhip; but finding, by their anſwers and the high demands they made, that they were entered into a confederacy againſt him, he began, without loſs of time, to make the neceſſary preparations againſt the impending ſtorm [f]. This war, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Antigonus*, we have already deſcribed at length [g], and therefore ſhall at preſent confine ourſelves to that part alone which *Seleucus* acted in it. After the victory which *Ptolomy* gained over *Demetrius* at *Gaza*, *Seleucus*, having obtained of the conqueror a thouſand foot, according to *Appian*, eight hundred according to *Diodorus*, and two hundred horſe, took his rout towards *Babylon*, in order to attempt the recovery of that city. This undertaking was looked upon as a deſperate enterprize, even by his friends, but, however, was attended with all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for (C). On his arrival at *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*, he prevailed, partly by force, and partly by perſuaſion, on the *Macedonians* who gariſoned the place, to revolt from *Antigonus* and join him. Being thus reinforced, he entered the territories of *Babylon*, where great numbers of the inhabitants, his ancient ſubjects, flocked to him from all parts, offering him their ſervice, and declaring themſelves ready to ſtand by him, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. Among others, one *Polyarchus*, who bore an office in the city, came over to him at the head of a thouſand men compleatly armed. *Seleucus* had governed that province, for the ſpace of four years, with great mildneſs and moderation, carrying himſelf in the moſt obliging manner to all, in order to gain the good-will of the people, and thereby ſecure an intereſt to himſelf, if at any time he ſhould have occaſion to contend for the ſovereign power. On the other hand, *Antigonus*, who was of a moroſe and ſurly temper, had, with his unſeaſonable ſeverity, ſo eſtranged the minds of all, that he was univerſally deteſted. No wonder then, that as *Seleucus* approached the city the inhabitants went out to meet him, welcoming him and his ſmall army with loud acclamations, and all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. Thoſe, who favoured *Antigonus*, perceiving the general and irreſiſtible inclination of the people to *Seleucus*, retired into the caſtle, which was de- c fended by one *Diphilus*; but as *Seleucus* was maſter of the city and the affections of the people, he ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the fortreſs, and there found, to his inexpreſſible joy, his children, friends, and domeſtics, whom *Antigonus* had detained priſoners ever ſince his flight into *Egypt* [h].

Recovers Babylon. *Year after the flood* 2687. *Before Chriſt* 312.

Seleucus

[c] Diodor. Sicul. Appian. & Justin. ibid. Appian. in Syriac. Justin. l. xv. & Appian. ibid. [f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut. in Demet. [g] Vol. III. p. 439. & ſeq. [h] Diodor. Sicul.

(B) *Diodorus* tells us, that upon the firſt news of the flight of *Seleucus*, the *Chaldeans* foretold to *Antigonus*, that if *Seleucus* ſhould get ſafe into *Egypt*, he ſhould one day become lord of all *Aſia*, adding, that if *Antigonus* oppoſed him, he ſhould fall in a battle. Hereupon *Antigonus* immediately diſpatched ſome horſemen after him, enjoining them to bring him back with a deſign to put him to death; but *Seleucus* happily eſcaped the danger, which greatly diſturbed *Antigonus*, tho' he had ever before ſlighted and ridiculed ſuch predictions (3).

(C) His friends ſeeing the inconſiderable number of his forces, and on the other hand the great ſtrength of the enemy, did all that lay in their power to divert him from ſuch an attempt; but he, in order to encourage them, and redeem himſelf from their importunities, told them in an harangue which he made to the ſoldiery, that he was ſure of ſucceſs, ſince *Apollo Branchides*, with whom he had adviſed about the iſſue of this undertaking, had given him the title of king, and *Alexander*, ſtanding by him in his ſleep, had ſhewn him the enſigns of royalty, aſſuring him, that he ſhould be honoured with them in due time (4).

(3) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xix. (4) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xix.

Seleucus, being now master both of the city and castle, judged it necessary to raise what forces he could, not doubting but *Antigonus* would soon send an army to drive him from these acquisitions. Accordingly, while he was busy in recruiting his army, and disciplining his new-raised troops, news was brought him, that *Nicanor*, governor of *Media* under *Antigonus*, was advancing full march against him, at the head of ten thousand foot and seven thousand horse. Upon this intelligence *Seleucus* went out to meet him with three thousand foot and four hundred horse only, and passing the *Tigris*, concealed his men, as the enemy drew near, in the fens hard by the river, with a design to fall upon *Nicanor* at unawares, who, not having had any intelligence of *Seleucus*'s march, encamped in a disadvantagious post, where he was the following night surprised, and his army with great slaughter put to the rout. *Nicanor* had the good fortune to make his escape; but *Evager*, who commanded under him, and most of the chief officers, were killed on the spot. Such of the soldiers as outlived the slaughter, declared for *Seleucus*, which enabled him to pursue his conquests, and reduce in a short time all *Media* and *Susiana*, with many of the adjacent provinces. Having, by this victory, established his interest and power in *Babylon*, he daily improved them by the clemency of his government, and by his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, to such a degree, that, from so low a beginning, he became, in a few years, the greatest and most powerful of all *Alexander*'s successors [h].

Defeats Nicanor, *and recovers* Media, Susiana, *&c.*

Æra of the Seleucidæ.

FROM this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, commences the famous æra of the *Seleucidæ*, made use of all over the east by *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans*. The *Jews* stile it the *æra of contracts*, because they were obliged, when subject to the *Syro-Macedonian* princes, to use it in all their contracts and other civil writings. This method of computing their years they followed till the tenth century of the *Christian* æra, when, upon their being obliged to remove into the western countries, they learned of the *Christian* chronologers of those parts to compute by the years of the creation. The same æra is called by the *Arabians Taric dehilkarnain*, that is, the æra of *the two-horned*; which appellation some derive from *Alexander*, who, in the *Coran* and other *Arabic* books, is frequently called *the two-horned*, probably because he affected to be the son of *Jupiter Hammon*, whom the heathens represented with two ram's horns on his head. But this æra has no relation to *Alexander*, tho' by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name; for *Alexander* was dead twelve years before *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, from which recovery the æra of the *Seleucidæ* commenced. Others therefore, with better grounds, derive the *Arabic* name *Taric dehilkarnain* from *Seleucus*, who, as *Appian* informs us [i], was a person of such extraordinary strength, that seizing a bull by his horns, he could stop him short in his full career; and therefore the statuaries usually represented him with two bull's horns on his head, which, without all doubt, gave rise to the above-mentioned denomination, that æra taking its origin from him, and not from *Alexander*. In the two books of the *Maccabees* it is called *the æra of the kingdom of the* Greeks [k]; and they both use it in their dates, with this difference, however, that the first book begins the years of this æra from the spring, and the other from the autumn following (D).

Antigonus, receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the success of *Seleucus* in the east, sent his son *Demetrius* with an army to *Babylon*, to drive him from that city, and dispossess him of the provinces which he had lately seized, while he himself advanced to

[h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 121. [i] APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 201.
[k] MACCAB. l. i. c. 1. ver. 10.

(D) The *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Jews*, and all others who anciently computed, or still compute (for it is still in use among the eastern nations) by this æra, began it from the autumn, excepting the author of the first book of the *Maccabees*, who begins it from the preceding spring, and *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, who, in his *great syntaxis*, places the beginning of this æra in the spring of the year following. *Ptolemy* did not reckon *Seleucus* thoroughly settled in the possession of *Babylon* till *Demetrius* made his retreat from thence; and this retreat happening in the spring of the following year, from that season he reckoned the years of the *Seleucidæ*. Some writers date the beginning of *Seleucus*'s reign from his recovering of *Babylon*, when this æra began. Others from the partition which was made twelve years after, upon the death of *Antigonus* and defeat of *Demetrius*, in the battle of *Ipsus*; so that, according to some, he reigned twenty, according to others thirty-two years; for he died twenty years after that battle, and thirty-two after the recovery of *Babylon*. We have followed *Eusebius*, and the learned *Usher*, who compute the years of his reign from his recovering of *Babylon* (5).

(5) *Vide Euseb. in Chron.*

a to the coaſts of *Aſia Minor*, to defeat the deſigns of the confederate princes, whoſe power began to be formidable in thoſe parts. *Demetrius*, purſuant to his father's directions, having, with all poſſible expedition, aſſembled his forces at *Damaſcus*, marched from thence to *Babylon*, at the head of five thouſand *Macedonian* foot, ten thouſand mercenaries, and four thouſand horſe. His march was ſo expeditious, that paſſing the *Euphrates*, he inveſted *Babylon* before the enemy had notice of his departure from *Damaſcus*. *Seleucus* himſelf was then in *Media*, and *Patrocles*, whom he had intruſted with the government of the place, no-ways in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy. The wiſe governor therefore, inſtead of ſacri- Demetrius
ficing the few troops he had under his command to no purpoſe, retired with them *regains* Baby-
b into the fens and marſhes, ordering the citizens to follow him with their moſt valu- lon.
able effects, and abandon the city to the enemy. *Demetrius* finding the city deſerted, laid ſiege to the two caſtles, which ſtood on the two oppoſite banks of the *Euphrates*, and had been well gariſoned by *Patrocles* before his retreat. However, one of theſe *Demetrius* took, and placed in it a gariſon of ſeven thouſand men; but not being able to maſter the other before the time was expired in which his father had appointed him to return with his troops into *Aſia Minor*, he left *Archelaus*, one of his principal officers, with a thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, to purſue the *But abandons*
ſiege, and, with the reſt of the troops, marched to the aſſiſtance of his father in *it again.*
Aſia Minor. Before his departure, he allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city,
c which proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and greatly attached the inhabitants to *Seleucus*, even thoſe who till that time had ſtood up for *Antigonus*; for they all looked upon this act of depredation as a tacit declaration of his having intirely abandoned them, ſince he would never have treated them as enemies, if he had looked upon them any longer as ſubjects; they therefore all unanimouſly declared for *Seleucus*, who, on his return to *Babylon*, after the retreat of *Demetrius*, without much ado, drove out the few troops he had left in the city, recovered the caſtle *The authority*
which he had gariſoned, and thenceforth ſettled his authority in thoſe parts upon ſo *of* Seleucus
firm a foundation, that it could never after be ſhaken[l]. From this year the *Babylo-* *eſtabliſhed in* Babylon.
nians, as appears from *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*'s ſyntaxis, date the æra of the kingdom
d of the *Seleucidæ*, tho' all other nations place its commencement in the autumn of the preceding year.

And now *Seleucus*, ſeeing himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of *Babylon* and its territory, advanced at the head of a conſiderable army into *Media*, where he engaged, and ſlew with his own hand, *Nicanor*, or, as others call him, *Nicator*, whom *Antigonus* had ſent againſt him. Having reduced all *Media*, he purſued his march into *Perſia*, *Extends his*
Bactria, *Hyrcania*, &c. ſubjecting to his new empire theſe, and all the other pro- *conqueſts into*
vinces on this ſide of the *Indus*, which had been formerly conquered by *Alexander*[m]. Media,
From theſe conqueſts, and not from *Nicanor* or *Nicator*, whom he ſlew, he took Bactria, Hyr-
the ſurname of *Nicator*, as *Appian* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* informs us[n]. In the *cania, &c.*
e mean time *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* having aſſumed the title of kings, *Seleucus*, not *Takes the title*
to be behind-hand with them, took the ſame, ſtiling himſelf king of *Babylon* and *of king.*
Media.

Seleucus was now maſter of all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Indus*, *Invades* India.
but not of thoſe large provinces which lay beyond the latter of theſe rivers, and had fallen to his ſhare in the general partition. He was at this time cloſely united in point of intereſt with *Ptolemy*, *Caſſander*, and *Lyſimachus*; the forces of *Antigonus* were divided into ſeveral diſtant bodies, and *Demetrius* was employed in the ſiege of *Rhodes*. Having therefore no enemy to fear on this ſide of the *Indus*, he reſolved to croſs that river, and, by a ſudden irruption, make himſelf maſter of thoſe vaſt
f provinces which were known by the name of *India*. Theſe *Alexander* had formerly ſubdued; but, after his death, while his ſucceſſors were engaged in mutual wars with each other, one *Sandrocottus*, or, as others call him, *Androcottus*, an *Indian* of mean extraction, under the ſpecious pretence of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raiſed a powerful army, and, having driven out the *Macedonians*, ſeized the *Indian* provinces for himſelf. To recover theſe provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had made himſelf abſolute maſter of all *India*, and, from the ſeveral provinces of it, drawn into the field an army

[l] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut. in Demet. p. 124. Justin. l. xv. c. 4. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. Hiſtor.
[m] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. & xx. Appian. in Syriac.
[n] Ammian. ibid.

army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it advisable to provoke so great a power, and therefore entering into a treaty with him, he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided *Sandrocottus* furnished him with five hundred elephants; which proposal the *Indian* prince willingly agreeing to, a peace was concluded between them [o]. *Seleucus* having thus settled matters in *India*, marched back into the west against *Antigonus*; and the absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was what hastened the peace with *Sandrocottus*; for *Cassander* finding himself reduced to great straits by *Demetrius*, and not being able to obtain a peace but upon terms of surrendering himself, without reserve to the will and pleasure of *Antigonus*, agreed with *Lysimachus*, who was in no better condition than himself, to send embassadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, and by representing to them the situation of affairs, the ambitious views and exorbitant power of *Antigonus*, prevail upon them to enter into an alliance against him, as a common enemy. The alliance was soon concluded, for they were all under no small apprehension of the over-grown power of *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*, who had already driven both *Cassander* and *Ptolemy* out of all the places they possessed in *Greece*. This confederacy induced *Seleucus* to hasten a peace with the king of *India*, and march back into *Assyria*, to provide there for the war [p], which was carried on with great vigour the first year by *Cassander* in *Europe* and *Lysimachus* in *Asia*, while *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* were raising forces in their respective dominions, with a design to come against *Antigonus* with their whole strength, and put all to the issue of a general engagement. Accordingly, in the beginning of the next summer, *Seleucus* having drawn together at *Babylon* twenty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and four hundred and eighty elephents, with an hundred chariots armed with scythes, advanced into *Cappadocia*, and after joining the forces of the confederate princes, pursued his march into *Phrygia*, where he met *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* near the city of *Ipsus*. The confederate army was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*, and consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred and eighty elephants, with an hundred and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The enemies forces, amounting to seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants, were commanded by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who, as we have already related, behaved on this occasion with the utmost bravery; but their army being intirely defeated, and *Antigonus* killed, *Demetrius* was forced to save himself by flight, being attended only with five thousand foot and four hundred horse, the poor remains of seventy thousand men he had under his command at the beginning of the engagement [q].

Concludes a peace with Sandrocottus, *and yields to him all* India.

The battle of Ipsus.

After this battle, the particulars whereof we have already related at length [r], the four confederate princes divided the dominions of *Antigonus* among themselves, adding them to what they enjoyed before; but, before this division, *Seleucus* marching into the upper *Syria*, made himself master of that rich province, and there built on the river *Orontes* the city of *Antioch*, which soon became, and continued to be for many ages, the metropolis of the east; for not only the *Syrian* kings, but afterwards the *Roman* governors, who presided over the affairs of the eastern provinces, chose it for the usual place of their residence; and, in the *Christian* times, it was the see of the chief patriarch of *Asia*. It stood on the *Orontes*, about twenty miles from the place where that river empties itself into the *Mediterranean*, being equally distant from *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, that is, seven hundred miles from each [s]. *Seleucus* called it *Antioch*, either from his father's name, as *Malela*, *Cedrenus*, and the emperor *Julian* inform us, or from that of his son, as *Strabo*, *Appian*, and *Trogus* insinuate [t], or perhaps from both. He built sixteen other cities bearing the same name, whereof one, situate in *Pisidia*, is mentioned in scripture [u]; but *Antioch* on the *Orontes* eclipsed all the others, being by far the most famous of the many cities *Seleucus* built. *Antigonus*, not long before, had founded a city in that neighbourhood, which, from his own name, he called *Antigonia*, and had designed for the capital of his empire. This city *Seleucus* razed to the ground, employing the materials to build,

Antioch *built by* Seleucus. *Year of the flood* 2699. *Before Christ* 300.

[o] Justin. l. xv. c. 4. Appian. in Syriac. p. 122, 123. Strabo. l. v. p. 724. Plut. in Alexand. [p] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Justin. l. xv. c. 4. Plut. in Demet. [q] Arrian. l. vii. Plut. in Pyrrho. Appian. in Syriac. p. 122. [r] Vol. III. p. 440. [s] Johannes Antiochenus, Malela & Baudrand, Geogr. de Antioch. Mag. [t] Justin. ubi supra. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 750. Appian. ubi supra. [u] Acts. xiii. 14.

a build, and transplanting the inhabitants to people, his new metropolis (E). Besides *Antioch*, *Seleucus* built in the same country several other cities, whereof three were more remarkable than the rest. One of these he called *Seleucia* (F) from his own name; another *Apamea* from his wife *Apama*, the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Persian*; and the third *Laodicea* from his mother *Laodice*. *Apamea* and *Seleucia* stood on the same river with *Antioch*, the former above it, and the latter fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea. *Laodicea* stood in the southern part of the same country. From these four cities, that quarter of *Syria*, in which they stood was called *Tetrapolis*, or the country of the four cities; which indeed was but an occasional name, if we may so call it, the true name of b that tract being *Seleucis*, a name given it by *Seleucus* himself; for *Syria*, under the kings of the *Macedonian* race, was divided into three parts, *viz.* *Syria* properly so called, *Cœlo-Syria* or *the Hollow-Syria*, and *Syria Palestina*. The first of these, called also the *Upper Syria*, contained *Commagena*, *Cyrrhestica*, *Seleucis*, and some other small districts, and extended from mount *Amanus* on the north, to mount *Libanus* on the south. It was, in after-ages, called also *Syria Antiochena*. The second reached from *Libanus* to *Antilibanus*, including the city of *Damascus*, and its large territory. As this tract consisted mostly of deep vallies between high mountains, it

Seleucia, Apamea *and* Laodicea *built.*

(E) *Johannes Malela*, a native of *Antioch*, tells us in his chronicle, that *Seleucus* coming to *Iopolis*, a city in the hilly country of *Siliphum*, offered there, on the first of the month *Artemisium*, a sacrifice to *Jupiter the Thunderer*, in a chapel said to have been anciently built by *Perseus* the son of *Danae*. From *Iopolis* he advanced to *Antigonia*, and there offering a sacrifice to *Jupiter*, on an altar newly built by *Antigonus*, he, together with *Amphion* the priest, begged *Jupiter* to shew him, by some sign, whether he should inhabit *Antigonia*, calling it by some other name, or build a new city in another place. They had scarce ended their prayer, when an eagle snatching up a piece of flesh from the altar, dropt it near the hill of *Siliphum*. Hereupon *Seleucus* on that spot, where anciently stood a town called *Botria*, laid the foundation of his new city, on the twenty-second day of the month *Artemisium*, that is, of our *May*. At a small distance from the city he built a magnificent temple in honour of *Jupiter Botzius*. These and many such things we read in *Johannes Malela* concerning the origin of *Antioch*. This metropolis of *Syria* was afterwards known by the name of *Tetrapolis*, being divided, as it were, into four cities, each of them having its proper wall, besides a common one, which inclosed them all. The first of these cities or quarters was built by *Seleucus Nicator*; the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire; the third by *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes* (5). The place where it stood was very subject to earthquakes, by which it suffered greatly, and was often in danger of being intirely overwhelmed; however, it continued to be, as *Pliny* calls it, the queen of the east, for the space of sixteen hundred years, till it was taken in 1262, and utterly destroyed by *Bibaris* sultan of *Egypt* (6). The walls of each quarter, as well as those which surrounded the whole, are still remaining; but as the houses are intirely destroyed, those four quarters look like so many inclosed fields (7). It is now a small and contemptible village, known by the name of *Anthakia*, and remarkable for nothing but its ruins. *Aleppo* is become, in its stead, the metropolis of those eastern parts, the patriarchal see, which once adorned it, being translated to *Damascus*.

Daphne, mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees* (8), was reckoned one of the suburbs of *Antioch*, tho' four or five miles distant from it. There *Seleucus* planted a grove ten miles in compass, and in the middle of the grove built a temple, which he consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an asylum. Thither the *Antiochians* resorted for their pleasures and diversions, as the *Romans* did to *Baiæ*, and the *Alexandrians* to *Canopus*. As persons of all ranks and conditions flocked to this delicious place, in process of time *Apollo* and *Diana* gave room to *Venus* and *Bacchus*, whereby it became so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere, to live after the manner of* Daphne, was used as a proverb, to express a most voluptuous and dissolute way of living. Such as had any regard for their reputation, avoided *Daphne* as they did the public stews; it being frequented only by young debauchees and women of professed incontinency; insomuch, that when *Cassius* the *Roman* general came to *Antioch*, the very next day after his arrival, he took care to forbid, by a public proclamation, and under the severest penalties, any of his soldiers to enter, or even go near, that place, lest they should be corrupted by the horrid abominations practised there by the natives (9). It was so remarkable a place, that to distinguish *Antioch*, near which it lay, from other cities elsewhere bearing the same name, the former was commonly called *Antioch near Daphne* (10).

(F) *Johannes Malela* tells us, that on the twenty-third day of our *April*, while *Seleucus* was sacrificing to *Jupiter* on mount *Casius*, and consulting him concerning a proper place to build a city in, an eagle snatching from the altar part of the sacrifice, flew towards the sea, and dropt it in a sea-town of *Pieria*, not far from *Palæopolis*, a small city, built in former ages by *Syrus* the son of *Agenor*. Hereupon *Seleucus* laid immediately the foundations of a great city on that spot, and called it from his own name *Seleucia*. Others tell us, that he was induced to build a city in that place, not by an eagle, but by a flash of lightning; whence lightning was ever after adored there as a deity, and honoured with hymns and prayers by the inhabitants (11). *Seleucus* allowed the *Jews* the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of *Antioch* as their countrymen did of *Alexandria*.

(5) *Strabo. l.* xvi. *p.* 750. (6) *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p.* 281. (7) *Idem ibid. p.* 280. (8) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *ver.* 33. (9) *Vide Chrysost. sermon. in Babylam martyrem.* (10) *Strabo l.* xv. *p.* 717. (11) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 125.

it was on this account called *Cœlo-Syria* or *the Hollow-Syria*. *Syria Palestina* extend[ed] from *Antilibanus* to the confines of *Egypt*. The maritime parts of the two latter, lying between *Iradus* and *Gaza*, were known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Phœnice*. *Antigonus* being killed in the battle of *Ipsus*, and the power of *Demetrius* brought, by that dreadful overthrow, to a very low ebb, the confederate princes, having now no other enemy to fear, began to be jealous of each other. *Lysimachus*, being under no small apprehension of the over-grown power of *Seleucus*, entered into a separate alliance with *Ptolemy*, taking to wife *Arsinoe* one of his daughters, and marrying his son *Agathocles* to another (G). This alliance gave umbrage to *Seleucus*, who thereupon entered into a treaty with *Demetrius*, marrying *Stratonice* the daughter of that prince by *Phila* the sister of *Cassander*. As *Demetrius* was at that time in a very low condition, he readily laid hold of *Seleucus*'s proposal; and sailing from *Greece*, where he still held some cities, conveyed the new bride, with the few ships he had then remaining, into *Syria*. In his passage thither he made a descent on *Cilicia*, which then belonged to *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander*, the four kings having, in the general partition, bestowed it upon him. Hereupon *Pistarchus*, leaving *Cilicia*, went to complain to *Seleucus* of the wrong done him, and to expostulate with him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the consent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be an infraction of the treaty. *Demetrius*, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of *Quinda*, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents, were kept. These he seized, and hastening back to his fleet with the booty, sailed to *Orassus*, a maritime town of *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his bride. After the two princes had spent several days there in nuptial rejoicings and mutual entertainments, without arms or guards, *Seleucus* returned in great pomp and magnificence to *Antioch*, and *Demetrius* with his fleet to *Cilicia*, which he intirely reduced, and thereby considerably increased his power in those parts, being, after this acquisition, master of all *Cilicia*, of the whole island of *Cyprus*, and of the two rich and strong cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phoenice* [u].

Seleucus *enters into an alliance with* Demetrius.

IT was highly impolitic in *Seleucus*, to permit a prince of an unbounded ambition, of extraordinary parts, and great skill in military affairs, to settle at so small a distance from him, and usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as *Cilicia*. His eyes, however, were opened at last, and growing jealous of such a neighbour, he would fain have purchased *Cilicia* of him; but *Demetrius* rejecting the proposal, *Seleucus*, to pick a quarrel with him, insisted upon his yielding up to him the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, as belonging to *Syria*, of which he was king. *Demetrius* was fired at this demand, and in a great passion replied, That though he were to be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never purchase a son-in-law at so dear a rate; and immediately sailed to both those cities, reinforced the garisons, and furnishing them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence, defeated, for the present, the designs of *Seleucus*, whose proceeding on this occasion was generally blamed; for as his dominions were of a vast extent, reaching from the river *Indus* to the *Mediterranean*, every one judged it base and mean in him to disturb his father-in-law, who was under a cloud of misfortunes, in the enjoyment of those poor remains of his broken fortune [w]. But *Seleucus*, notwithstanding these public murmurs, falling upon *Cilicia*, made himself master of that whole country, while, on the other hand, *Lysimachus* reduced all the territories belonging to *Demetrius* in *Asia*, and *Ptolemy* made himself master of the island of *Cyprus*, and of the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnice*. Thus was *Demetrius*, notwithstanding his alliance with *Seleucus*, stripped by the confederate princes of the best part of his dominions [x].

Demetrius being, by these losses, reduced so low as to give *Seleucus* no further jealousy, that prince undertook the building of a new city, which he called from his own name *Seleucia*, and made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond

Seleucia *on the* Tigris *built.*

[u] PLUT. in Demet. STRABO. l. xv. p. 719. MEMNON. in excerpt. c. 5. JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 2.
[w] PLUT. ibid.
[x] PLUT. in Demet.

(G) *Lysimachus* married the daughter, not of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, as we read in *Memnon* (12); but of *Ptolemy* the first, the son of *Lagus*, and *Eurydice*, as *Plutarch* (13), *Justin* (14), *Pausanias* (15), and even *Memnon* himself elsewhere informs us (16).

(12) *Memnon. in excerpt. c.* 5. (13) *Plut. in Demet.* (14) *Justin. l.* xvii. *c.* 2. & lxxiv. c. 1.
(15) *Pausan. in Attic. p.* 8. (16) *Memnon. in excerpt. c.* 9.

beyond the *Euphrates*. It was placed on the western side of the *Tigris*, about forty miles from *Babylon*, over-against the place where at present the city of *Bagdad* stands. This new city soon became one of the most populous and flourishing in those parts; for the country near *Babylon* being laid under water, by the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, and the branch of that river which passed through the middle of the city, rendered innavigable, most of the inhabitants, forsaking their ancient habitations, settled at *Seleucia*; which *Seleucus* had not only made the place of his residence whenever he came into those parts, but distinguished it with many privileges above all the other cities of the east. By these means *Babylon*, soon after the building of *Seleucia*, was quite abandoned, nothing remaining of that ancient city but its walls. *Pliny* [y] tells us, that it was drained of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation by the neighbourhood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, which *Seleucus Nicator*, to use *Pliny*'s words, built there for that purpose. *Jerom*, who flourished in the fourth century of the *Christian* æra, writes, that, in his time, *Babylon* was intirely ruined, the walls only being kept up by the *Parthian* kings, who had made the space within a park for the keeping of wild beasts [z] (H). On the other hand, *Seleucia* became

[y] Plin. l. vi. c. 26. [z] Hieronym. Comment. in Esai. c. 14.

(H) The first after *Jerom*, who mentions *Babylon*, is one *Benjamin*, a *Jew* of *Tudela* in *Navar*. This traveller, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, tells us, that he was upon the spot where the city of *Babylon* stood, and that he saw only some ruins of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s palace still remaining, which nobody ventured to visit, by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that infested the place (15). *Texeira*, in the account he gives us of his travels from *India* to *Italy*, tells us, that, in his time, there was scarce any thing remaining of this great and famous city, and that the place on which it stood was the least frequented of any in all that country (16). *Rauwolf*, a *German* traveller, who visited those places in 1574, confirms what we read in the above-mentioned writers. We shall quote his words: "The village of *Elugo*, says "he, stands on the place, where formerly *Babylon*, "the metropolis of *Chaldea*, stood. The harbour "is a quarter of a league off, whither those use to "resort, who intend to travel by land to the fa- "mous city of *Bagdad*, which lies about a day and "a half's distance to the east on the river *Tigris*. "This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot "be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted "very much, whether this powerful and potent "city (which was the most stately and famous one "of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful "country of *Sinar*) stood in that place, if I had "not known it by its situation, and several anti- "quities still to be seen in that neighbourhood; "first, by the old bridge which was laid over the "*Euphrates*, whereof there are some arches still "remaining, built of burnt brick, and wonderfully "strong. – Just before the village of *Elugo* is the "hill, whereon the castle stood; and you may still "see the ruins of its fortifications. At a small di- "stance from the castle stood the tower of *Babylon*. "This we see still, and it is half a league in diame- "ter, but so ruined and full of venomous reptiles, "that nobody dares come within half a mile of it, "except in two months of the winter, when the "insects keep within their holes. Among these "reptiles there are some called in the *Persian* tongue "*Eyl*, bigger than our lizards, very poisonous, &c. "(17)." All this shews how fully the predictions of the prophet *Isaiah* relating to this place have been accomplished. His words are as follow; *And* Babylon, *the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the* Chaldees *excellency, shall be as when God overthrew* Sodom *and* Gomorrha; *it shall never be inhabited, neither shall be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the* Arabian *pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their folds there; but wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and their house shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged* (18). Thus far *Isaiah*; and, besides him, several other prophets have uttered prophecies to the same purpose, foretelling the utter destruction of *Babylon*. 'Tis true, that *Lucan* (19), *Philostratus* (20), and others, mention the city of *Babylon* as still standing and flourishing in their time; but those authors, and all others who speak of *Babylon* as a city still remaining after the time of *Seleucus Nicator*, are to be understood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and not of old *Babylon* on the *Euphrates*; for that city becoming, soon after it was built, the metropolis of the east, was called also *Babylon*, as *Pliny* and *Stephanus* inform us (21). It was first called *Seleucia Babylonia*, or *Seleucia* in the province of *Babylon*, to distinguish it from several other cities in different provinces bearing the same name. Afterwards it was known by the name of *Babylonia*, and at length by that of *Babylon* (22). That *Lucan* by *Babylon* in the place above-mentioned means *Seleucia*, is very plain; for the poet speaks there of the metropolis of the *Parthian* kingdom, where the trophies of *Crassus* were hung up after the defeat of the *Romans* at *Carrhæ*; which can be understood only of the *Seleucian Babylon*, that city, and not the old *Babylon*, being the seat of the *Parthian* kings. The same author, speaking in another place of *Babylon* (23), describes it as surrounded by the *Tigris*; which plainly shews, that by *Babylon* he meant *Seleucia* or the new *Babylon*; for that city, and not the old *Babylon*, stood on the *Tigris*, as every one knows. As for *Philostratus*, he mistook *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, for the old *Babylon*, and therefore gives us the same description of it, which *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo* and others give of old *Babylon*; but this is not the only blunder *Philostratus* is guilty of in his account, or rather romance, of *Apollonius Thyneæus*. As *Babylon* was drained of its inhabitants by *Seleucia*, so was *Seleucia* in process of time by *Ctesiphon* and

(15) *Benjamin. Itiner. p.* 76. (16) *Texeira c.* 8. (17) *See Ray's edition of these travels in English, part* ii. *chap* 7. (18) *Isa. c.* xiii. *ver.* 19—22. (19) *Lucan. l.* i. *ver.* 19. (20) *Philostrat. l.* i. *c.* 17, 18, 19. (21) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 26. *& Steph. in Babylon.* (22) *Vide Plin. & Steph. ibid.* (23) *Lucan. l.* vi. *ver.* 50.

became so populous, that, in *Pliny*'s time, it had six hundred thousand inhabitants, and far excelled all the other cities of the east [a]. Besides *Seleucia*, *Seleucus* built several other cities, sixteen of which he called *Antioch*, from the name of his brother *Antiochus*; nine *Seleucia*, from his own name; six *Laodicea*, from his mother *Laodice*; three *Apamea*, from *Apama* his first wife; and one *Stratonicea*, from his last wife *Stratonice* [b]. In these, as well as in the other cities he built, *viz. Berœa*, *Edessa*, *Pella*, &c. he planted the *Jews*, allowing them most ample privileges; and hence it was that they were dispersed all over *Syria* and the *Lesser Asia*. They had been settled in the eastern countries beyond the *Euphrates*, and multiplied there in great numbers, ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities; but *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, as *Josephus* informs us [c], who granted them settlements in the provinces of *Asia* on this side the *Euphrates*.

And many other cities.

While *Seleucus* was thus employed in building cities, *Demetrius* having, as he thought, settled his affairs in *Græce*, began to make great preparations for the recovering of his father's dominions in *Asia*. With this view he raised an army of an hundred thousand foot, and about twelve thousand horse, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail, which was the greatest force that had been seen since the time of *Alexander*. These formidable preparations alarmed *Ptolemy*, *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, who renewing their ancient alliance for their mutual defence against *Demetrius* as a common enemy, prevailed also upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to join in the same confederacy. *Demetrius*, not being able to withstand so many enemies, was, after many great losses, obliged to abandon the conquests he had made in *Caria* and *Lydia*, and march into the east; but *Agathocles* the son of *Lysimachus* following him close in his march, reduced him to such straits for want of provisions, that a sickness spreading thro' his army, swept off great numbers of his men; and when he attempted, with the small remains of his troops, to pass mount *Taurus*, he found all the passes guarded by the enemy, which obliged him to return to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, to whom he transmitted an account of the melancholy situation of his affairs, intreating that prince, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistance for himself and the remainder of his troops. *Seleucus* at first pitying his condition, ordered his lieutenants in those parts to supply him and his army with all things necessary; but afterwards, being put in mind of the valour and enterprising genius of this prince, instead of helping him, he resolved upon his destruction; and accordingly marching against him, reduced him to such difficulties, as we have already related, that he was obliged to surrender at discretion. *Seleucus* caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the *Syrian Chersonesus*, where he was detained prisoner till he died, but allowed the freedom of a park to hunt in, and plentifully supplied with all things necessary both for the support and pleasures of life [d]. Upon his death *Seleucus* took possession of whatever he held in *Syria* and *Asia*, and of both these kingdoms made, to use the expression of *Eusebius*, one intire empire [e].

Death of Demetrius. *Year after the flood*, 2715. *Before Christ* 284.

A few months after *Demetrius* died also *Ptolemy Soter* king of *Egypt*, so that now two only of all *Alexander*'s captains survived, *viz. Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*. As they were now drawing near to the last period of their days, each of them being upwards of seventy, one would have thought they should have closed the scene of their life in

War between Seleucus *and* Lysimachus.

[a] Plin. ubi supra. [b] Appian. in Syriac. p. 201. [c] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. & contra Appian. l. ii. Euseb. in Chron. [d] Plut. in Demet. Appian. in Syriac. Val. Max. l. v. c. 7. [e] Euseb. in Chron.

and *Almadayan*, and these two again by *Bagdad*. This last city was first built in the same place where *Seleucia* or new *Babylon* stood, which without all doubt, gave rise to the common error, that *Bagdad* stands on the ruins of old *Babylon*. In the year of the *Christian* æra 754, *Seleucia* was reduced to such a state of desolation, as to have nothing on the spot where it stood, but the cell of a monk called *Dad*, and a garden adjoining to it, whence it was called *Bagdad*; that is in the language of the country, *the garden of* Dad. In this place *Abu Jaafar Almansur*, caliph of the *Saracens*, not liking *Hashemia*, where his predecessor had resided, built a new city, which has ever since been called from the place *Bagdad*. This he made the capital of his empire, raising it upon the very foundations of *Seleucia* or new *Babylon*, on the west side of the *Tigris*; but not long after it was translated to the other side, where it still stands, that part which was built on the west side, being at present no more than the suburbs of it. It was, for many years, the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and is still a place of great note; but such as take it for the ancient *Babylon*, are greatly mistaken, that city standing on the *Euphrates*, and *Bagdad* on the *Tigris*, about forty miles from it (24).

(14) *Vide Bochar. Geog. Sacr. part* i. *l.* i. *c.* 8. *Gollii notæ ad Alfraganum, p.* 121. 122. *Sanctor descript. Bagdad. in Geog. Nubiensi.*

a in the union which had ſubſiſted ſo long between them, for they had ever been cloſely united, and, to the utmoſt of their power, ſupported each other; but it happened quite otherwiſe, a war, which proved fatal to both, ſoon breaking out between them, on the following occaſion: *Lyſimachus*, after the marriage of his ſon *Agathocles* with *Lyſandra*, one of *Ptolemy*'s daughters, married another of them called *Arſinoe* himſelf, and had by her ſeveral children. Hereupon great emulation aroſe between the two ſiſters, each of them ſtriving to form a powerful party in their favour againſt the death of *Lyſimachus*. As they were ſiſters by different mothers, for *Lyſandra* was the daughter of *Eurydice*, and *Arſinoe* of *Berenice*, the diſagreement of their mothers greatly contributed to the heightening and fomenting of the contenb tion between them. In the height of their emulation, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the brother of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, arrived at the court of *Lyſimachus*, and his arrival, as he was brother to *Lyſandra* by both parents, made *Arſinoe* apprehenſive, that his intereſt would prove too effectual to the party of *Lyſandra*, and enable them to deſtroy her and her children at the death of *Lyſimachus*. To prevent this ſhe plotted the death of *Agathocles*, and effected it, by repreſenting him to her huſband as one who was forming conſpiracies againſt his life and crown, which induced the old king to confine him to a caſtle, and there put him to death. Hereupon *Lyſandra* with her children, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* her brother, took ſanctuary in the court of *Seleucus*, and prevailed upon him to make war upon *Lyſimachus*. Many of *Lyſima*c *chus*'s chief officers, even thoſe who had been moſt attached to his intereſt, were ſo much affected with the death of *Agathocles*, under whoſe conduct they had gained many glorious victories, that they went over to *Seleucus*, and backed the remonſtrances of *Lyſandra* with their own complaints. *Seleucus* was eaſily perſuaded to engage in this war, being already ſufficiently inclined to it on other accounts; but before he imbarqued in ſo great an undertaking, he not only reſigned to his ſon *Antiochus* a conſiderable part of his empire, but alſo, by an unparallelled example, his favourite queen *Stratonice*. The manner how this happened is thus related by *Plutarch*[f], *Appian*[g], and *Valerius Maximus*[h]. As *Stratonice* was the moſt beautiful woman of her age, *Antiochus* fell violently in love with her; but not daring to own his paſſion, he ſilently languiſhed under it, and at length fell dangerouſly ill. *Eraſiſtratus*, an eminent *Greek* phyſician, who attended him, ſoon perceived that love was his diſtemper; but the difficulty was to diſcover the object of his flame: He therefore paſſed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and carefully watching the countenance of the prince when viſited by the ladies of the court, he obſerved, that when *Stratonice* came alone, or in company with *Seleucus*, to make him a viſit, great alterations happened in his pulſe, in his countenance, in his behaviour, *&c.* and that nothing of this was ſeen when any other lady entered his room. From theſe infallible ſymptoms *Eraſiſtratus* plainly perceived, that *Stratonice* was the object of his paſſion; and the firſt time he was alone with the ſick prince after that diſcovery, he, with e great dexterity, drew the ſecret from his own mouth. The prince owned his paſſion for *Stratonice* his mother-in-law, and declared that he had done all that lay in his power to vanquiſh it; that he had a thouſand times had recourſe to every conſideration that could be repreſented to his thoughts in ſuch a conjuncture, particularly the reſpect which was due from him to a father and a ſovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the ſhameful circumſtance of indulging a paſſion altogether unjuſtifiable, and contrary to every maxim of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a deſire, which he never ought to gratify, *&c.* but that his reaſon, in its preſent ſtate of diſtraction, being incapable of attending to any motives that could be ſuggeſted, he had reſolved to put an end, both to his ſhameful paſſion and unhappy f life, by abſtaining from all kind of food. *Eraſiſtratus*, plainly ſeeing that the prince neither could nor would live, unleſs ſome way were found out to apply the only remedy which was capable of curing him, for the bringing of this about thus managed the matter with great craft and dexterity. The firſt time *Seleucus* inquired of him after his ſon's health, he put on all the aſſurance he could, and told him, That the prince's diſeaſe was love, and that he was incurable, becauſe it was impoſſible for him to have the perſon he loved, and he could not live without her. *Seleucus*, ſurprized at this anſwer, aſked, Why his ſon could not have the perſon he loved? *Becauſe ſhe is my wife*, replied the phyſician, *and I am not diſpoſed to yield her up to the*

Seleucus *yields his queen* Stratonice *to his ſon* Antiochus, *with all the provinces of the upper* Aſia.

[f] PLUT. in Demet. [g] APPIAN. in Syriac. [h] VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 7.

the embraces of another. How! said Seleucus, *will* Erasistratus, *my dear* Erasistratus *refuse to part with his wife to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love? Is this the friendship you profess for me? Nay then,* answered the physician, *make it your own case; if* Antiochus *were thus desperately in love with* Stratonice, *would you part with her for the sake of* Antiochus? *would you take the counsel which you give me? No certainly; and if you, who are a father, and have all the tenderness imaginable for your son, would not part with your wife to save his life, how can you expect such a sacrifice from any other? Ah! my dear friend, subjoined* Seleucus, *may the gods put the safety of the prince upon that issue; I would part, not only with* Stratonice, *but my empire, to preserve the life of* Antiochus, *my dearest* Antiochus. In uttering these words he burst out into a flood of tears, when *Erasistratus* taking him by the hand, *You have then no need,* said he, *of any physician but yourself; for the love of* Stratonice *is the source of his distemper, and nothing can recover him but your yielding her up to him.* Hereupon *Seleucus* having, without much ado, prevailed upon *Stratonice* to accept of a young prince for her husband instead of an old king, the nuptials were solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence; after which *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were crowned king and queen of *Upper Asia*, *Seleucus* willingly resigning to them all those provinces g. From this incestuous marriage sprung all the kings of *Syria*, who so tyrannically oppressed the *Jewish* nation in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history (I).

Seleucus *marches against* Lysimachus.

Seleucus being now eased of this inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against *Lysimachus*. Having therefore drawn together a powerful army, he advanced at the head of it into *Asia Minor*, where he easily reduced all the places belonging to *Lysimachus*, most of the governors coming over to him out of hatred to that prince, on account of the murder of his son *Agathocles*, who was the darling of the army (K). The city of *Sardis* was the only place that sustained a siege, which was carried on by *Seleucus* with such vigour, that the garison was soon obliged to capitulate, and surrender at discretion, putting *Seleucus* in possession of that important city, and of all the treasures which *Lysimachus* had laid up there, as in a place of great safety. *Lysimachus*, upon intelligence of this invasion, marched with all possible expedition to the *Hellespont*, in order to check the progress of *Seleucus*, and having crossed over into *Asia*, met the enemy at a place called *Curopedian* in *Phrygia*. Both armies prepared for the engagement, being commanded by two generals, who, out of the thirty-six left by *Alexander*, were the only two captains now alive, and both seventy years old and upwards. The engagement was very bloody, and the victory long doubtful; but at last *Lysimachus*, who had fought the whole time at the head of his troops with incredible bravery, being run through with a spear by one *Malacon* of *Heraclea*, and killed on the spot, his men betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and left *Seleucus* master of the field, and all their baggage. Thus died *Lysimachus*, after having seen the death of fifteen of his children; and as he was, to use the expression of *Memnon*, the last stone of his house to be pulled down, *Seleucus*, without opposition, made himself master of all his dominions; but what gave

Lysimachus *killed, and his army defeated.*

g Plut. & Appian. ibid. Lucian. de dea Syra.

(I) The emperor *Julian*, surnamed the *Apostate*, relates in a fragment of his writings, which is still extant, that *Antiochus* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to marry *Stratonice* till after the death of his father; but herein he contradicts *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Lucian*, and all other writers (25). Some authors tell us, that *Leptinas* a mathematician, and not *Erasistratus*, discovered the secret passion of *Antiochus*. *Erasistratus* was the grandson of *Aristotle*, by a daughter of that philosopher, and, according to *Pliny* (26), a disciple of *Chrysippus*, or, as *Laertius* will have it (27), of *Theophrastus*. Against the followers of *Erasistratus*, known by the name of *Erasistratæans*, *Galen* wrote a book of *phlebotomy*, or opening the vein, which is still extant. *Plutarch* places the marriage of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* before the death of *Demetrius*; but most other writers relate this adventure as happening at the time *Seleucus* engaged in a war with *Lysimachus*; and these, with the learned *Usher*, we have followed.

(K) Amongst these was the eunuch *Philetærus*, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, whom *Lysimachus* had trusted with all his treasures in *Pergamus*. These *Philetærus* seized, and making himself master of the city, offered to put *Seleucus* in possession of both. *Seleucus*, not doubting of the sincerity of his offer, put off going to take possession of the place, and *Philetærus* improving this delay, raised with the money troops, by which he maintained himself in the sovereignty of *Pergamus* for the space of twenty years, and founded a new kingdom, as we shall relate in the history of that country. *Appian* calls him only *prince* or *potentate* of *Pergamus* (28); but in some ancient medals we find him honoured with the title of king (29).

(25) *Julian. in Misopogone.* (26) *Plin. l.* xxix. *c.* 1. (27) *Laertius in vita Theophr.*
(28) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 129. (29) *Vide Huber. Golzii, Thesaur.*

gave him moſt pleaſure on this occaſion was, that he was now the only ſurvivor of all the captains of *Alexander*; and that, by the event of this battle, he was become, as he ſtiled himſelf, *the conqueror of conquerors*. This laſt victory, which he looked upon as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour, gave him the beſt title to the name of *Nicator* or *Conqueror*, by which hiſtorians commonly diſtinguiſh him from other kings of the ſame name, who afterwards reigned in *Syria*.[h]

His triumph on this occaſion did not laſt long; for ſeven months after, as he was marching into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom, with a deſign to paſs the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours; for he had received him into his court on his flight thither, and maintained him ſuitably to his rank: he had likewiſe taken him with him in this expedition, deſigning, upon his finiſhing it with ſucceſs, to employ the ſame forces in reſtoring him to his father's kingdom; but the baſe traitor, having no ſenſe of gratitude for theſe favours, conſpired againſt his benefactor, and villainouſly murdered him in the following manner: *Seleucus* having croſſed the *Helleſpont*, in his way to *Macedon*, as he was purſuing his journey from thence to *Lyſimachia*, a city built by *Lyſimachus*, near the *Iſthmus* of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, he ſpied an old altar ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance, on a very conſpicuous place; and being told that it was called *Argos*, he aſked many queſtions about it, whether it was ſo named from the *Argonauts* who paſſed that way in going with *Jaſon* to *Colchos*; or from the *Argivi* who went to the ſiege of *Troy*; or from the ſhip *Argos*, which was caſt away in that neighbourhood; or finally, becauſe that was the country of the *Atridæ*, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*? What made him thus inquiſitive was, that he had been warned by an oracle to *beware of* Argos (L), which he had ever underſtood of the city of *Argos* in *Peloponneſus*; but while he was thus inquiring about the origin of that name, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, who ſtood behind him, ran him through with his ſword, and before thoſe, who ſtood round the king, recovered from the ſurprize and conſternation they were in, got, by the help of a ſwift horſe, into *Lyſimachia*, whence he ſoon returned to the army with a crown on his head, and a ſtrong guard about him. The troops, being deſtitute of a general, and in the utmoſt confuſion, not only received the traitor, but ſaluted him king of *Macedon*, the ſoldiers, who had ſerved under *Lyſimachus*, looking upon him as the revenger of that prince's death[i]; but providence did not ſuffer this and many other barbarous murders he ſoon after committed, to go long unpuniſhed, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. Such was the end of *Seleucus*, the greateſt general, in the opinion of *Arrian*, and the moſt powerful prince, after *Alexander*, of the age he lived in[k]. He died in the forty-third year after the death of *Alexander*, in the thirty-ſecond of the *Grecian* or *Seleucian* æra, and ſeventy-third, or, as *Juſtin* will have it, ſeventy-eighth of his age[l]. *Philetærus*, the prince of *Pergamus*, having, with a great ſum of money, purchaſed his body of *Ceraunus*, ſent it to his ſon *Antiochus*, who, with extraordinary pomp, burnt it in *Seleucia* on the ſea-coaſt, erecting on the place a magnificent chapel, which, from his ſurname, he called *Nicatorium*[m]. *Polybius* obſerves, that *Ptolemy* the firſt, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* died all in CXXIVth olympiad; and that *Ptolemy* the firſt died in the firſt year of it, and *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus* in the laſt; but *Ceraunus* did not die till the latter end of the firſt year of the following olympiad; whence *Polybius* being, it ſeems, well apprized of his miſtake, in mentioning elſewhere the concurrence of their deaths, omits *Ceraunus*[n].

Seleucus *murdered by* Ptolemy Ceraunus. *Year after the flood* 2719. *Before Chriſt* 280.

Seleucus was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with extraordinary qualities; for, without mentioning his military accompliſhments, it may be juſtly ſaid, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the kings of his age by a very remarkable love for juſtice, a great ſweetneſs of temper, and a peculiar regard for religion, which endeared him

His character.

[h] Polyænus l. iv. c. 9. Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 128, 131. Memn. Excerpt. c. 9. Pausan. in Attic. p. 9. Oros. l. iii. c. 23. Lucian. in Macrob. [i] Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2. Memn. Excerpt. c. 15. [k] Arrian. de reb. Alex. [l] Justin. ubi ſupra. [m] Appian. in Syriac. p. 129. [n] Polyb. l. ii. p. 128. & ib. p. 155.

(L) We are told, that the oracle was uttered in the ambiguous words of the following diſtich:

Si fugias Argos, fatum ſuperabis iniquum;
Sin minus, ante diem tartara nigra petes.

him to his people. He had a taſte for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleaſure in the converſation of *Eraſiſtratus* and the famous *Megaſthenes*. The latter he employed in his negotiations with *Sandrocottus* king of *India*. On this occaſion it was, that *Megaſthenes*, by reſiding ſome time in that country, and travelling over great part of it, gathered the materials for his hiſtory of *India* o (M). *Seleucus* having found in *Perſia* the famous library which *Xerxes* had taken from the *Athenians*, ſent them it back, together with the ſtatues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, whom they honoured as their deliverers. He is highly commended by *Polyænus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Appian*, *Lucian*, and *Plutarch*. This laſt writer tells us, that he uſed to ſay, If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters, which in thoſe days was thought the indiſpenſible duty of a king, no one would accept of a crown, though thrown at his feet, or think it worth taking off the ground.

Antiochus Soter.

On the death of *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* ſurnamed *Soter*, his ſon by *Apamea* the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Perſian*, took poſſeſſion of the empire of *Aſia*, and held it for the ſpace of nineteen years. Having, upon the firſt news of his father's death, ſecured his dominions in the eaſt, where he then was, he ſent *Patrocles*, one of his generals, at the head of a powerful army, over mount *Taurus*, into *Aſia Minor*, to ſettle affairs there. *Patrocles*, on his firſt arrival, marched againſt *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, at that time a powerful ſtate, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of its rich territory, the *Heracleans* having formerly entered into an alliance, with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* and the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* againſt *Seleucus*; but matters being made up between them by a treaty, *Patrocles* led his army againſt the *Bithynians*, and entering their territories, committed there, on what provocation we know not, great devaſtations; but the *Bithynians* having drawn him into an ambuſh, cut off him and his whole army, not one man eſcaping the general ſlaughter. *Zipætes*, who was then king of *Bithynia*, and in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age and forty-eighth of his reign, was ſo overjoyed at the news of this victory, that he died ſoon after, leaving behind him four ſons, of which the eldeſt, by name *Nicomedes*, ſucceeding his father in the kingdom, cauſed, out of jealouſy, two of his brothers to be put to death; but the youngeſt, called alſo *Zipætes*, haing ſaved himſelf by a timely flight, ſeized on part of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother, who, hearing that *Antiochus* was making great preparations to attack him at the ſame time, and revenge the death of *Patrocles* and the loſs of his army, called in the *Gauls* to his aſſiſtance; and on this occaſion it was that the *Gauls* firſt paſſed into *Aſia Minor* p. With their aſſiſtance *Nicomedes* having overcome his brother *Zipætes*, and acquired the poſſeſſion of all his father's dominions, beſtowed upon them that part of *Aſia Minor*, which, from their name, was called by ſome *Gallo-Græcia*, and by others *Galatia*. In proceſs of time the latter name prevailed, whence the people

His army cut off by the Bithynians.

o Vide Voss. de Hiſtoricis Græcis. p. 16. & 21. Liv. l. xxxviii.

p Appian. in Syriac. Euseb. Chron. Memnon. Excerpt.

(M) *Megaſthenes* compoſed a hiſtory of the *Indies*, from the third book of which *Clemens* of *Alexandria* quotes a paſſage in the firſt book of his *Stromata*, where that author tells us, that whatever the ancients have ſaid concerning nature, was taught them, not by the *Greeks*, but by *Indian Brachmans* and the *Jews* of *Syria*. *Pliny* and *Solinus* inform us, that *Megaſthenes* lived in *India* to gather materials for his hiſtory. Some fragments of this hiſtory are preſerved by *Joſephus* (30), and *Euſebius* (31), wherein he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and extols his great wealth and power. He is likewiſe quoted by *Strabo* (32) *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*; but the book itſelf has not reached our times. *Annius*, a monk of *Viterbo*, who flouriſhed about the end of the fifteenth century, counterfeited ſeveral books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Beroſus*, and *Megaſthenes*, whom he, by miſtake, calls *Metaſthenes*, being led into this error by *Rufinus*'s *Latin* verſion of *Joſephus*, and this firſt gave occaſion to the diſcovery of the impoſture. Theſe books he publiſhed with a comment upon them; and they were for ſome time looked upon as the genuine works of the authors whoſe names they bore, but are now every where exploded as fictitious and fabulous, being framed on purpoſe to impoſe upon the world. *Plutarch* ſeems to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of thoſe authors in general who have wrote of *India* (33); and *Strabo* (34) tells us, that all thoſe who have wrote hiſtories of *India* are great liars, but above all *Diamarchus*, and after him *Megaſthenes*, *Oneſicritus*, and *Nearchus*. To the two former, continues *Strabo*, we ought to give no credit at all, for they would make us believe, that there are men in *India*, whoſe ears are ſo large as to cover their bodies, that ſome have no mouths, nor noſes, and but one eye; that their feet are of a monſtrous ſize, and their toes turned inwards; that there are whole nations of men only three ſpans high, ants that ſearch for gold, and birds with heads in the ſhape of a wedge, which ſwallow ſerpents, ſtags, and oxen.

(30) *Joſeph. Antiquit. l.* x. *c.* 11. *& contra Appian. l* i. (31) *Euſeb. Præp. Evang.* (32) *Strab. l.* xv. *p.* 687. (33) *Plut. de flumin.* (34) *Strabo. l.* ii.

people were no more called *Gauls*, but *Galatians*. To their descendants St. *Paul* wrote one of his canonical epistles; and St. *Jerom* witnesses, that, near seven hundred years after they had settled in *Asia*, they continued to speak the same language, which, in his time, was spoke at *Treves*.

But to return to *Antiochus*; *Sosthenes*, who had defeated the *Gauls*, as we have related in the history of *Macedon*, and reigned some years in that country, being dead, *Antiochus Soter* and *Antigonus Gonatus*, the son of *Demetrius*, laid claim to that kingdom, their fathers having held it, one after the other; but *Antigonus*, who had already reigned ten years in *Greece*, being nearest, first took possession of those dominions. Hereupon *Antiochus* being resolved to dispossess his rival, if possible, of his new conquests, and the other to support himself in them, each raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances. On this occasion *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* having espoused the cause of *Antigonus*, *Antiochus* not thinking it adviseable to leave such an enemy behind him in *Asia*, instead of crossing the *Hellespont* to attack *Antigonus*, unexpectedly poured his troops into *Bithynia*, which then became the theatre of the war; but both armies having there lain some time in sight of each other, and neither daring to attack the other, the two kings come to an agreement, in consequence of which *Antigonus* having married *Phila* the daughter of *Stratonice* by *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* renounced his pretensions to the crown of *Macedon*. In virtue of this renunciation *Antigonus* not only quietly enjoyed himself the kingdom of *Macedon*, but transmitted it to his posterity, who reigned there for several generations, till at length *Perseus*, the last of that race, was, by *Paulus Æmilius*, divested of his dominions, and *Macedon* reduced to a *Roman* province [q].

Antiochus *resigns to* Antigonus *his pretensions to* Macedon

Antiochus, being thus freed from a threatening war, marched against the *Gauls*, who having, by the favour of *Nicomedes*, got settlements in *Asia*, harassed, with frequent incursions, the neighbouring princes. *Antiochus* defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered those provinces from their oppressions; and hence he acquired the title of *Soter* or *Saviour* [r].

Defeats the Gauls.

Antiochus, not long after this successful expedition against the *Gauls*, hearing of the death of *Philetærus* prince of *Pergamus*, laid hold of that opportunity to invade his territories, with a view to add them to his own dominions; but *Eumenes*, nephew and successor to the deceased prince, having raised a considerable army, encountered him near *Sardis*, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only secured himself in the possession of what he already enjoyed, but inlarged his dominions with several new acquisitions [s]. After this defeat, *Antiochus* returning to *Antioch*, there put to death one of his sons for raising disturbances in his absence, and at the same time proclaimed the other, called also *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*. He died soon after, leaving his son in the sole possession of all his dominions. This young prince was his son by *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius*, who, from his mother-in-law, became his wife, as we have related above.

Defeated by Eumenes *king of* Pergamus.

Antiochus Soter *dies.* *Year after the flood* 2738. *Before Christ* 261.

Antiochus, on his coming to the throne, assumed the surname of *Theos*, that is, *God*; and by this he is distinguished from the other kings of *Syria* who bore the name of *Antiochus*. The *Milesians* were the first who bestowed it upon him, for delivering them from the tyranny of *Timarchus*; for *Timarchus*, being governor of *Caria* for *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, rebelled against his sovereign, and, setting up for himself, chose *Miletus* for the seat of his tyranny. The *Milesians*, to deliver themselves from his oppressions, had recourse to *Antiochus*, who defeated and slew him; in acknowledgment of which favour, they rendered him divine honours, and by an impious flattery, conferred upon him the title of *Theos* or *God*. The *Lemnians* had not long before placed his father and grandfather in the number of their gods, and built temples to them, as the *Smyrnians* did to *Stratonice* his mother [t].

Antiochus Theos.

In the beginning of this king's reign lived *Berosus* the famous *Babylonian* historian, and dedicated his history to him (N). *Pliny* informs us, that it contained the astronomical

[q] Memnon. c. 19. Justin. l. xxv. c. 1. Plut. in Demet. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. p. 229. [r] Appian. in Syriac. p. 130. [s] Memnon. c. 21. Strabo. l. xiii. p. 624. Lucian. in Zeux. [t] Trog. in prologo. l. xxvi. Polyæn. Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. Appian. ubi supra. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. Athen. l. vi. c. 6.

(N) The words of *Tatian* are as follow: Berosus *the Babylonian, who was a priest of* Belus at Babylon, *and lived in the time of* Alexander, *dedicated to* Antiochus, *who was the third after him, his history, which*

nomical observations of four hundred and eighty years. While the *Macedonians* were masters of *Babylon*, he learned of them the *Greek* language, and passing from *Babylon* into *Greece*, first settled at *Cos*, a place famous for the birth of *Hippocrates*, and there opened a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From *Cos* he went to *Athens*, where he acquired such reputation by his astrological predictions, that the *Athenians* erected to him in their gymnasium a statue with a golden tongue [u]. *Josephus* and *Eusebius* have transmitted to us many noble fragments of this history, which illustrate several passages of the old testament, and, without which, it would be impossible to trace out the series of the *Babylonian* kings.

War between Antiochus Soter *and* Ptolemy Philadelphus *king of* Egypt.

IN the third year of the reign of *Antiochus Soter*, a bloody war, which was carried on for a long time with great vigor, broke out between him and *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, on the following occasion: *Magas* king of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, having waged war for many years with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his half-brother, to support himself in the usurpation of those dominions, and being now grown very old and infirm, caused overtures of an accommodation to be tendered to *Ptolemy*, with the proposal of a marriage between *Berenice* his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of *Egypt*, promising to resign all his dominions to her for her dowry. The proposal was approved of by *Ptolemy*, and a peace concluded on these terms; but *Magas* died the year following, before the execution of the treaty, after he had reigned fifty years over *Libya* and *Cyrene*, from the time that these provinces were first committed to his care. On his death his widow *Apame*, whom *Justin* calls *Arsinoe*, the sister of *Antiochus Theus*, resolved to put a stop to the marriage of her daughter with the son of *Ptolemy*, since it had been agreed on without her consent. With this view she sent into *Macedon* for *Demetrius*, half-brother to *Antigonus Gonatas*, promising him her daughter in marriage, and with her the kingdoms of *Libya* and *Cyrene*. This invitation soon brought *Demetrius* thither; but, as he was a beautiful young man, *Apame* no sooner saw him but she fell in love with him, and resolved to marry him herself. *Demetrius* finding himself highly favoured by the mother, intirely neglected the young princess, and imagining that her favour raised him above all controul, he began to treat the princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in a most insolent and imperious manner. Hereupon they all conspired against him, and *Berenice* herself led the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they slew him in her bed, though *Apame* did all she could to save him, and even covered him from the swords of the conspirators with her own body. Upon his death *Berenice* went into *Egypt*, where she was married, according to the former agreement, to the son of *Ptolemy*, and *Apame* was sent to her brother *Antiochus Theus* in *Syria* [w]. On her arrival at his court, she so exasperated him against *Ptolemy*, that he proclaimed war against him. This war was carried on for many years with great fury, and proved at last very fatal to *Antiochus*, as we shall see anon. *Ptolemy* did not head his army in person, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reason he left the whole conduct of the war to his generals; but *Antiochus*, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field, at the head of a numerous army, having under his standards all the forces of *Babylon*, and the east. History has not transmitted to us the successes of this war on either side, probably because they were not very considerable; for if any signal events had happened, they would, in all likelihood, have been recorded in an age, when so many learned men and able historians lived, who would not have failed to commit them to writing.

The Parthians *and* Bactrians *revolt from* Antiochus.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus engaged in a war with the king of *Egypt*, great commotions and revolts happened in the eastern provinces of his empire, which, as he was

Year of the flood 2699. *Before Christ* 300.

[u] PLIN. l. vii. c. 36 & 37. VITRUV. l. ix. c. 7. [w] JUSTIN. lib. xxvi. c. 3. ATHENÆUS ex Agatharcide l. xii. p. 550. PLUT. in Demet.

which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, *and the actions of their kings* (35). Now, the third after *Alexander* was, without all doubt, *Antiochus Theus*: for *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, *Antiochus Soter* the second, and consequently the prince we are speaking of the third; but as *Berosus*, according to *Tatian*, lived in the time of *Alexander*, who died sixty-four years before the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, we must place this dedication as early as possible, that is, in the very first year of his reign; for if *Berosus* was but twenty at the death of *Alexander*, he must have been eighty-four in the first year of *Antiochus Theus*.

(35) *Tatian. in Orat. adverf. Græcos.*

a was not at leiſure to ſuppreſs them immediately, grew to ſuch a head, that he could never afterwards maſter them. The lewdneſs of *Agathocles*, whom *Arrian* calls *Pheraules*, was the occaſion of this great event. *Antiochus* had committed to his care the adminiſtration of all the provinces beyond the *Euphrates*; ſo that *Parthia* and the adjacent countries were under his government. As *Agathocles* was moſt viciouſly given, he was charmed with the gracefulneſs and beauty of a youth called *Teridates* to ſuch a degree, that he made an attempt on his modeſty. Hereupon *Arſaces*, the brother of the youth, inraged at the affront offered to his family, ran to arms, and being ſupported by ſome friends who engaged in his quarrel, fell upon the governor, and ſlew him. After his death, *Arſaces* prevailed upon ſeveral of his countrymen to ſtand by him, and by degrees his party grew ſo numerous, while neglected b by *Antiochus*, that in the end he found himſelf ſtrong enough to drive out the *Macedonians*, and ſet up for himſelf, which he accordingly did, fixing his reſidence at *Hecatompolis*, and there giving riſe to the *Parthian* empire, which roſe in proceſs of time to ſo great a pitch of power, as to become formidable, not only to all the princes of the eaſt, but to the *Romans* themſelves. Much about the ſame time *Theodotus* revolted in *Bactria*, and, from governor, became king of that province, which, if we believe *Juſtin*, contained no fewer than a thouſand cities, and ſtrengthned himſelf ſo effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was taken up with the *Egyptian* war, that he could never afterwards be diſpoſſeſſed of his acquiſitions. His example, and that of *Arſaces*, were followed by all the nations in thoſe parts, each of c them ſhaking off at the ſame time the *Macedonian* yoke, and ſetting up princes of their own; by which means *Antiochus* loſt all the provinces of his empire lying beyond the *Euphrates*[w]. The revolt of the *Parthians* happened, according to *Juſtin*, while *L. Manlius Vulſo*, and *M. Attilius Regulus* were conſuls at *Rome*; which period, as *Polybius* obſerves, coincides with the fourteenth year of the firſt *Punic* war. This *Arſaces* is called by the modern *Perſian* writers *Aſki* and *Aſkam*. *Mircondus* gives him the name of *Chapur*, and ſays, that he began his reign ſeventy-two years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, which, according to the learned *Uſher*, is one year before the conſulſhip of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, and three years before the CXXXIIId olympiad, when, according to the calculation of *Euſebius*, *Arſaces* and his *Parthians* c revolted from *Antiochus*; but as they annually ſolemnized the day on which *Arſaces* engaged and defeated *Seleucus Callinicus*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Antiochus*, and looked upon it as the day that gave birth to their liberty, both *Juſtin* and *Appian* thought, that the *Parthians* firſt revolted under *Seleucus*, and not under *Antiochus* his father[x].

THESE troubles and commotions in the eaſt made *Antiochus* weary of his war with *Ptolemy*; a treaty of peace was therefore concluded on the following terms; That *Antiochus* ſhould divorce his former wife *Laodice*, who was his own ſiſter by the father, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and ſettle the crown upon the male iſſue of that marriage. *Antiochus*, purſuant to this treaty, put away *Laodice*, tho' c ſhe had already brought him two ſons; and *Ptolemy* carrying his daughter to *Peluſium*, there put her on board his fleet, and ſailed with her to *Seleucia*, a maritime city near the mouth of the *Orontes* in *Syria*, where he met *Antiochus*, delivered his daughter to him, and ſolemnized the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence. *Ptolemy*, as he had a tender affection for his daughter, gave, of his own accord, an immenſe ſum with her by way of dowry; whence he was ſurnamed *Phernopheros*, or the *Dowry-giver*[y]. Beſides, he ordered regular ſupplies of water from the *Nile* to be tranſmitted to her, where-ever ſhe was, believing it to be more beneficial to her health than any other[z].

Antiochus *concludes a peace with* Ptolemy.

Two years after this marriage *Ptolemy Philadelphus* died, which *Antiochus Theus* f his ſon-in-law no ſooner heard, than he removed *Berenice* from his bed, and recalled *Laodice*, with her children *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*; but *Laodice* being well acquainted with his fickle temper, and fearing leſt he might again alter his mind, and receive *Berenice*, reſolved to improve the preſent opportunity, and ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon; for by the late treaty with *Ptolemy*, her children were diſinherited, and the crown ſettled on the children which *Berenice* ſhould bear, and ſhe had then a ſon. For the effecting of this deſign, ſhe cauſed *Antiochus* to be poiſoned, and when

Antiochus Theus *poiſoned by his wife* Laodice.

[w] ARRIAN. in Parthicis apud Phot. cod. 58. SYNCEL. p. 284. JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4. Strabo. l. xi. p. 515. Daniel. c. 11.

[x] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 130.

[y] Vide HIERONYM. in

[z] ATHENEUS l. ii. c. 2.

when she saw him expiring, she ordered him to be privately conveyed away, and one *Artemon*, who greatly resembled him, as well in features as in the tone of his voice, to be placed in his bed. *Artemon* acted his part with great dexterity, and personating *Antiochus*, tenderly recommended his dear *Laodice* and her children to the lords that visited him. In the name of *Antiochus*, whom the people believed still alive, orders were issued, enjoyning all his subjects to obey his beloved son *Seleucus Callinicus*, and acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign. The crown being by this means secured to *Callinicus*, the death of the king was publicly declared, and *Callinicus*, without any opposition, ascended the throne [a]. *Antiochus Hierax*, the other son of *Laodice*, had at this time the government of the provinces of *Asia Minor*, where he commanded a considerable body of troops.

Seleucus Callinicus *ascends the throne.*

Laodice not thinking herself safe so long as *Berenice* and her son were alive, concerted measures with *Seleucus* to destroy them likewise; but *Berenice* being informed of their design, eluded the danger for some time, by retiring with her son to *Daphne*, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by *Seleucus Nicator*. There she was closely besieged by the forces of *Seleucus*; which the cities of *Asia* hearing, and pitying her condition, they formed a confederacy, and sent a strong body of troops to *Antioch* for her relief. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, her brother, hastened thither likewise at the head of a formidable army; but both *Berenice* and her son, with all the *Egyptians* who attended them, were barbarously cut off before either of the armies came to their rescue (O). When they saw all their endeavours for saving the queen and her child

Berenice *with her son murdered by* Laodice.

[a] HIERONYM. ubi supra. PLIN. l. vii. c. 12. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 14. SOLINUS c. 1. APPIAN in Syriac. p. 130. JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 1. POLYB. l. ii. p. 155.

(O) The particulars of the marriage of *Antiochus* with the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and the fatal consequences that attended it, with the greatest events in the history we are now writing, were evidently foretold by the prophet *Daniel*. The words of the prophecy are (36); *And now I will shew thee the truth; Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in* Persia, *viz.* Cyrus, who was then upon the throne; his son *Gambyses*, and *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; *and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of* Greece. The monarch here mentioned was *Xerxes*, who invaded *Greece* with a formidable army. *And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up even for others besides those.* This part of the prophecy evidently alludes to *Alexander the Great*, whose vast kingdom we have already seen broken by his death, and parcelled out into four great kingdoms, and, besides these, divided into a great many petty kingdoms, namely, *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, *Bithynia*, &c. The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage, which we have mentioned. *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.* We must observe, that *Daniel*, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, these being the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God. *The king of the south shall be strong.* This *king of the south* was *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, the first who reigned in *Egypt* after *Alexander*; and that he was strong all historians testify; for he was master of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, *Cœle-Syria*, and most of the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, together with the island of *Cyprus*, with several isles in the *Ægean* sea; and even possessed the cities of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in *Greece*. The *king of the north* was *Seleucus Nicator*, of whom the prophet says, that he shall be more powerful than the king of the south, and his dominion more extensive; for such is the import of the prophet's expression, *and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion*; and that he had a more extensive dominion is plain from the large territories he possessed; for he had under him all the countries of the east, from mount *Taurus* to the river *Indus*, several provinces of *Asia Minor* between mount *Taurus* and the *Ægean* sea, and a little before his death the kingdoms of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The prophet, in the next place, tells us of the coming of the daughter of the king of the south, and the agreement, or treaty of peace, which should thereon be made between these two kings. This plainly points out the marriage of *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, and the peace, which, in consequence of that marriage, was made between them; every particular of which was exactly fulfilled, according to the holy prophet's prediction. *Daniel* afterwards informs us of the fatal consequences attending this marriage; that is, that *neither he*, viz. *Antiochus* king of the north, *nor she*, that is, *Berenice* daughter of *Ptolemy* king of the south, *should continue in their power, but that he*, viz. king *Antiochus*, *should fall*, and *that she*, viz. *Berenice*, being deprived of *him that strengthened her*, that is, of her father, who died a little before, *should be given up with those that brought her*, that is, who came with her out of *Egypt*, to be cut off and destroyed; and so it happened to her and her attendants who came with her out of *Egypt*, as we have related. The king of *Egypt* is called by the prophet king of the south, and the king of *Syria* stiled king of the north, which must be understood with respect to *Judæa*, that country having *Syria* to the north, and *Egypt* to the south.

(36) *Dan.* c. xi. *ver.* 2, 3, 4, &c.

a child rendered ineffectual, they determined to revenge their death in a remarkable manner. The *Aſian* forces joined the *Egyptian*, and *Ptolemy*, at the head of both, carried all before him; for he not only ſlew *Laodice*, but made himſelf maſter of all *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and then paſſing the *Euphrates*, ſubdued all the country as far as *Babylon* and the river *Tigris*; and if the progreſs of his arms had not been interrupted by a ſedition, which obliged him to return to *Egypt*, he would have brought under ſubjection all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. On his return, he appointed *Antiochus*, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had reduced on this ſide mount *Taurus*, and *Xantippus* to command in thoſe he had poſſeſſed himſelf of beyond it [b]. He returned loaded with an immenſe booty; for he is ſaid to have b brought from *Syria* forty thouſand talents of ſilver, with a prodigious number of gold and ſilver veſſels, and two thouſand five hundred ſtatues, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which *Cambyſes*, on his conquering *Egypt*, had carried from thence into *Perſia*. Theſe *Ptolemy*, on his return from this expedition, replaced in their ancient temples, and thereby gained the hearts of his ſuperſtitious ſubjects, who, in acknowledgment of ſo great a favour, honoured him with the title of *Euergetes*, or *Benefactor* (P).

Her death revenged by Ptolemy Euergates *her brother.*

Seleucus Callinicus, who had ſucceeded his father *Antiochus Theus* after a reign of fifteen years, no ſooner heard that *Ptolemy* was returned to *Egypt*, but he ſet ſail with a mighty fleet, which he had fitted out at a vaſt charge, to reduce the revolted c cities; but he had ſcarce advanced into the open ſea, when his whole navy was deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm, as if the gods, ſays *Juſtin* [c], had made the winds and waves the miniſters of their vengeance. *Seleucus* himſelf, with a ſmall number of his attendants, was, with the utmoſt difficulty, ſaved; but all the reſt periſhed in the wreck; but this dreadful ſtroke, which ſeemed intended to overwhelm him, by a ſtrange turn of fortune, contributed to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs; for the revolted cities of *Aſia*, which, out of the averſion and horror they had conceived againſt him on account of the murder of *Berenice* and her ſon, had declared for *Ptolemy*, no ſooner received intelligence of the great loſs he had ſuſtained, than they turned their hatred into compaſſion, and thinking that crime ſufficiently revenged, d ſubmitted to him anew [d]. Being again reſtored, by this unexpected revolution, to the beſt part of his dominions, he raiſed a great army to recover the reſt; but this effort proved as unſucceſsful as the former; his army was defeated by *Ptolemy*, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by flight to *Antioch*, with as few of his followers as when he eſcaped from the ſhipwreck, as if he had recovered his former power, ſays *Juſtin*, only to loſe it a ſecond time by a fatal viciſſitude of fortune. In this condition he invited his brother *Antiochus* to join him with his forces, promiſing him all the provinces of the *Leſſer Aſia* that belonged to the *Syrian* empire, provided he found means to extricate him out of his preſent difficulties. *Antiochus* was then at the head of an army in thoſe provinces, and being of an aſpiring genius, and very am- e bitious, tho' then only fourteen years old, he readily accepted the propoſal, and accordingly reinforced his army with great numbers of mercenary *Gauls*, not with a deſign to aſſiſt his brother in the recovery of his dominions, but to ſeize them for himſelf; for he was of a very greedy and rapacious temper, wreſting from others whatever came in his way, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or equity, and thinking every

[b] Justin. Appian. Hieronym. ubi ſupra. Polyb. l. v. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 50. [c] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. [d] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

(P) All this was likewiſe accompliſhed exactly, as the prophet *Daniel* had foretold it (37); for in that prophecy he tells us, That after the daughter of the king of the ſouth ſhould, with her attendants, be cut off, and he that ſtrengthened her in thoſe times, (that is, her father, who was her chief ſupport) ſhould be dead, *there ſhould one ariſe out of a branch of her roots in his eſtate*, that is, *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who ſpringing from the ſame root with her, as being her brother, did ſtand up in the room or eſtate of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his father, whom he ſucceeded in his kingdom. And *he ſhall come with an army*, continues the prophet, *and ſhall enter into the fortreſs of the king of the north*, (who was *Seleucus Callinicus*) *and ſhall deal againſt them, and ſhall prevail; and ſhall alſo carry captives into* Egypt *their gods, with their princes, and with their precious veſſels of ſilver and of gold; and he ſhall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the ſouth ſhall come into his kingdom, and ſhall return into his own land.* How exactly all this was fulfilled, what we have related above ſufficiently ſhews. As to the laſt part, *viz.* that the king of the ſouth, on his return into his kingdom, ſhould continue more years than the king of the north, this likewiſe happened as foretold by the prophet; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* outlived *Seleucus Callinicus* four years.

(37) *Dan.* c. xi. *ver.* 7—9.

every thing good prey which he could lay his hands on; whence he had the surname of *Hierax*, that is, the *Hawk*. At the same time the cities of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* in *Asia Minor*, out of affection to *Seleucus*, formed a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him to the utmost of their power. This treaty they caused to be engraved on a large column of marble, which is still to be seen in *Oxford*, with the said league in *Greek* capitals very legible (Q). When *Ptolemy* heard that *Antiochus* was preparing to join *Seleucus* against him, not caring to engage both these princes at the same time, he came to an agreement with *Seleucus*, and concluded a truce with him for ten years [e].

After having sustained several great losses, makes a truce with Ptolemy.

BUT notwithstanding this truce, *Antiochus* continued his military preparations, which *Seleucus* now plainly seeing to be made against himself, marched, without delay, over mount *Taurus* to suppress them. The pretence for the war on the side of *Antiochus*, was the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces in *Asia Minor*, as a reward for assisting his brother against *Ptolemy*; but *Seleucus* being delivered from the war without the aid of his brother, did not think himself obliged to any thing by that promise; but *Antiochus* persisting in his demand, and *Seleucus* refusing to comply with it, the controversy was brought to the decision of a battle, which was fought near *Ancyra* in *Asia Minor*. In this battle *Seleucus* was intirely defeated, and most of his troops cut in pieces, he having very narrowly escaped falling into the enemies hands. *Antiochus* likewise was exposed to great dangers, even after his victory; for as the troops, to whose valour the victory was chiefly owing, was a body of *Gauls*, which he had taken into his pay, these barbarians, on a false report that *Seleucus* was slain in the action, plotted the death of the other brother also, not doubting but in case both were cut off, they should easily make themselves masters of all *Asia*; *Antiochus* therefore was obliged to redeem his life with all the treasures he possessed [f].

Defeated by his brother Antiochus.

Eumenes *and* Attalus *seize great part of* Asia Minor.

Eumenes, king or prince of *Pergamus*, taking advantage of these divisions, advanced with all his forces against *Antiochus*, and the *Gauls*, in hopes of crushing them both at once. The imminent danger which *Antiochus* saw himself exposed to on this occasion, obliged him to make a new treaty with the *Gauls*, in which it was stipulated, that he should renounce the title of their sovereign, and content himself with that of their ally, entering into an offensive and defensive league with them. This treaty however did not prevent *Eumenes* from falling upon them; and as he attacked them before they had time to reinforce themselves with new levies after the loss they had sustained in the battle of *Ancyra*, he gained a complete victory over them, which cost him but little, and laid all *Asia Minor* open to him. *Attalus*, who succeeded *Eumenes* in the sovereignty of *Pergamus*, improving the advantages gained by him over the *Gauls*, intirely subdued that people, and being by that means firmly established in his dominions, took upon him the title of king, which his predecessors had declined, tho' vested with sovereign power [g].

WHILE *Eumenes*, and after him *Attalus*, were thus curtailing the *Syrian* empire in the west, *Theodotus* and *Arsaces* were doing the same in the east; for it being reported that *Seleucus* had been slain in the battle of *Ancyra*, *Arsaces* laying hold of this opportunity, possessed himself of *Hyrcania*, and annexed it to *Parthia*, which he had already dismembered from that empire, causing himself to be acknowledged king of both countries. *Theodotus*, who had possessed himself of *Bactria*, dying soon after, *Arsaces* entered into an alliance with his son bearing the same name for their mutual defence; by which means they supported each other in the possession of the dominions they had usurped. In the mean time the two brothers, *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*, pursued the war against each other with implacable hatred, not considering, that, while they were thus contending for their father's empire, it would be wrested from them both by their common enemy. This war was at length carried into *Mesopotamia* [h], at the time when, in all likelihood, happened the battle in *Babylonia*, or the province of *Babylon*, which was a part of *Mesopotamia*, mentioned by *Judas Maccabæus*

Antiochus *and* Seleucus *continue on the war.*

[e] JUSTIN. ubi supra. [f] TROGUS in prologo 27. STRABO. l. xvi. p. 750. POLYÆN. l. viii. c. 61. [g] JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 3. LIV. l. xxxiii. STRABO. l. xiii. p. 624. VALESII excerpt. ex Polyb. POLYÆN. l. iv. c 19. [h] TROGUS in prologo 27. POLYÆN. l. iv. STRATAGEM. c. 17

(Q) This column was brought out of *Asia* by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, at the beginning of the reign of *Charles* the first, and presented, with other marbles, to the university of *Oxford*, by his grandson *Henry* duke of *Norfolk*, in the reign of *Charles* the second.

erax in his speech to his army [i]. In this battle eight thousand *Babylonish Jews* joined with four thousand *Macedonians*, defeated the *Galatians*, and put to the sword an hundred and twenty thousand of their men. The *Galatians* indeed were joined in confederacy with *Antiochus Hierax*, as we have related above, and at this time came into *Asia* in such swarms as to fill the whole country, serving under such princes as thought fit to hire them. However, it is somewhat strange, that such a signal victory should not be mentioned by any one of the eminent writers who flourished under the kings of *Syria*, and transmitted their actions to posterity; but be that as it will, *Seleucus* at length prevailed over his brother *Antiochus*, who, after several overthrows and losses, was obliged to shift from place to place with the shattered remains of his army, till he was at last driven quite out of *Mesopotamia*. As he found no place within the *Syrian* empire where he thought himself safe, he retired to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, whose daughter he had married; but that prince, notwithstanding this alliance, growing soon weary of entertaining a guest who could bring him no advantage, and was very chargeable to him, ordered him to be cut off; but *Antiochus*, being informed of his design, escaped the danger by a speedy retreat into *Egypt*, chusing rather to put himself into the hands of *Ptolemy*, a professed enemy to his family, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He had soon reason to repent of this resolution; for, immediately after his arrival, *Ptolemy* caused him to be seized, and kept him closely confined for several years, till at last, by the assistance of a courtesan, he made his escape; but, as he was retiring out of that kingdom, he had the misfortune to fall in with a band of robbers, by whom he was murdered [k]. *Death of* Antiochus.

Seleucus, being now extricated out of the troubles his brother had created him, applied himself first to the establishing of good order and tranquillity at home; and having repaired the disorders occasioned by the war, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the eastern provinces which had revolted from him; but in this attempt he was attended with bad success. *Arsaces*, having been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpations, obliged him to return with shame and dishonour. He might perhaps have succeeded better, if he had made a longer stay in those parts; but new commotions arising at home in his absence, he thought it advisable to make a speedy return to suppress them. *Arsaces* did not fail to improve this farther respite to his advantage, establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts of the *Syrian* kings could never shake it [l].

HOWEVER, *Seleucus*, as soon as he was at leisure from his other affairs, undertook a second expedition against the usurper, which proved more unsuccessful than the former; for he was not only overthrown by *Arsaces* in a great battle, but taken prisoner. The day on which *Arsaces* gained this victory was, for many succeeding ages, observed annually by the *Parthians* with great solemnity, as being, in their opinion, the first day of their liberty; whereas it was in reality the first of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than the *Parthian* kings, under whose despotical government they thenceforth continued. From this time *Arsaces* took upon him the title of king, having founded, and by this victory firmly established, an empire in the east, which, in process of time, counterbalanced the overgrown power of the *Romans* in the west [m]. *Seleucus* having, for the space of four years, continued prisoner in *Parthia*, died in that country, by a fall from his horse. *Athenæus* tells us, that *Arsaces* treated him during his confinement as a king [n]; but that he restored him to his liberty and kingdom, as some will have it, does not appear from ancient records. *Justin* says in express words, that he died in the manner we have related, being then an exile, which cannot be otherwise understood than that he died out of his own dominions, being held in captivity by the *Parthian* king. He died, according to some, in the twentieth, according to others, in the twenty-first year of his reign, leaving behind him by his wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus* one of his chief generals, two sons and a daughter. The sons were *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. The daughter he married to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, yielding *Phrygia* to him for her dowry [o]. He was surnamed *Pogon* from his long beard, and ironically *Callinicus*, or *the victorious*, being very unfortunate, and generally conquered in the battle he fought; however, some writers tell us, that the surname of *Callinicus* was given him after the victory which he gained over his brother *Antiochus*. Seleucus *defeated, and taken prisoner by* Arsaces. *Dies in captivity.* *Year after the flood* 2772 *Year before Christ* 227.

Seleucus

[h] MACCAB. xviii. 20. [i] JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 2. [k] JUSTIN, POLYÆN. ibid. [l] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4. [m] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5. ATHEN. l. iv. c. 13. [n] ATHEN. l. iv. c. 13. [o] JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 3.

Seleucus, the eldeſt of the two ſons, ſucceeded to his father's throne, and aſſumed the ſurname of *Ceraunus*, or *the Thunderer*, a name which no-ways ſuited his character; for he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind, and never did any thing worthy of that name. He reigned but three years, and, during that time, had no great authority either in the army or the provinces; nay, he would have loſt it intirely, had not *Achæus*, the ſon of *Andromachus* his mother's brother, who was a man of great courage and abilities, managed his affairs, as well as the bad ſtate which his father's ill conduct had brought them into would admit. As for *Andromachus*, he was taken priſoner by *Ptolemy* in his wars with *Callinicus*, and kept in *Alexandria* all this reign, and ſome part of the next, till the *Rhodians*, to ingratiate themſelves with *Achæus*, obtained his liberty. *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* having made himſelf maſter of all *Aſia Minor*, from mount *Taurus* to the *Helleſpont*, *Seleucus* marched againſt him, leaving *Hermias* a *Carian* regent of *Syria* in his abſence. *Achæus* attended him in this expedition, and ſerved him in it as well as the ſhattered ſtate of his affairs would allow; but money being wanting to pay the army, and the king, on account of his weakneſs, deſpiſed by the ſoldiery, *Nicator* and *Apaturius*, two of the chief officers, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and, by poiſon, put an end to his life; but *Achæus*, who was then in the army, revenged his death, by cutting off the two ringleaders, and all thoſe who were any ways concerned in the plot. After this he managed the army with ſuch prudence, addreſs, and reſolution, that he not only kept all in order, but alſo prevented *Attalus* from reaping any advantage from this accident, which, had it not been for his prudent conduct, would have been attended with the loſs of *Syria*. *Seleucus* dying without children, the army offered the crown to *Achæus*; and ſeveral of the provinces did the ſame: But he then generouſly refuſed it, tho' he afterwards judged it neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to act in a different manner. In the preſent conjuncture, inſtead of accepting the crown, he preſerved it with great integrity for the lawful heir, *Antiochus*, the brother of the deceaſed king, who was but in the fifteenth year of his age. When *Seleucus* ſet out for *Aſia Minor*, he ſent him to *Babylonia* to be educated there; and in that city he was when his brother died. He now was ſent for to *Antioch*, where he aſcended the throne after his brother, and reigned thirty-ſix years. This prince was afterwards, for his illuſtrious actions, ſurnamed *the Great*. *Achæus*, the better to ſecure him in the poſſeſſion of the empire, ſent a detachment of the army to him in *Syria*, under the command of *Epigenes*, one of the late king's moſt experienced generals. The reſt of the army he kept with him in *Aſia Minor*, to ſupport the *Syrian* intereſt in thoſe parts [p].

Seleucus Ceraunus *poiſoned.*

Antiochus the Great *aſcends the throne of* Syria. *Year of the flood* 2775. *Before Chriſt* 224.

Antiochus, ſeeing himſelf ſeated on the throne, ſent *Molo* and *Alexander*, two brothers, into the eaſt, appointing the former governor of *Media*, and the latter of *Perſia*. All the provinces of *Aſia Minor* he committed to the charge of *Achæus*. *Epigenes* had the command of the troops which the king kept about him; and *Hermias* the *Carian* was declared prime miniſter, which ſtation he had held under the deceaſed king. *Achæus* ſoon recovered all the countries which *Attalus* had wreſted from the *Syrian* empire, and confined him within the limits of his own kingdom of *Pergamus*; but *Alexander* and *Molo*, deſpiſing the young king, were no ſooner fixed in their governments, but they refuſed to acknowledge his authority, and ſet up for themſelves in their reſpective diſtricts. They hoped that *Achæus* would join them; but, above all things, apprehended the cruelty and malice of *Hermias*, who bore a great ſway at court, and therefore choſe rather to withdraw their obedience to the king than obey ſo wicked a miniſter, againſt whoſe malice no man was ſafe. This *Hermias* was of a moſt ſavage diſpoſition, puniſhed the leaſt faults with the utmoſt rigor, and, being himſelf a man of little genius and no merit, could not endure either merit or abilities in others. He was haughty, envious, full of himſelf, and ſo tenacious of his own opinion, that he thought it highly diſhonourable either to aſk or follow the advice of another. He ſuſpected all thoſe who had any truſt, or ſhare in the king's eſteem; but the chief object of his jealouſy and ſuſpicion was *Epigenes*, who had the reputation of being one of the ableſt generals of his time and in whom the troops repoſed an intire confidence. It was this reputation that gave the prime miniſter umbrage, and he could not conceal the ill-will he bore him. News being brought of the revolt of *Molo* and *Alexander*, *Antiochus* aſſembled his council to deliberate on proper

Alexander *and* Molo, *two of his generals, revolt.*

[p] Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. Appian in Syriac. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11. Justin. l. xxix. c. 1.

a proper meaſures in ſo delicate a conjuncture; for he had great reaſon to apprehend a general revolt of the provinces. Every one being deſired to deliver his opinion freely, *Epigenes* ſpoke firſt, and declared, That they had no time to loſe; that it was abſolutely neceſſary the king ſhould, without delay, march in perſon againſt the rebels; that his authority on the ſpot would be of great weight; and that *Molo* and his followers would not have the aſſurance to perſiſt in their rebellion, ſeeing the king himſelf at the head of his army; or, ſhould they continue obſtinate, the ſoldiers themſelves would mutiny, return to their duty, and deliver up their leaders to the king. *Epigenes* had hardly delivered his opinion, when *Hermias*, in a violent paſſion, replied, That this was not the firſt treacherous advice he had given; that he b had long harboured evil deſigns againſt the king; that, however, he was now pleaſed to hear him openly declaring his bad intentions in the pernicious counſel he had given, wherein he plainly ſhewed his deſign of betraying the king into the hands of the rebels. He ſaid no more then on that ſubject, being content to have thus ſown the the ſeeds of ſuſpicion againſt him. The real motive of his oppoſing the opinion of *Epigenes* was, his being afraid to venture upon that expedition. As *Ptolemy Philopator*, who had ſucceeded his father *Ptolemy Euergetes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, was a moſt vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much leſs formidable enemy, and therefore adviſed the king to march in perſon againſt him, and attempt the recovery of *Syria*. He thought there would be no danger in invading a prince, who was wholly c immerſed in pleaſures of all kinds. The opinion of *Hermias* prevailing, *Antiochus* marched in perſon into *Cœle-Syria* with one part of his army, and ſent *Zeno* and *Theodotus*, two of his generals, with the other, to ſuppreſs the rebellion in the eaſt [q]. Being arrived, on his march towards *Cœle-Syria*, at *Seleucia* near *Zeugma*, he there found *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who had been ſome time betrothed to him. He made ſome ſtay there to ſolemnize the nuptials; but the joy of his marriage was ſoon interrupted with bad news from the eaſt; for his generals there, being overpowered by the joint forces of *Molo* and *Alexander*, had been forced to retire, and leave them maſters of the field. *Antiochus* then ſaw the error he had committed in not following the advice of *Epigenes*, and was for laying aſide his expe- d dition into *Cœle-Syria*, in order to march directly with all his forces into the eaſt, and there cruſh the rebellion before it gathered greater ſtrength; but *Hermias* perſiſting in his former opinion, and telling the king, that it became kings to march in perſon againſt kings, and to ſend their lieutenants againſt rebels, *Antiochus* was ſo weak as to acquieſce again in the opinion of *Hermias*, and, ſending another army into the eaſt, to proceed in his intended expedition into *Cœle-Syria*. The general who commanded this army was one *Xenætas* an *Achæan*. His commiſſion was to join the forces which were there before under the two generals, and take upon him the command of the whole army. He had never before commanded in chief, and his only merit was his being the prime miniſter's friend and creature. Being thus raiſed to a poſt which he e never expected, he behaved with great haughtineſs towards the other officers, and, by his inſolent behaviour, incurred the hatred of the ſoldiery. The ſucceſs was ſuch as might be expected from ſo bad a choice; in croſſing the *Tigris* he fell into an ambuſcade, and was cut off with his whole army. This victory opened to the rebels the province of *Babylonia* and all *Meſopotamia*, of which they made themſelves maſters without the leaſt oppoſition [r].

The rebels defeat the troops ſent againſt them.

In the mean time *Antiochus* having advanced into *Cœle-Syria* as far as the valley which lies between the two ridges of mountains called *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, found the paſſes there ſo well fortified and guarded by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had intruſted with the government of this province, that he was obliged to f march back, without attempting to make any farther progreſs that way. The bad news, which he had by this time received, of the defeat of his troops alſo haſtened his retreat; being therefore now reſolved to lay aſide the *Syrian* enterprize, he turned his thoughts wholly on the war with the rebels; wherefore aſſembling his council once more to deliberate about it, and requiring every one to deliver their real opinion, *Epigenes* again ſpoke the firſt, ſaying, That it had been well for the king's ſervice if they had followed his firſt advice without any delay or loſs of time; for, in that caſe, the enemy would not have had time to ſtrengthen himſelf in the pro-

Antiochus *diſappointed in his attempt upon* Cœle-Syria.

[q] Polyb. l. v. p. 387, 388, 389. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. [r] Polyb. ubi ſupra. p. 390, 391, 392, 393, &c.

provinces which he had uſurped; that he was ſtill of the ſame opinion, *viz.* that the king ſhould deſiſt from any other enterprize, and march without delay in perſon againſt the rebels. *Hermias* fancying himſelf affronted by the ſpeech of *Epigenes*, began to exclaim againſt him, and renew the ancient charge, as if he deſigned to deliver up the king to the rebels. He conjured the prince not to quit the enterprize of *Cœle-Syria*, ſince the abandoning of it would be aſcribed to fickleneſs and inconſtancy, a character which no-ways ſuited a prince of his wiſdom and knowledge; but notwithſtanding all he could ſay, the advice of *Epigenes* prevailing in the council, the king reſolved to put off his march into *Syria*, and head his army in perſon againſt his rebellious ſubjects. *Hermias*, finding that all oppoſition would be vain, became all on a ſudden quite another man, ſeeming the moſt ſanguine of them all in haſtening the execution of what he had hitherto oppoſed with incredible warmth. Accordingly the troops were, with the utmoſt expedition, aſſembled at *Apamea*; but, before they began their march, a ſedition broke out in the army about the ſoldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmoſt conſternation, and filled him with the deepeſt melancholy; which *Hermias* perceiving, offered to ſatisfy the army out of his private fortune, provided he would not take *Epigenes* with him in this expedition, pretending, that the quarrel which had happened between them would be the occaſion of new diſputes, and greatly hinder him in the management of his affairs. His view in this was to leſſen, by abſence, the eſteem and affection which *Antiochus* had ſhewn on all occaſions for *Epigenes*, men being apt to forget, and eſpecially princes, the ſervices of ſuch as are removed out of their ſight. This propoſal gave the king great uneaſineſs, he being very ſenſible how much he wanted the preſence of ſuch a general as *Epigenes*, who was not only an experienced commander, but an able counſellor; but as *Hermias* had a great aſcendant over him, and had likewiſe gained thoſe about him, he was not maſter of his own reſolutions: Wherefore yielding to the preſent neceſſity, he complied with the requeſt of *Hermias*, and ordered *Epigenes* to remain at *Apamea*. This incident alarmed the other officers, who were apprehenſive of meeting with the ſame fate; but the common ſoldiers having received all their arrears, expreſſed great obligations to *Hermias*, by whoſe means they had been ſatisfied [s].

Reſolves to march in perſon againſt the rebels.

Hermias having thus gained the good-will of the ſoldiery, ſet out with *Antiochus* and the army, after having charged *Alexis* governor of the citadel of *Apamea*, a man intirely at his devotion, to deſtroy, under ſome plauſible pretence, *Epigenes* during the king's abſence. *Alexis*, purſuant to his orders, having, by the promiſe of a great reward, bribed one of the domeſtics of *Epigenes*, gave him a letter, with orders to lay it among his maſter's papers. This was a forged letter from *Molo*, wherein he thanked *Epigenes* for forming a conſpiracy againſt the king, and pointed out to him by what methods he might ſafely put it in execution. Some days after *Alexis* went to *Epigenes*, and aſked him, whether he had not received a letter from *Molo*. *Epigenes* replied with the greateſt indignation, that he had no intercourſe with rebels; but *Alexis* acquainting him that he had orders to look into his papers, entered his lodgings by force, and a ſearch being made, the forged letter was found; whereupon *Epigenes*, without being tried, or even heard, was immediately put to death. The king, at the bare ſight of the letter, approved of his death, and greatly commended the zeal of *Alexis*; but the great men of the court underſtood the whole matter, tho' none of them dared to undeceive their maſter, being awed into ſilence by the great power of the miniſter [t].

Epigenes *treacherouſly murdered.*

In the mean time, *Antiochus* arriving with his army at the *Euphrates*, joined the troops he found there, and purſuing his march, came to *Antioch* in *Mygdonia* (R), where

[s] Polyb. ubi ſupra. [t] Polyb. l. v. 393, 394.

(R) *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* ſtood in the north part of *Meſopotamia*. St. *Jerom* carries the antiquity of it as high as *Nimrod*. It was as conſiderable for the number of its inhabitants as its great extent. The *Syro-Macedonians*, when they became maſters of *Meſopotamia*, gave this city the name of *Antioch* in *Mygdonia*, to diſtinguiſh it from the capital of *Syria*. Before that time it was called *Nifibis*, or, as we find it wrote on ſome ancient medals, *Nefibe*. It ſerved as a barrier againſt the incurſions of the *Parthians* and *Perſians* down to the time of the emperor *Julian*, who, by a ſhameful treaty, gave it up to the latter. Some modern writers, by miſtake, place it on the *Tigris*; but it is plain, both from *Polybius* and the emperor *Julian*'s firſt oration, that it ſtood on the river *Mygdonius*, which ſprings from mount *Maſius* between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and running from north to ſouth, diſcharges itſelf into the latter of theſe rivers. The *Mygdonius* divides *Mygdonia*, which is a ſmall province of *Meſopotamia*, into two unequal parts. *Pliny* is of opinion, that this country was originally peopled by a colony

a where, as the year was now far ſpent, he put his troops into winter quarters, propoſing to open the campaign very early next ſpring. As ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, having aſſembled his troops, he advanced to *Liba* (S), and there ſummoned a council to deliberate with his officers what courſe was beſt to take to find out *Molo*, and by what means they might ſupply the army with proviſions in their march, *Molo* being maſter of all the country about *Babylonia*. *Hermias* propoſed to keep along the *Tigris*, by which means, ſaid he, we ſhall have the benefit of that and two other rivers, the *Lycus* and the *Capros* (T), to cover our camp. Such danger there was in following this advice, that *Zeuxes*, though he had the fate of *Epigenes* before his eyes, could not help oppoſing it, and ſhewing the great difficul-
b ties they ſhould meet with in holding their march along the river. He urged ſeveral reaſons, chiefly, that after a long and tedious march through a continued deſart, they ſhould come to a place called the *King's ditch*, which, if it ſhould happen to be poſſeſſed by the enemy, would put a ſtop to their further progreſs, and oblige them to return by the ſame deſart, where they ſhould be in great want of all things. On the other hand, he made it appear, that in caſe they paſſed the *Tigris*, they ſhould be well ſupplied with proviſions; and beſides, that it was more than probable, that thoſe of the country of *Apollonia* would return to their duty, ſince it was very plain, that out of neceſſity, and not by inclination, they had declared for *Molo*. He added, that when *Molo* ſhould ſee his paſſage back into *Media* cut off, and find himſelf
c ſtraitened for want of proviſions, he would be conſtrained, either to venture a battle, or to ſee himſelf abandoned by his troops [u]. The advice of *Zeuxes* was approved of; and accordingly the army being divided into three bodies, paſſed the *Tigris* in three different places, and purſued their march to *Dura* (U), which was at that time beſieged by one of *Molo*'s officers, who, on their approach, raiſed the ſiege, and retired. From *Dura* they advanced to *Oricum*, and from thence to *Apollonia*. *Molo* being informed of the king's arrival, marched with all poſſible expedition to the mountains of *Apollonia*; but, before he reached them, was overtaken by the king, who encamped over-againſt him. *Molo* apprehending it dangerous for rebels to march againſt their prince in broad day, and give him battle, reſolved to fall on
d *Antiochus* in the night, and accordingly putting himſelf at the head of a body of choſen troops, he marched, by private ways, towards the neighbouring mountains, with a deſign to fall on the enemy's camp from thoſe eminencies; but his ſoldiers deſerting in troops to the king, he thought it adviſeable to return by break of day to his camp. In the mean time the king being reſolved to venture an engagement, drew out his forces, and advanced in battalia to the enemy's trenches. *Molo* likewiſe, at the approach of the king, marched out in good order to meet him. Both armies engaged with the utmoſt fury; but a body of choſen men, which *Molo* had placed on his left to make head againſt the king, going over to him, that wing was ſoon put in diſorder, and obliged to retire. Hereupon *Molo*, after having attempted
e ſeveral times, in vain, to lead them back to the charge, was obliged to retire with them; but being cloſely purſued by the king, and fearing to fall alive into his hands, out of deſpair killed himſelf, as did many of his accomplices; ſo that the king gained a complete victory without any conſiderable loſs. *Neolaus* or *Nicolas*, the brother of *Molo*, eſcaping from the battle, fled to *Alexander*, another of their brothers, who was then in *Perſia*, and carried him the bad news of the death and defeat of their brother. Theſe two finding their affairs quite deſperate, firſt killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and laſtly diſpatched themſelves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. After the king had pillaged the camp, he

Molo being overcome, lays violent hands on himſelf.

[u] Idem, ibid. p. 395.

of the *Mygdonians* in *Macedon*. *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* ſtill retains its moſt antient name, being called by the people of the eaſt *Naſſibin*, which is plainly a corruption of *Naſibis*.

(S) *Liba* was a chief city of *Carmania*, a province lying beyond *Perſia*, and bounded by *Parthia* on the north, by *Gedroſia* on the eaſt, and by the *Perſian* and *Indian* ſeas on the ſouth. The city of *Liba* ſtood near the confines of *Gedroſia*.

(38) *Strabo. l.* xii. *in fine.*

(T) The *Lycus* and *Capros* were two rivers of *Aſſyria*, properly ſo called, running between the cities of *Ninus* and *Seleucia*, and diſcharging themſelves into the *Tigris*. They were ſo called by the *Greeks*, as *Strabo* (38) and *Pliny* (39) informs us, from two rivers of the ſame name in *Phrygia*.

(U) *Dura* was a city in the province of *Aſſyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Apolloniatis*, no doubt from the city of *Apollonia* its metropolis. Some writers place *Dura* in *Meſopotamia*.

(39) *Plin. l.* v. c. 29.

he ordered *Molo*'s body to be fixed on a croſs, and placed on one of the higheſt mountains of *Media*; which was done accordingly, the body being carried into the country of the *Chalonitidi* (W), and there placed on a croſs on the moſt conſpicuous part of mount *Zagra*. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who had engaged in it. After this victory, the remains of the conquered army ſubmitted to the king, who, after having ſeverely reproved them, granted them his pardon, ordering them into *Media*, under the command of thoſe he ſent to regulate the affairs of that province. He then returned to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and having ſpent ſome time there in re-eſtabliſhing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and ſettling all things on their former foot, he reſolved to attack the *Barbarians* bordering on his dominions, in order to deter them for the future from taking part with his rebellious ſubjects, or entering into alliance with them. He propoſed to begin with *Artabazanes* king of the *Atropatii* (X) and other neighbouring nations, and by far the moſt powerful of all thoſe princes. *Hermias* was at firſt very unwilling to engage in this war, in regard of the danger that attended it, and becauſe he was ſtill bent on the recovery of *Cœle-Syria*; but on the news of the queen's being brought to bed of a ſon, he changed his mind, and warmly promoted a war with the *Barbarians*, in hopes that the king might loſe his life in that dangerous expedition, in which caſe the regency and tuition of the infant prince would fall to his ſhare. All things therefore being got ready for this invaſion, the army marched over the mountain *Zagra*, and entered the country of the *Atropatii*. *Artabazanes* their king being then very old, and greatly terrified at the approach of the king at the head of a victorious army, made his ſubmiſſion, and concluded a peace on ſuch terms as *Antiochus* thought proper to impoſe [w].

By this time *Hermias*, through his inſolent and haughty behaviour, growing intolerable to his maſter, as well as to his fellow-ſubjects, *Apollophanes* the king's phyſician, in whom he repoſed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free acceſs to him, took a proper time to repreſent to him the general diſcontent of his ſubjects, and the danger he himſelf was in from his ambitious and wicked miniſter; he therefore adviſed him to take care of himſelf, leſt the ſame fate ſhould attend him which his brother had met with in *Phrygia*, he having fallen a victim to the ambition of thoſe on whom he moſt relied. He added, that it was plain to every one, that *Hermias* was hatching ſome wicked deſign, and that no time was to be loſt in the preventing of it. *Antiochus*, as we have already obſerved, had begun to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of his chief miniſter, but had ſuppreſſed them, not knowing whom to truſt, though ſurrounded with courtiers whom he had loaded with favours. He was therefore extremely well pleaſed that his phyſician had given him this advice, and after having commended him for the care he ſhewed for his ſafety, and his reſolution in opening ſo frankly his thoughts, immediately entered on meaſures with him for the ridding himſelf of a miniſter who was ſo univerſally deteſted, and whoſe attempts were ſo much to be dreaded. Accordingly, the very next morning, the king, under pretence of taking the air, walked out of the camp, and *Hermias* not failing to attend him, as he uſually did, when they came to a ſolitary place where none of the miniſter's creatures could lend him any aſſiſtance, the king ſtepping aſide as on ſome neceſſary occaſion, thoſe who attended him falling upon *Hermias*, as it had been agreed on before-hand, put him to death, to the great ſatisfaction of all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. He had governed, not only the kingdom, but the king himſelf, with great haughtineſs, treating him on ſeveral occaſions in a very

Hermias put to death by the king's order.

[w] Idem, ibid. p. 398---400.

(W) *Chalontidis* was the moſt ſouthern province of *Aſſyria*, ſo called, according to *Iſidorus Characenus* (40), from the city of *Chala* its metropolis, and divided from *Media* by mount *Zagrus* or *Zagra*, the higheſt in the whole country.

(X) *Atropatia* was a part of *Media*; for *Strabo* (41) divides all *Media* into two parts; the one he calls *Media Magna*, and the other *Media Atropatia* and *Atropatane* (42). It borrowed this name from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of that province for the king of *Perſia* in *Alexander*'s time, defended it againſt that conqueror, and, upon the downfal of the *Perſian* empire, ſeized it for himſelf, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity. *Artabazanes* was one of his deſcendants, and another of the ſame race reigned in *Strabo*'s time, the kingdom being held even then by the ſame family. This country, according to *Polybius* (43), extended on one ſide as far as the *Pontus Euxinus*, and on the other to the *Caſpian* ſea, was plentifully ſtored with all ſorts of proviſion, and its inhabitants were deemed good ſoldiers.

(40) *Iſidor. Charac. p.* 5. (41) *Strabo. l.* xi. *p.* 360. (42) *Idem ibid. p.* 363. (43) *Polyb. l.* v. *p.* 402.

very inſolent manner; and whoever of the ſubjects dared to oppoſe his ſentiments or deſigns, was ſure to fall a ſacrifice to his reſentment, which drew on him an univerſal hatred; but no where was there a more ſignal inſtance of it than at *Apamea* in *Syria*, for there they no ſooner heard of his death, than the whole city roſe with the utmoſt fury, and the women falling upon his wife and children, ſtoned them to death [x].

Antiochus having now happily re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in the eaſt, and raiſed to the government of thoſe provinces perſons of merit, in whom he could repoſe the greateſt confidence, marched back into *Syria*, and putting his army into winter-quarters, ſpent the remaining part of the year in conſulting with his miniſters and officers about the operations of the enſuing campaign; for he had two other very dangerous enterprizes to put in execution for the reſtoring of the *Syrian* empire to its former ſplendor; one was againſt *Ptolemy*, for the recovery of *Cœle-Syria*, and the other againſt *Achæus*, who had uſurped the ſovereignty of *Aſia Minor*; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* having ſeized on all *Syria* in the beginning of the reign of *Seleucus Calinicus*, as we have related above, a great part of it was ſtill held by his ſucceſſor *Ptolemy Philopator*. And as to *Achæus*, we have already obſerved how he refuſed the crown that was offered him on the death of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and with great fidelity put it on the head of *Antiochus* the lawful heir, who, to reward his zeal and ſervices, appointed him governor of all the provinces of *Aſia Minor*. In this ſtation he wreſted from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* all the countries in *Aſia* which he had ſeized, and annexed them again to the crown of *Syria*. The ſucceſs that attended him on this occaſion drew on him the envy of the prime miniſter, and others, who had the king's ear at court; and therefore, reſolutions being taken to ruin him, forged letters were produced to prove, that he entertained treacherous deſigns againſt his prince, and held a correſpondence with *Ptolemy*. *Achæus* having notice of what was plotting againſt him at court, thought that he had no other way to ſecure himſelf againſt the evil deſigns of his enemies than by doing what he was charged with, and accordingly, in his own defence, taking the crown, which he had before refuſed, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Aſia*, and was crowned at *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, aſſuming ever after the regal title in all his letters to the cities of *Aſia*, and obliging them to give it him in all their addreſſes [y]. Theſe were the two dangerous wars *Antiochus* had on his hands; and which of theſe he ſhould firſt undertake was the matter under debate in the king's council. Upon mature deliberation it was reſolved, firſt to reduce all the countries belonging to the *Syrian* empire on that ſide mount *Taurus*, before they marched over it againſt *Achæus*, to whom, for the preſent, they only ſent menacing meſſages. Purſuant to this ſcheme all the forces were ordered to aſſemble at *Apamea*, and hold themſelves in a readineſs to march into *Cœle-Syria*. Before they ſet out, a council of all the chief officers was aſſembled, to conſult about the firſt operations of the campaign, when *Apollophanes*, the king's phyſician, repreſented, that the deſign on *Cœle-Syria* was vain, and would prove an unprofitable expedition, while they left *Ptolemy* in quiet poſſeſſion of *Seleucia*, a royal city, and in effect the metropolis of the kingdom; that, not to mention the diſhonour of leaving that city in the hands of an *Egyptian* king, the recovery thereof would redound greatly to the king's advantage; that, while it was held by the enemy, it would be a great hinderance to the progreſs of his arms in the enterprize he was upon; for which way ſoever he had a mind to carry his arms, he would find it neceſſary, over and above all other preparations, to ſtrengthen all his towns with numerous gariſons, merely on account of the danger which would threaten them from *Seleucia*: Whereas if *Antiochus* made the recovery of that place his firſt buſineſs, it would not only ſerve as a bulwark and frontier againſt the enemy, but enable him to proſecute the enterprize both by ſea and land. This city ſtood on the ſame river as *Antioch*, at the diſtance only of fifteen miles below it, near the mouth of the *Orontes*. When *Ptolemy Euergetes* invaded *Syria*, as we have related above, to ſupport the rights of his ſiſter *Berenice*, he ſeized upon that important place, and having put a ſtrong *Egyptian* gariſon into it, kept it full twenty-ſeven years. As it was the port of *Antioch*, it not only was a conſtant annoyance to the *Antiochians*, but intirely cut off their communication with the ſea, and quite ruined their trade. All which things being ſet forth by *Apollophanes*, the king and council reſolved to follow his plan, and open the campaign with the ſiege of *Seleucia* [z].

Achæus *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king of* Aſia.

Antiochus *reſolves on a war with* Ptolemy *king of* Egypt.

Accordingly

[x] Idem ibid. p. 400, 401. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Polyb. ubi ſupra. p. 405.

Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested the place, and carried it by a general assault, some of the officers, who commanded in the city, having been gained over by *Antiochus*. The king treated the inhabitants with the utmost humanity, and restored them to their ancient privileges [a].

Seleucia *taken.*

Antiochus being now master of this important place, marched with all possible expedition into *Cœle-Syria*, being invited thither by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had appointed governor of that province. We have seen above how vigorously he repulsed *Antiochus* the year before; nevertheless the court of *Egypt* had not been satisfied with his conduct on that occasion, and therefore called him to *Alexandria* to answer for it at the peril of his head. 'Tis true he was acquitted, and sent back to his government; but nevertheless he was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it. The luxury and effeminacy of the court, to which he had been an eye-witness while he attended his cause in *Alexandria*, heightened his resentment and indignation, it being intolerable to him to depend on so base and contemptible a set of men: And indeed the most abominable debaucheries of every kind were practised by *Ptolemy Philopator* during his reign; and the whole court followed his example. *Theodotus* therefore could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and being a gallant man, resolved to seek for a new master, who might better deserve his services. Accordingly he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized on the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, and declaring for *Antiochus*, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into those parts. *Nicolaus*, one of *Ptolemy*'s generals, though of the same country with *Theodotus*, would not join with him in this defection; but still adhering to *Ptolemy*, according to his first engagement, marched against *Theodotus*, and closely besieged him in the city of *Ptolemais*, which he had lately taken. *Antiochus* hastened to his relief, but met with a vigorous resistance from *Nicolaus*, who, on the news of his march, had seized the passes of mount *Libanus*. However the *Ætolian*, after a most gallant defence, being bore down by the superior power of *Antiochus*, was at length obliged to retire; whereupon the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais* were by *Theodotus* delivered into the king's hands, and with them the magazines which *Ptolemy* had prepared in those two places for the support of his army, and likewise a fleet of forty sail which lay in the two harbours. The ships he delivered to *Diognetus* his admiral, ordering him to sail to *Pelusium*, whither he himself intended to march by land, with a view to invade *Egypt* on that side; but being informed, that at that time of the year the inhabitants used to cut down the banks of the *Nile*, and lay the whole country under water, and consequently that the invading of *Egypt* was at that season impracticable, he abandoned this project, and employed all his forces in reducing the rest of *Cœle-Syria*. Some places surrendered of their own accord, others were taken by force, and *Damascus* itself, the capital of that province, fell into his hands by a stratagem with which he overreached *Dinon*, who was governor of it for *Ptolemy* [b]. The last action of this campaign was the siege of *Dura*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount *Carmel*, called *Dor* in scripture [c]; but the place being well fortified by *Nicolaus*, and defended by a numerous garison, the king could not master it, and was therefore glad to accept of a proposal which was offered him, of making a truce for four months with *Ptolemy*. This served him as an honourable pretence to march back to *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, where he put his army into winter-quarters, after having appointed *Theodotus* the *Ætolian* governor of all the places he had taken in this campaign [d].

Ptolemais *and* Tyre *betrayed to* Antiochus.

During this truce a treaty was set on foot between the contending princes, but with no other view on either side than to gain time, which *Ptolemy* wanted to make the necessary preparations for the carrying on of the war, and *Antiochus* to put a stop to the conquests of *Achæus*; for he, not satisfied with *Asia Minor*, of which he was already master, was making great preparations to invade *Syria*, and dispossess *Antiochus*, if possible, of all his dominions. To check these ambitious views, it was necessary for the king to give over all thoughts of distant conquests.

In this treaty the main point was, to whom *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Samaria* and *Judæa* did belong, in virtue of the partition of *Alexander*'s empire between *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus*, after the death of *Antigonus*, and defeat of *Demetrius* in the battle of *Ipsus*. *Ptolemy* claimed these provinces, as having been, by

[a] Idem. p. 406. [b] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15. [c] Joshua xi. 2, 17, 11. Jud. i. 27. &
[d] Polyb. ibid. p. 408.

a by that diviſion, allotted to *Ptolemy Soter* his great-grandfather. On the other ſide, *Antiochus* pretended, that they had been given to *Seleucus Nicator*, and were therefore his right, he being heir and ſucceſſor to that prince in the kingdom of *Syria*. The affair of *Achæus* was likewiſe a great clog to the negotiation; for *Ptolemy* inſiſted upon his being comprized in the treaty, while *Antiochus* could not brook ſo much as to hear him named, thinking it a ſcandalous thing that *Ptolemy* ſhould entertain the leaſt thought of giving protection to one in rebellion againſt his prince [e].

WHILE theſe pretenſions and conteſts were carrying on by both parties, and neither would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapſed, and nothing being concluded by the treaty, they began again to provide for the war. *Nicolaus* the *Both kings prepare for war.*

b *Ætolian* had given ſuch proofs of his valour and fidelity in the laſt campaign, that *Ptolemy* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, and committed to his care the government of the conteſted provinces. The command of the fleet was given to *Perigenes*, who was ordered to carry on the war by ſea, and ſupply *Nicolaus* with proviſions, and ſuch military ſtores as he ſhould ſtand in need of. *Nicolaus* having aſſembled his forces at *Gaza*, whither all the neceſſary proviſions had been ſent from *Egypt*, marched from thence to mount *Libanus*, and ſeized on all the paſſes between that chain of mountains and the ſea, through which it was neceſſary for *Antiochus* to paſs, firmly reſolved to wait for him there, and, by the advantage of the place, obſtruct his further progreſs that way [f].

c IN the mean time *Antiochus* was not inactive; but having made the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous invaſion, both by ſea and land. He gave the command of his fleet to *Diognetus* his admiral, and then marched himſelf with his army by land. On his arrival at *Marathum*, the *Aradians* met him with tenders of their friendſhip and alliance; and he not only received them with great kindneſs, but compoſed, by his mediation, ſome differences of a long ſtanding between them and the neighbouring cities. From *Marathum* he continued his march into *Syria*, by that paſs which is called by *Polybius Thoû-proſopon*, arrived at *Berytus*, and advancing to *Botris*, poſſeſſed himſelf of that city, after having burnt *Trieres* and *Calamus*. From *Botris* he diſpatched *Theodotus* and *Nicarchus*, with orders to ſeize on the ſtreights which

d lead to the river *Lycus*, while he himſelf, purſuing his march, reached the river *Damura*, where he encamped, his fleet keeping always near him. From thence, taking with him *Nicarchus* and *Theodotus*, he advanced at the head of the light-armed troops to view the ſtreights where *Nicolaus* was poſted, and returned the ſame day to his camp. Early next morning, leaving *Nicarchus* with the command of his heavy-armed troops, he marched with the reſt to the ſtreights poſſeſſed by *Nicolaus*, and having, in ſight of the enemy, divided his army into three bodies, he ordered *Theodotus*, at the head of one, to attack the enemy's forces which were poſted on the eminences; the other he gave to *Menedemus*, enjoining him to diſlodge *Nicolaus*, who had fortified himſelf in a narrow paſs between mount *Libanus* and the ſea; the third he kept for

e a reſerve under the command of *Diocles*, who was to carry ſuccours where-ever they ſhould be wanted. *Antiochus* himſelf, attended only by his guards, poſted himſelf on an eminence, whence he had a fair view of all that paſſed either by ſea or land; for the two admirals, *Diognetus* and *Perigenes*, had drawn their fleets up in a line as near the ſhore as they could, that they might be ready at hand to aſſiſt their land-forces. By this means the battle by land and ſea became, as it were, one ſingle engagement. The ſignal being given, they advanced to the attack on all ſides. At ſea it was a drawn battle, their fleets being pretty equal; but at land the forces of *Antiochus* having diſlodged *Nicolaus*, that brave commander was obliged, after a moſt gallant defence, to retire to *Sidon*, whither *Perigenes* followed him with

f the *Egyptian* fleet. About two thouſand *Egyptians* were ſlain in the engagement, and the like number taken priſoners. The reſt, under the conduct of *Nicolaus*, who retired in good order, got ſafe into *Sidon*. *Antiochus* purſued them, with a deſign to lay ſiege to that city; but finding it well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, and *Nicolaus* reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, he altered his mind, and ſending his fleet to *Tyre*, marched with his army into *Galilee*, where he reduced the cities of *Phileteria*, *Scythopolis*, and *Attabyrium*, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants, that the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror. From *Galilee* he croſſed the *Jordan*, and entering *Gilead*, poſſeſſed himſelf of all that country, which had been formerly

The Egyptians defeated by Antiochus.

[e] POLYB. p. 409, 410, 411. [f] Idem ibid. p. 413.

formerly the inheritance of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſey* on that ſide of the river. He afterwards marched againſt *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*, which *Polybius* calls *Rabath-ben-Ammon* or *Rabatamana*, which, as it was a very ſtrong and populous place, made a vigorous defence againſt the victorious army, but was at length obliged to ſubmit for want of water. As the ſeaſon was now far advanced, *Antiochus* leaving the government of *Samaria* to *Hippolochus* and *Keræas*, who had lately come over to him from *Ptolemy*, and five thouſand men to keep the country in ſubjection, marched back to *Ptolomais*, where he put his troops into winter quarters [g].

EARLY in the ſpring both armies again took the field. *Ptolemy*, having drawn together an army of ſeventy thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-three elephants, advanced to *Peluſium*, whence he led them in perſon through the deſarts which part *Egypt* from *Paleſtine*, and encamped at *Raphia*, a city lying between *Rinocorura* and *Gaza*. Here *Antiochus* met him with an army ſomewhat ſuperior to his; for he had with him ſeventy-two thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and an hundred and two elephants; he encamped firſt within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near each other, many ſkirmiſhes happened between parties as they went out to forage; but without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. Here *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, who had ſerved many years under *Ptolemy*, gave a ſignal inſtance of his intrepidity and reſolution; for being well acquainted with the cuſtoms of the *Egyptians*, he took the advantage of a dark evening, when he could not be well known, and entering the enemy's camp with two companions, advanced as far as *Ptolemy*'s tent, with a deſign to kill him, and by this bold attempt put an end to the war; but the king lying that night elſewhere, he killed his firſt phyſician, miſtaking him for *Ptolemy*, wounded two other perſons, and then, amidſt the alarm and confuſion which this attempt occaſioned, eſcaped to his own camp. At length both kings agreed to a deciſive battle, and drew up their armies accordingly; both rode before their reſpective lines, encouraging their ſoldiers to behave manfully. *Arſinoe*, the ſiſter and wife of *Ptolemy*, not only exerted herſelf in animating the *Egyptians* before the engagement, but did not abandon her huſband even in the heat of the battle, attending him in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. *Antiochus* at the head of his right wing defeated the enemy's left; but while he purſued them too far, *Ptolemy*, who had been as ſucceſsful in the other wing, charged in flank the center of *Antiochus*, which was then uncovered, and broke that body before it was poſſible for the prince to ſuccour it. An old officer of *Antiochus*'s army, obſerving which way the cloud of duſt flew, concluded from thence that the main body was routed, and ſhewed it to the king, who faced about that inſtant; but came too late to retrieve his error, the reſt of his army being broke and put to flight before his arrival. Hereupon he was obliged to retreat firſt to *Raphia*, and next to *Gaza*, after ten thouſand of his men had been cut to pieces, and four thouſand taken priſoners. After this defeat, *Antiochus*, being no longer in a condition to make head againſt *Ptolemy*, abandoned all his conqueſts, and withdrew with the remains of his ſhattered army to *Antioch*. This battle was fought at the ſame time, according to *Polybius*, that *Hannibal* defeated *Flaminius* the *Roman* conſul at the lake of *Thraſymenus* in *Hetruria* [h].

The battle of Raphia. Year of the flood 2782. Before Chriſt 217.

Antiochus *defeated.*

UPON the retreat of *Antiochus* the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* ſtrove, as it were, which of them ſhould firſt ſubmit to *Ptolemy*, being more inclined to him, as they had been long ſubject to the *Egyptians*, than to *Antiochus*, whom they had received after the defeat of *Nicolaus*, only becauſe they were not in a condition to oppoſe him. *Ptolemy*'s court, as ſoon as the news of this victory was ſpread abroad, was crowded with embaſſadors from all the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Judæa*, making their ſubmiſſion to him, and congratulating him on his late ſucceſs. The conqueror not only received them all with great kindneſs, but reſolved to make a progreſs through all the provinces which had ſubmitted to him; and accordingly viſited all the ſtates and cities of note, and amongſt the reſt *Jeruſalem*, where he took a view of the temple, and even offered ſacrifices to the God of *Iſrael*, making at the ſame time oblations, and beſtowing rich donatives on that holy place. But not being ſatisfied with viewing it only from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was allowed to paſs, he ſhewed a great inclination to enter the ſanctuary, and even the holy of holies itſelf, to which

[g] Idem, ibid. p. 414, 415.

[h] Idem, p. 424, 425. & 1 MACCAB. c. iii. v. 5, 6.

which no one was allowed acceſs but the high-prieſt, and he only once a year on the day of the great expiation. This occaſioned a great uproar all over the city: the high-prieſt informed him of the holineſs of the place, and the expreſs law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The prieſts and levites drew together in a body to oppoſe his raſh deſign, which the people alſo conjured him to lay aſide. But this oppoſition ſerving only to inflame his curioſity, he forced in as far as the ſecond court, where, while he was preparing to enter the temple itſelf, he was ſtruck by God with ſuch terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this he left the city, highly exaſperated againſt the whole *Jewiſh* nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and loudly threatning to revenge it at a more proper ſeaſon [i].

Concludes a peace with Ptolemy.

Antiochus no ſooner returned to *Antioch*, but he ſent embaſſadors to *Ptolemy* to ſue for a peace. What prompted him to this was his ſuſpecting the fidelity of his own people, finding on his return his authority and intereſt much leſſened by his late defeat. Beſides, it was high time for him to turn his arms againſt *Achæus*, and put a ſtop to his conqueſts. For he being already maſter of all *Aſia*, *Antiochus* foreſaw, that if he gave him time to ſettle his authority in thoſe provinces, it would not be long ere he muſt expect him in *Syria*, there to puſh for the whole empire. To prevent this he thought it adviſeable to ſtrike up a peace with *Ptolemy* upon any terms, leſt having two ſuch powerful enemies to contend with at the ſame time, he might be at laſt overpowered and ſtript of all his dominions. He therefore inveſted his embaſſadors with full powers to give up to *Ptolemy* all thoſe provinces which were the ſubject of their conteſt, that is, all *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*. *Cœle-Syria*, as we have hinted before, comprehended that part of *Syria*, which lies between the mountains *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; and *Paleſtine* all the country, which was anciently the inheritance of the children of *Iſrael*; and the coaſt of theſe two provinces was what the *Greeks* called *Phœnice*. All this country *Antiochus* was willing to part with to purchaſe a peace in his preſent circumſtances, chuſing rather to give up his claim to one part of his dominions, than run the riſk of loſing the whole. Accordingly a truce was agreed on for a year, and before that expired a peace concluded on the ſame terms. *Ptolemy*, who might have taken advantage of this victory, and eaſily conquered all *Syria*, was no leſs deſirous than *Antiochus* of putting an end to the war, that he might be again at liberty to follow his pleaſures [k].

Marches againſt Achæus.

Antiochus having thus concluded a peace with *Ptolemy*, bent all his thoughts and attention on carrying the war into *Aſia Minor* againſt *Achæus*, and having made vaſt preparations for that expedition, he croſſed mount *Taurus*, and having concluded a league with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, by virtue of which they were both to act with all their forces againſt the common enemy, he ſo diſtreſſed *Achæus*, that he was obliged to quit the field, and ſhut himſelf up in *Sardis*, where he was cloſely beſieged by the confederate princes. However, he held out above a year in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of two victorious armies, during which time frequent battles were fought under the walls, and many brave men killed on both ſides. At length the city being taken by a ſtratagem of *Ligoras*, one of *Antiochus*'s commanders (Y), *Achæus* retired into the caſtle, where he defended himſelf with incredible bravery, till he was by the treachery of two crafty *Cretans* delivered up to *Antiochus* in the following

Takes Sardis.

[i] Idem, p. 426, 427. & 3. Maccab. c. 1. & 2.

[k] Idem, p. 428. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1.

(Y) The caſtle, and the adjoining wall of the city, were on the top of a rock deemed inacceſſible, both hanging over a deep valley, into which dead horſes and other beaſts were uſually thrown. *Ligoras*, who was ſtationed on that ſide, obſerved that the ravens, and other rapacious birds, which haunted that valley for the food they found there, uſed to fly from thence up to the tops of the rocks, and pitch upon the walls, reſting there undiſturbed. From thence he concluded, that thoſe parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought inacceſſible, and acquainted *Antiochus* with what he had obſerved. Hereupon in a council of the chief officers it was reſolved that a general aſſault ſhould be made, during which *Ligoras*, with ſuch men as he thought proper for the enterprize, ſhould attempt to ſcale the rocks on that ſide, and enter the town. The ſucceſs was agreeable to what *Ligoras* had imagined; for having with great difficulty ſcaled the rocks, he entered the city on that ſide without reſiſtance, and then advancing at the head of his men into the market-place, ſtruck the inhabitants with ſuch terror, that in many places they abandoned the walls, and gave an opportunity to the reſt of *Antiochus*'s army to enter the city and join their companions, by which means the place was reduced. In the ſame manner had *Sardis* been taken many ages before by the *Perſians* under the conduct of *Cyrus*, when *Cræſus* thought himſelf ſecure on that ſide. But the citizens had forgot what had happened ſo many ages before (44).

(44) *Polyb. l.* xvii. *p.* 506, 507.

following manner. *Ptolomy Philopator*, who had entered into a ſtrict alliance with *Achæus*, was much concerned to hear he was ſo cloſely blocked up in the caſtle of *Sardis*, and therefore enjoined *Soſibius* his prime miniſter to deliver him at all events from the imminent danger he was in; he added, that if he could but reſcue his perſon he cared for no more, knowing that if he only appeared in the countries about mount *Taurus*, he would ſoon have an army ſtrong enough to keep *Antiochus* employed. There being at that time in *Ptolemy*'s court a crafty *Cretan* called *Bolis*, well acquainted with the roads of that country and the by-paths among the rocks, on which the caſtle of *Sardis* ſtood, *Soſibius* conſulted him about this matter, and aſked him whether he could not think of ſome method to procure *Achæus*'s eſcape. The *Cretan* deſired time to conſider of it, and at the next conference undertook the buſineſs, and communicated to *Soſibius* in what manner he deſigned to proceed in it. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was alſo a near relation of his, *Cambylus* by name, a captain of the *Cretan* mercenaries in *Antiochus*'s army, and at that time commanding a fort behind the caſtle of *Sardis*; and that he would prevail with him to let *Acchæus* make his eſcape that way. *Soſibius*, approving of the project, ſent *Bolis* with the utmoſt expedition to *Sardis* to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to defray his expences. At the ſame time he wrote to *Achæus* by a truſty meſſenger called *Arianus*, whom *Bolis* found means to convey into the caſtle. As the letter was wrote in characters, or rather cyphers, which none were acquainted with, ſave he and *Soſibius*, he was very well aſſured that this was no feigned device of his enemies in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger, he was a truſty man, and one, whom *Achæus* found upon examination, heartily affected to his cauſe. But the contents of the letter, which were, that he ſhould repoſe an entire confidence in *Bolis* and one *Cambylus*, whom *Bolis* had won over from *Antiochus*, gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. They were both quite ſtrangers to him, and the *Cretans*, he thought, were not blindly to be relied on. However, as he could not eſcape any other way, he reſolved to follow their directions; the meſſenger therefore having often paſſed to and fro, it was at length concluded that *Bolis* himſelf ſhould come and conduct *Achæus* out of the caſtle. This being agreed on, the two treacherous *Cretans* conſulting together how to make their moſt of it, reſolved in the firſt place to ſhare equally between them the ten talents, which they had already received in hand, and then to reveal the whole matter to *Antiochus*, and on his promiſing a ſuitable reward, to turn the plot, and put *Achæus* into his hands. *Antiochus* was over-joyed when they firſt made their propoſal, and promiſed them moſt ample rewards. At length when all things were ready on both ſides, *Bolis*, *Cambylus*, and *Arianus*, went privately up into the caſtle, in order to convey from thence *Achæus* that very night. As *Achæus* was not acquainted either with *Bolis* or *Cambylus*, he had a long conference with them about the buſineſs in hand, and after having examined them on ſeveral heads, concluded that he had no reaſon to diſtruſt their fidelity or judgment. However, to proceed with all poſſible caution, he told them, that he deſigned to ſtay in the caſtle a little longer, and ſend in the mean time with them three or four of his friends, from whom, when he ſhould receive an account of their being ſafely got out, he would then, and not till then, venture his own perſon. Accordingly he appointed three of his friends to go that night with *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, and diſguiſing himſelf ſo as not to be known by his guides, as he had agreed with his friends before-hand, joined them when they were ready to depart. The other three were likewiſe diſguiſed, and one of them only took upon him to underſtand the *Greek* tongue, the others feigning to be *Barbarians*, leſt *Achæus* ſhould be known by his ſpeech. At length they ſet out, *Bolis* and *Cambylus* being very greatly perplexed, as not knowing whether *Achæus* was there or no. If they betrayed thoſe they were conducting into the hands of *Antiochus*, they well knew that *Achæus*, if he was not among them, would never truſt himſelf with them; if they conveyed them away, they might, for ought they knew, by that means ſave *Achæus*, and loſe the reward promiſed them by *Antiochus*. While they were under this uncertainty, *Bolis* obſerved, that where the paths among the rocks were dangerous, three of them were very officious to the other, lending him their hands to help him up or down, and taking ſuch care of him as gave *Bolis* to underſtand that he was *Achæus*. Accordingly when they came to a certain place, where *Cambylus* had poſted ſome ſoldiers that ſerved under him, *Bolis* claſping *Achæus* about the middle, gave the ſignal agreed on, and the ſoldiers ſallying out of the ambuſcade, put him in irons, and carried him to *Antiochus*, who had

Achæus *betrayed by two* Cretans.

And delivered up to Antiochus.

a had watched all night expecting the iſſue of this affair. The king, when he ſaw *Achæus* loaded with chains, burſt out into a flood of tears, and ſeemed to be touched with compaſſion at the misfortunes of a man to whom he was indebted for his crown. But motives of ſtate prevailing over his natural tenderneſs, he cauſed him to be beheaded that very morning, and thereby put an end to the war of *Aſia*. For as ſoon as thoſe who were in the caſtle heard of his death, they ſurrendered to *Antiochus*, and all the places in the *Aſiatic* provinces, which had declared for *Achæus*, did the ſame. Thus the king recovered his dominions in *Aſia*, and having left perſons to govern them, whom he could confide in, returned with his army to *Antioch* [l].

Achæus put to death by Antiochus

Antiochus, being now diſengaged from this troubleſome war, began to make the ne-
b ceſſary preparations for the reducing of thoſe provinces in the eaſt, which had ſhaken off the *Syrian* yoke. As the *Parthians* had lately ſeized on *Media*, his firſt attempt was upon that province. *Arſaces*, the ſon of that *Arſaces* who firſt founded the *Parthian* empire, was at that time king of *Parthia*, and, taking advantage of *Antiochus*'s being engaged in wars with *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, had entered *Media*, and made himſelf maſter of that country. On the approach of the enemy he commanded all the fountains and wells in the deſart, through which they were to paſs, to be ſtopped and
c ſpoiled (Z); but *Antiochus* having ſent before ſeveral parties of horſe to ſecure them, marched ſafely through thoſe great deſarts with his whole army, and entering *Media* drove *Arſaces* from thence, and ſpent the remainder of the year in ſettling all things there in their former order, and providing for the further operations of the war. Early next ſpring he marched into *Parthia*, where he was as ſucceſsful as he had been the year before in *Media*. *Arſaces* was forced to retire into *Hyrcania*, where he thought to ſecure himſelf behind the mountains, which parted that country from *Parthia*, and accordingly poſted parties in all the paſſes, through which the *Syrian* army was to march, not doubting but by that means he ſhould obſtruct their further progreſs that way. But *Antiochus*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, taking the field, advanced to the narrow paſſes, and dividing his army into as many bodies as there were attacks, he ſoon forced them all. He then aſſembled his army again in the plains, and with all his forces inveſted *Syringis* the capital of *Hyrcania*, which he ſoon obliged
d to ſurrender at diſcretion. In the mean time *Arſaces* was not idle, but all the way as he retreated having gathered what forces he could, made up at length an army of an hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. With theſe thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to make head againſt the enemy, he took the field, and with great bravery put a ſtop to their further progreſs. His reſiſtance drew out the war into a great length, inſomuch, that no further advantage being gained by *Antiochus*, after many conflicts, he began to think it would be impoſſible for him to over-power ſo valiant an enemy, and drive him quite out of the provinces, in which he had by length of time ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelf. He therefore gave ear to the overtures which were made him for the putting an end to ſo troubleſome a war, and a treaty
e being ſet on foot, it was agreed, that *Arſaces* ſhould hold *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, on condition of his aſſiſting *Antiochus* to recover the other provinces which had revolted [m].

The expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, &c.

Antiochus, having thus concluded a peace with *Arſaces*, turned his arms againſt *Euthydemus* king of *Bactria*. We have already ſhewn in what manner *Theodotus* firſt uſurped the province of *Bactria*, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged king of that country, and left it to a ſon of the ſame name. This ſon had been vanquiſhed and driven out by *Euthydemus*, who, as he was a man of great courage and prudence, maintained a long war againſt *Antiochus*, who carried it on with great vigor, and on ſeveral occaſions gave proofs of an extraordinary courage. In one of the battles fought with this prince his horſe was killed under him, and in another he was dangerouſly wounded
f in the mouth, while he was encouraging his men in the firſt line. At length finding that he waſted his army without gaining any advantage by it, he grew weary of the

[l] Polyb. ibid. p. 445, 446. & l. vii. p. 506, 507. & l. viii. p. 522, 523. [m] Justin. l. xli. c. 5.

(Z) We are told by *Polybius* (45), that the *Perſians*, when they firſt conquered *Aſia*, finding many parts of it quite deſtitute of water, engaged to allow thoſe, who ſhould either diſcover water in places where none was then known to be, or find means to convey it thither, the profits ariſing from thence to the fifth generation. Our author adds, that the inhabitants, animated by this promiſe, ſpared neither labour nor expence to convey water under-ground from mount *Taurus* as far as the deſart here mentioned, there being no ſprings in that vaſt tract of country.

(44) *Polyb. l. x. p. 597.*

the war, and therefore admitted embaſſadors from *Euthydemus* to treat of an accommodation. Theſe repreſented to him, that the war he was carrying on againſt their a
ſovereign was not juſt, ſince he had never been ſubject to the kings of *Syria*; that *Bactria* had thrown off the yoke under other monarchs long before him; that he poſſeſſed the kingdom by right of conqueſt, having vanquiſhed and driven out the deſcendants of thoſe who firſt revolted, and held it as the reward of a juſt victory, *&c.* They likewiſe inſinuated, that the *Scythians*, taking advantage of the war, by which they were now weakening each other, were preparing to invade *Bactria* with a powerful army, and that therefore, if they perſiſted obſtinately in conteſting for it, a fair opportunity would be offered thoſe *Barbarians* to take it from both. This conſideration, added to the deſire which *Antiochus* had to get rid, under ſome honour- b
able pretence, of this tedious and unprofitable war, induced him to agree to ſuch terms as ended in a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, *Euthydemus* ſent his ſon to *Antiochus*, who, being taken with his majeſtic mein and agreeable converſation, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other conditions were agreed on to the great ſatisfaction of both princes, and confirmed by the uſual oaths. After this, *Antiochus*, having received all the elephants of *Euthydemus*, which was one of the articles of the peace, croſſed mount *Caucaſus*, and entered *India*, where having renewed his alliance with *Sophagaſenus* king of that country, and received likewiſe his elephants, which, with thoſe he had from *Euthydemus*, amounted to an hundred and fifty, he marched from thence c
into *Arachoſia* (A), afterwards into *Drangiana*, and laſtly into *Carmania*, ſettling in all thoſe countries due order and diſcipline. He paſſed the winter in *Carmania*, and thence returned by *Perſia*, *Babylonia*, and *Meſopotamia* to *Antioch*, after having ſpent ſeven years in this expedition. The boldneſs of his attempts and the wiſdom of his conduct, during the whole courſe of this long war, gained him the reputation of a wiſe and valiant prince; ſo that his name became formidable to all *Europe*, as well as *Aſia*. And thus far by his whole conduct he well deſerved the ſurname of *Great*, which was given him, and which he might have carried with great glory to his grave, had he not unfortunately engaged in a war with the *Romans*.

Antiochus enters into an alliance with Philip of Macedon against Ptolemy Epiphanes. Year of the ſtage 2797. Before Chriſt 202.

NOT long after the return of *Antiochus* died *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*, and d
was ſucceeded by *Ptolemy Epiphanes* his ſon, a child but five years old. Hereupon *Antiochus*, taking advantage of his minority and the domeſtic troubles which rent the kingdom into ſeveral factions, entered into an alliance with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in virtue of which they were to ſtrip the infant king of his dominions, and divide them between them: *Philip* was to have *Caria*, *Lybia*, *Cyrene*, and *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* all the reſt. Purſuant to this agreement, *Antiochus* marched forthwith into *Cœle-Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and in leſs than two campaigns made an intire conqueſt of theſe provinces with all their cities and dependencies. In the mean time, *Scipio* having put an end to the ſecond *Punic* war in *Africa*, the name of the *Romans* began to be every-where known, and their victories ſpoke of not only in *Europe* and *Africa*, e
but all over *Aſia*. The guardians therefore of the young king, finding themſelves reduced to great ſtraits by the confederate princes, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, imploring the protection of that republic, and offering them the guardianſhip of their king and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; and leſt the ſenate ſhould refuſe the offer, they added, that the deceaſed king had recommended both to them at his death. The *Romans*, thinking this would redound greatly to their glory, complied with the requeſt of the embaſſadors, and taking on them the tuition of the young king, immediately acquainted *Antiochus* and *Philip* therewith, requiring them to deſiſt from invading the dominions of their pupil, otherwiſe they ſhould be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, who was one f
of the embaſſadors ſent to both kings, after having delivered his embaſſy, repaired, agreeable to the inſtructions he had received from the ſenate, at his firſt ſetting out, to the court of *Egypt*, there to take upon him the office of guardian to the young king and regent of the kingdom (B). After he had regulated affairs there in the beſt manner

(A) We ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe *Arachoſia*, *Drangiana*, *Paropamiſus*, *Aria*, *Gedroſia*, and other countries on this ſide of the river *Indus*, when we come to the hiſtory of *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, *Colchos*, &c.

(B) *Livy* takes no notice of the guardianſhip of *Lepidus*, whence the authors of the *Roman* hiſtory, which is now publiſhing in *France*, call in queſtion the truth of the fact, thinking *Livy*'s ſilence a ſtrong proof againſt *the ſingle teſtimony*, ſay they, of *Juſtin*.

ner he could, he appointed *Ariſtomenes* an *Acarnanian* to be chief miniſter to the king, and then returned to *Rome*. *Ariſtomenes* was an old experienced miniſter of that court, and, being well acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*, acquitted himſelf in this charge with great prudence and fidelity [o].

THE firſt thing he did was to provide againſt the invaſion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpoſe he took care to recruit the army with the beſt ſoldiers he could raiſe; he ſent *Scopas* an *Ætolian* with vaſt ſums of money into *Ætolia* to levy there all the troops he could, the *Ætolians* being reputed the beſt ſoldiers of that age. *Scopas* had been formerly prætor of *Ætolia*, and was famous all over *Greece* for his ſkill in military affairs; when the time of his prætorſhip was expired, being diſguſted with his countrymen for not confirming him, as he expected, in that office, he left *Ætolia* and went into the ſervice of the king of *Egypt*, and being employed on this occaſion, he had ſuch ſucceſs in his levies, that he brought in a very ſhort time ſix thouſand choſen men from *Ætolia*, which was a conſiderable reinforcement, to the *Egyptian* army [p] (C).

IN the mean time *Antiochus* having paſſed into *Aſia Minor*, and there engaged in a war with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, *Ariſtomenes*, taking advantage of the king's abſence, ſent *Scopas* with an army into *Paleſtine* and *Cœle-Syria* to recover thoſe provinces. In this expedition the *Ætolian* was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that he recovered ſeveral cities, reduced all *Judæa*, put a gariſon into the caſtle of *Jeruſalem*, and on the approach of winter returned to *Alexandria*, loaded with the ſpoils of the conquered provinces. But it ſoon appeared, that the ſucceſs of this campaign was chiefly owing to the abſence of *Antiochus*, and the ſmall reſiſtance the *Egyptian* army met with. For *Antiochus* no ſooner marched in perſon into *Cœle-Syria*, but the face of affairs was changed and victory declared in his favour. *Scopas*, who returned with a powerful army, was defeated at *Paneas* near the ſource of the *Jordan*, and great part of his army cut in pieces. The general himſelf with much ado eſcaped to *Sidon*, where he ſhut himſelf up with ten thouſand of his men, all the reſt having been killed or taken priſoners. *Antiochus* laid ſiege to the city, and reduced the numerous gariſon to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced by famine to ſurrender on terms of having only their lives ſpared. Accordingly they delivered the city up to *Antiochus*, who diſmiſſed them ſtript of their effects and quite naked. However, the regency of *Alexandria* was not wanting in uſing their utmoſt efforts for the relief of the place. They no ſooner heard that *Scopas* was beſieged, but three of their beſt generals at the head of the choiceſt troops of the ſtate were ſent to raiſe the ſiege. But *Antiochus* had diſpoſed things ſo that all their attempts proved unſucceſsful, and *Scopas* was obliged to ſubmit to the diſhonourable terms abovementioned [q]. From *Sidon Antiochus* marched to *Gaza*, and being provoked at the reſiſtance he met with there, he gave up the city, after he had taken it, to be plundered by his ſoldiers. From *Gaza* he ſent ſeveral detachments to ſecure the paſſes through which troops might be ſent out of *Egypt* to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of his conqueſts, and then marching back reduced *Betanea*, *Samaria*, *Abila*, *Gadera*, and the remaining parts of *Paleſtine* and *Cœle-Syria* [r].

THE

[o] POLYB. l. iii. p. 159. & l. 15. p. 707. LIV. l. xxxi. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 3. VAL. MAX. lvi. c. 6. HIERONYM. in cap. 11. Daniel. [p] LIV. l. xxxi. HIERONYM. ibid. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. LIV. l. xxxii. [q] VALESII Excerpt. in POLYB. p. 77, 78, &c. HIERON. in cap. 11. Daniel. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xi. c. 3. [r] JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 1. LIV. l. xxxiii. POLYB. Legat. 72. p. 893.

Juſtin. But herein they are greatly miſtaken; for *Valerius Maximus* (46) tells us in expreſs words, that *Lepidus* was appointed by the ſenate guardian of the young king of *Egypt*, and ſent into that kingdom to take upon him the regency. *King* Ptolemy, ſays he, *having left the people of* Rome *guardian to his ſon during his minority, the ſenate ſent* M. Æmilius Lepidus *high-pontiff, and one who had been twice conſul, to* Alexandria *to take care of their pupil's kingdom, depriving themſelves of a moſt upright man, who had been long converſant with their own affairs*, &c. Beſides, there are ſtill extant ſeveral medals repreſenting *Lepidus* putting a crown on a young man's head with this inſcription, S. C. M. *Lepidus Pont. Max. Tutor Reg.* On the reverſe of theſe medals is the city of *Alexandria*, where the kings of *Egypt* reſided in thoſe days. Our author here ſuppoſes, that *M. Lepidus* executed the office of guardian to the young king while he was high pontiff, and after he had been twice conſul; whereas *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was dead before that time; perhaps he had ſeen ſome of the coins we have mentioned, and was by them led into this miſtake (47).

(C) *Livy* tell us, that *Scopas* would not have left one man in the country able to bear arms, had not one *Damocritus* put his countrymen in mind of the war which *Ætolia* itſelf was ready to engage in, and repreſented to them the danger to which their own country would be expoſed, if left naked and deſtitute of ſo many brave men. Hereupon great numbers, who had determined to follow *Scopas* into *Egypt*, remained at home. *Scopas* had not bribed and courted *Damocritus* as he had done the other heads of the *Ætolian* ſtate.

(46) *Valer. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 6. (47) *Vide Uſſer. Annal. ad Ann. Mundi*, 3803.

The Jews submit to Antiochus, who treats them kindly. Year of the flood 2801. Before Christ 198.

The *Jews*, who were at this time much alienated from the *Egyptians*, probably on account of the ravages committed the year before by *Scopas*, when he took *Jerusalem*, no sooner heard that *Antiochus* was advancing towards their country, but they went in crowds to meet him, delivering to him the keys of their cities; and when he approached *Jerusalem*, the priests and elders received him with great demonstrations of joy, paid him all kinds of honours, and entertained both him and his whole army in their city, supplying them plentifully with all sorts of provisions; nor was this all, they even took up arms and joined his forces in reducing the castle, which had been strongly garisoned by *Scopas*. In return for these services, *Antiochus*, in a decree directed to *Ptolemy* one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours; and in another he particularly ordained, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which seems to have been made on account of *Philopator*'s attempt which we have mentioned above. *Antiochus* had in his eastern expedition granted most ample privileges to the *Jews*, who were settled in *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, and by that means gained the affection of the whole nation; no wonder therefore that, contrary to their former inclination, they were more desirous of having him to rule over them, than the *Egyptian* king who had used them ill. *Antiochus* depended so much on their fidelity, that, when a sedition broke out in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, he sent two thousand *Jewish* families out of the provinces of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, to quell it and keep the country in peace. They were transported thither at the king's charges, and by his order placed in the strongest fortresses of the country, had lands and possessions divided among them for their subsistence, and maintained at the king's expence, till they received the fruits of the lands allotted them [t]. From these *Jews* were descended those whom we find scattered in great numbers all over *Asia*, when the gospel was first preached in those parts.

Antiochus *invades* Asia Minor.

Antiochus having thus reduced all *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, conceived hopes of doing the same in *Asia-Minor*, his great aim being to restore the *Syrian* empire to the full extent, in which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by *Seleucus Nicator* its founder. But as he could not succeed in this design, unless he found some means to prevent the *Egyptians* from molesting him in his new conquests, while he was at a distance from them, he sent *Eucles* the *Rhodian* to *Alexandria* with proposals of a marriage between *Cleopatra* his daughter and king *Ptolemy*, to be consummated as soon as they were both of age, promising to give up those provinces on the day of the nuptials, by way of dowry with the young princess. This proposal being approved of at *Alexandria*, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the *Egyptians*, relying on the promises of *Antiochus*, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation [u].

Antiochus, having thus settled all in peace behind him, early next spring sent his two sons, *Arduas* and *Mithridates*, before him to *Sardis* with his land-forces, ordering them to wait for him there; while he himself set out with a fleet large enough to strike terror into all the coasts of the *Mediterranean*; for it consisted of an hundred large ships of war and two hundred other vessels of all sizes. His design was first to conquer the cities of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then advance in person to the assistance of his old ally *Philip*, who was engaged in a war with the *Romans*. As he sailed along the coasts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria*, many of the maritime cities of those provinces voluntarily submitted to him. Among these were *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodisias*, and *Corica*. From the latter he doubled the promontory *Anemurium*, and made himself master of the city of *Selinus*. Upon the bare report of his approach the cities sent deputies to him from all parts, acknowledging his authority, and declaring themselves ready to receive his troops within their walls. *Corocesium* (D) was the only city in those parts, which sustained a siege, though invested with all the forces of that mighty monarch. While he was employed before this place, the *Rhodians*, not in the least terrified at his formidable power, sent an embassy to him, requiring him not to extend his conquests farther, and to withdraw his troops out of *Cilicia*, else they should be obliged to take up arms against him, and put a stop to his further progress. The proud monarch, who was used to give law to others, was highly provoked at this bold message from so small a state; but, however,

[t] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

[u] Hieron. in cap. 11. Daniel.

(D) *Corocesium* was a strong place situated near the sea on the top of a steep rock, which, according to *Strabo*, parted *Cilicia* from *Pamphylia*. This fort is now called *Scandelors*.

a however, had command enough over his paſſions not to expreſs any great reſentment; he only anſwered, that he deſired not to quarrel with the *Rhodians*, but to keep up always a good intelligence with them, and would therefore take care to order his embaſſadors to renew the ancient treaties his anceſtors had made with *Rhodes*. He then ſent embaſſadors to *Rhodes*, but in the mean time continued the ſiege of *Coraceſium*, which was at length taken by aſſault; ſeveral other cities of *Ionia* and *Æolis* underwent the ſame fate; but *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, and the iſland of *Samos* were preſerved by the good offices of the *Rhodians*, and the large ſupplies of men and proviſions, which they ſent them. *Antiochus*, having thus reduced moſt of the maritime cities of *Aſia Minor*, at length ſailed to *Epheſus*, and having likeb wiſe made himſelf maſter of that city, took up his winter quarters there, ſpending the remainder of the year in concerting with his officers ſuch meaſures as might be moſt proper for the purſuing and accompliſhing of his vaſt deſigns; for nothing leſs than the intire conqueſt of all thoſe kingdoms, which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, would ſatisfy his ambition [w].

Smyrna, *Lampſacus*, and other *Greek* cities of *Aſia*, which at that time enjoyed their liberty, finding that *Antiochus* deſigned to reduce them all to the condition they were in under his anceſtors, reſolved to ſtand out againſt him; but not being able to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy with their own ſtrength, they implored the protection of the *Romans*, who willingly granted them it; for they plainly ſaw that it was their c intereſt to check the progreſs of *Antiochus* towards the weſt, and that if they ſuffered him to ſettle on the coaſt of *Aſia*, according to the plan he had laid down, he would have an eaſy paſſage from thence into *Europe*, and diſturb them in the poſſeſſion of the provinces they had already conquered, or might for the future conquer in *Thrace* and the adjacent countries. They therefore gladly laid hold of this opportunity, which the free cities offered them of oppoſing his further progreſs; and immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to him; but before their arrival, *Antiochus*, having ſent two detachments from his army to beſiege *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus*, had with the reſt left *Epheſus*, and, croſſing the *Helleſpont*, ſeized all the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*. His pretence for it was to take poſſeſſion of the old inheritance of his anceſtors. We have already obſerved, that *Seleucus Nicator* had vanquiſhed in *Phrygia* d *Lyſimachus* king of *Thrace*; and this *Antiochus* thought a ſufficient title to juſtify his claim upon *Thrace* as being his great-grandfather's conqueſt. The city of *Lyſimachia*, which ſtood on the iſthmus leading into the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, had been founded by this *Lyſimachus*, but then lay in ruins, having been taken and reduced to this condition a few years before by the *Thracians*. *Antiochus* therefore had a deſign to rebuild *Lyſimachia*, and make it the capital of a great kingdom, which he intended as a portion for his ſecond ſon *Seleucus*. He was bent upon theſe projects when he left *Epheſus*, and brought his troops by land into the *Cherſoneſus*, his fleet arriving before him at *Lyſimachia*. Here he made it his firſt buſineſs to rebuild and repeople that great e city. It was by its ſituation the moſt advantageous place he could have pitched upon in *Europe*; he therefore undertook to make it a convenient port for ſhips of all ſizes, and a magazine of arms and proviſions for the armies he intended to employ in the recovery of *Thrace*. With this view he aſſembled together its old inhabitants, who were diſperſed and ſcattered in ſeveral places, reſcued from ſlavery ſuch as had been made captives, brought thither new citizens from the neighbouring countries, gave them moſt ample privileges, and furniſhed them with cattle, with inſtruments of huſbandry, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for their encouragement. [x]

The free cities of Aſia *implore the protection of the* Romans.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus buſied in the reſtoring of *Lyſimachia*, the *Roman* embaſſadors, with ſome deputies from the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, arrived in *Thrace*, and f finding *Antiochus* then at *Selymbria*, a city of that country, did all that lay in their power to diſſuade him from ſettling in *Europe*. *Antiochus* received them very graciouſly, and entertained them in an hoſpitable and polite manner; but in the very firſt conference their minds were ſowered againſt each other, the *Romans* giving themſelves thoſe imperious airs, which they aſſumed where-ever they came. They told him, that their republic was diſſatisfied with his conduct ever ſince he came into *Europe*, demanded the reſtitution of all the cities and provinces, which he had taken from *Ptolemy* during his minority, and above all inſiſted upon his giving up thoſe places, which he had uſurped from *Philip*; ſince the *Romans*, who had conquered the

Embaſſadors ſent from Rome *to* Antiochus. *Year of the flood* 2803. *Year before Chriſt* 196.

[w] Liv. l. xxxiii. Hieron. in cap. xi. Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. [x] Liv. & Appian. ubi ſupra.

the *Macedonian*, had a right to diſpoſe of them. What! ſaid *L. Cornelius*, who a ſpoke on this occaſion, ſhall *Rome* have been at all the expence of the war with *Philip*, and *Antiochus* reap the advantages of it? We ſhould perhaps have connived at your conqueſts in *Aſia*. But thoſe you are come to make in *Europe* we will not ſuffer. Is not this ſtep a declaration of war with the *Roman* ſenate and people? To this *Antiochus*, putting on an haughty air in his turn, replied, I have long obſerved that *Rome* is very watchful of my ſteps, but quite regardleſs of her own. Know then, proud *Romans*, that it no more concerns you to examine what I do in *Aſia*, than it concerns me to controul you in any of your undertakings in *Italy*. You complain of my proceeding with regard to the king of *Egypt*; he is my friend, and will ſoon become my ſon-in-law; and then we ſhall ſettle our differences between b ourſelves. As to the *Thracian* cities, which I have lately taken from king *Philip*, I muſt let you know, that the *Cherſoneſus* was never a part of his dominions: *Nicator*, my great-grandfather, formerly conquered it, and took it from *Lyſimachus*, whom he overcame in *Phrygia*. *Ptolemy*, indeed, and *Philip* divided *Thrace* between them, while my predeceſſor was buſy elſewhere. But that does not alter the nature of their uſurpation; and I am come now juſtly to recover what they unjuſtly invaded. The *Thracians* have demoliſhed *Lyſimachia*, a city belonging to me; and I am come to rebuild it. I will make it the capital of a kingdom, which is my right, and which I deſign for my younger ſon. The *Romans* deſired that the embaſſadors from *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might be called in; and they, being admitted accordingly, c ſpoke with ſo much freedom, that *Antiochus*, not able to bear it, cried out in a violent paſſion, that the *Romans* were not to be his judges; upon which the aſſembly broke up in great diſorder, no ſatisfaction being given on either ſide, but all things tending to an open rupture [y]. It muſt be owned, that according to the laws ſettled among the captains of *Alexander*, who ſurvived that prince and divided his conqueſts, the claim of *Antiochus* to *Thrace* was not ill grounded. The ſtrongeſt took from the weakeſt the ſhare he had uſurped upon the diviſion of *Alexander*'s dominions; and by this rule *Thrace*, which *Lyſimachus* had ſeized, belonged to *Nicator*, who had conquered him, and conſequently to *Antiochus* his great-grandſon. Nevertheleſs this diſpute would have laſted a great while, if *Antiochus* had not been obliged to leave *Lyſimachia* for another enterprize, which was of more conſequence to him than even this [z]. A report was ſpread, that the king of *Egypt* was dead; whereupon *Antiochus* looking upon *Egypt* as his own, haſtened on board his fleet to take poſſeſſion of it, and having left his ſon *Seleucus* with the army at *Lyſimachia* to carry on the work begun there, he firſt ſailed to *Epheſus*, where he joined to his fleet all the ſhips he found in that harbour, and made all the ſail he could for *Egypt*; but on his arrival at *Pateræ* in *Lycia*, certain advice being brought him, that the report which was ſpread of *Ptolemy*'s death was falſe, he changed his courſe, and made for the iſland of *Cyprus*, with a deſign to ſeize it; but meeting in his way thither with a violent ſtorm, his fleet ſuffered ſhipwreck near the mouth of the river *Sarus*, which e diſcharges itſelf into the *Cilician* ſea. After a conſiderable loſs of ſhips and men, he was glad to put in at *Seleucia* (E), to repair his ſhattered veſſels, and from thence return to *Antioch*, without attempting any thing elſe that year [a].

What occaſioned the report of *Ptolemy*'s death was, a conſpiracy, which had been formed againſt the life of that prince, and was firſt ſuppoſed, and afterwards reported, to have taken effect. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* was the author of this conſpiracy, who being commander in chief of all the foreign forces in the ſervice of the *Egyptian* king, moſt of which were *Ætolians*, imagined, that with ſo formidable a body of well-diſciplined troops, it would be eaſy for him to uſurp the crown, and make himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom during the king's minority. He had already f formed his ſcheme for the attempt, and no doubt would have ſucceeded in it, had he executed his treaſon with the ſame boldneſs and reſolution with which he contrived it. But though he was a very bold and daring man, yet when he came to the execution, his heart failed him, and, inſtead of going reſolutely through with it, as ſuch a de-

[y] Polyb. Legat. 10. p. 800. & l. xvii. p. 769. Liv. & Appian. ibid. [z] Liv. & Appian. ubi ſupra. [a] Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771, 772. & Valesii Excerpt. p. 61.

(E) Several cities, as we have obſerved elſewhere, bore this name, being all built by *Seleucus Nicator*. The city here ſpoke of ſtood in *Cilicia*, about twelve miles from the ſea, on the banks of the *Calicadnus*. The ancient geographers, to diſtinguiſh it from the other cities of the ſame name, call it *Seleucia Trachiotis*; an appellation which well agrees with the mountainous and rocky country in which it ſtood.

a a desperate attempt required, he began to consult at home, and debate with his friends and accomplices, how he might best manage it, and by that means let slip the opportunity. For *Aristomenes*, the prime minister, having in the mean time got information of the plot, caused *Scopas* to be seized, and, having examined him before the council, and found him guilty, ordered him and all his accomplices to be executed. As for the rest of the *Ætolians*, they having forfeited the good opinion which the *Egyptians* had entertained of them on account of their fidelity till that time, most of them were disbanded, and sent back into their own country. *Scopas* was found at his death possessed of vast riches, which he had amassed by plundering the countries where he commanded as general. As he had, during the course of his victories,
b reduced *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. One of his chief accomplices in this plot was *Dicæarchus*, who had formerly been admiral in the service of *Philip* king of *Macedon*. We are told by *Polybius*, that *Philip* having commanded him to make war on the *Cyclades*, contrary to the most sacred and solemn treaties, to shew how little he regarded either piety or justice, before he sailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to *iniquity*, and the other to *impiety*, and sacrificed on them both, to insult, we may say, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so signally distinguished himself by his crimes, *Aristomenes* very justly distinguished him from the rest of the conspirators in his punishment. For the others were dispatched by poison; but *Dicæar-*
c *chus* tormented to death[b].

Early next spring *Antiochus* set out from *Antioch* on his return to *Ephesus*, and was scarce gone, when *Hannibal* arrived there, claiming his protection. This great general had lived six years unmolested at *Carthage*, ever since the last peace with the *Romans*. But being now suspected to hold a secret correspondence with *Antiochus*, and in concert with him to form projects against *Rome*, his enemies sent privately advice of this to the senate. Hereupon embassadors were immediately dispatched to *Carthage*, under pretence of settling some small differences between *Masiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, but in reality to watch *Hannibal*'s conduct. If they found that he had entered into any engagements with *Antiochus*, the embassadors were ordered to demand
d him to be delivered up to them. But *Hannibal* no sooner heard of their arrival than he suspected their business, and knowing that he was guilty of the practices which had been laid to his charge, resolved to withdraw before the embassadors could make any inquiries. As he was *Suffes*, that is, the chief magistrate of the republic, he was obliged to appear continually in public; and this made his escape the more difficult. He therefore managed it with a great deal of address; he ordered his gold and silver to be carried to *Thapsus*, a city near a country-seat, which he had on the sea-shore at a small distance from *Carthage*. There he equipped two small vessels, manned them with good rowers, and concealed them in a little gulf within reach of his house. When the day came on which he designed to set out, he appeared before the senate
e and people as usual, and even had a conference with the *Roman* embassadors. In the evening he went out on horseback, as it were, to take a turn to *Thapsus*, from whence he was to return immediately, and therefore he ordered his attendants as *Suffes* to wait for him at the gate of the city. Being arrived at his country-house, he immediately imbarqued with a few chosen servants, and set sail for the island of *Cercina*; from *Cercina* he steered his course to *Tyre*, where he was received with all the respect due to so great a warrior, the *Tyrians*, who were originally the founders of *Carthage*, looking upon him as one of their own citizens. However, he did not stay long there, but pursued his journey to *Antioch*, hoping to find *Antiochus* there. But he being already gone for *Ephesus*, one of the king's sons kept him some days at *Antioch*, being
f desirous that this great man should be present at the festival celebrated near *Daphne* in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. Assoon as the ceremony was over, *Hannibal* set sail for *Ephesus*, where he found *Antiochus* yet wavering between peace and war. But *Hannibal*'s presence, and the reasons that great adversary of the *Romans* offered him, with the high opinion *Antiochus* had of his conduct and valour, soon determined the king's resolution for war. He did not doubt but, with the counsel and assistance of a man, who had so often defeated the *Romans*, and thereby justly gained the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to accomplish all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests; accordingly war being

Hannibal *puts himself under the protection of* Antiochus. *Year of the flood* 2804. *Year before Christ* 195.

[b] Idem, ibid.

being resolved on, all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations (F). a

Embassadors sent by Antiochus, *first to* Flaminius, *and afterwards to* Rome.

In the mean time, *Antiochus* being informed at *Ephesus* that *Flaminius*, who was then at the head of the *Roman* troops in *Greece*, was making great preparations for a new war, and apprehending that he might fall upon his son *Seleucus*, who was busy in rebuilding *Lysimachia* in *Thrace*, sent deputies to *Flaminius* to propose an alliance with *Rome*. By this embassy *Antiochus* designed only to gain time, and discover what the *Romans* were doing. *Flaminius* answered the envoys, that his power was expired since the departure of the ten commissioners, who had been sent to settle the affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon*; wherefore, if their master desired to treat with the republic, he might send an embassy to *Rome*, where the senate would examine his proposals[a]. When the embassadors returned to *Ephesus* with this answer, *Antiochus*, not having yet made the necessary preparations for the war he designed, in order to gain more time, resolved to send a new embassy to *Rome*, and accordingly ordered *Menippus*, *Hegesinax*, and *Lysias* to depart immediately, and desire of the *Roman* senate in his name the friendship and alliance of the republic. On their arrival at *Rome* they were not received with that civility and regard, which the dignity and reputation of their master deserved; the proposal they made was not at all relished by the major part of the senators; the senate pretended to compound with them, and set bounds to their master's pretensions; nay, before they gave their answer, they took indirect means to affront the embassadors, they would not admit them into the senate, but referred them to the ten commissioners, who had been formerly sent into *Macedonia*, to conclude a peace with *Philip* and settle the affairs of *Greece*. *Flaminius*, who was then at *Rome*, was at the head of the commission, which did not a little displease the embassadors; for they remembered how he had received the embassy sent him by their master, while he commanded the *Roman* forces in *Greece*. However, the embassadors appeared before this new court, when *Menippus* expressed himself in the following manner: Why are all these delays made, and indirect methods taken to give us a plain answer? Our proposal is very plain, and contains no manner of difficulty; we desire the friendship and alliance of the *Roman* people. We do not come to treat with you as a conquered people with their conqueror, or as nations at war with one another, to settle their differences in an amicable manner. *Antiochus* and the *Romans* are neither upon the foot of enemies, or of conquerors. Why then do you pretend to give law to us? What right have you to dispose of the cities of *Asia* and *Europe*? What authority have you to direct us to withdraw our garisons from some places, and not to seize others? You may indeed treat *Philip* in this manner; but do the laws of nations give you a right to assume such an authority over *Antiochus*? *Flaminius* answered this discourse of *Menippus* with an imperious air, in the following terms: Since you insist upon a direct answer, I will give you one: *Antiochus* shall not be our friend and ally, but upon two conditions. The first is, that he keep within the bounds of *Asia*. The second, that if he comes into *Europe*, he shall not take it amiss, that the *Romans* protect the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and enter into an alliance with them. At these words *Hegesianax* could not help crying out, What injustice! your design plainly is to dispossess *Antiochus* of the dominions of his ancestors. The *Chersonesus* and all *Thrace* belonged to his great-grandfather, whose right has descended intire to him. The possession which he has lately taken of his inheritance, was no more than retiring it out of the hands of usurpers. Has *Rome* so good a right as this to the *Greek* cities in *Europe* and *Asia*? By what title do you pretend to justify your conquering them, or your depriving the king of *Syria* of them? He desires indeed your friendship, but in an honourable way; he is not fond of purchasing it at so dear a rate. To these solid reasons *Flaminius* could give no other answer, but that *Rome* was determined to b c d e f

[a] Liv, l. xxxiii. in fine. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 1. & 2. Æmil. Prob. in Hannib. [d] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 24.

(F) *Cicero* tells us (48), that, while *Hannibal* was at *Ephesus*, a peripatetic philosopher by name *Phormio*, having made an elegant, and, as he thought, wise speech in his school concerning the duty and office of a commander, how he should draw up his men in battalia, advance against the enemy, retire, rally, &c. *Hannibal*, who was present, after having heard him some time with a great deal of patience, could not help crying out at last, I have heard in my days many an old fool, but never such a fool as *Phormio*. Whence *Tully* concludes, that the military art is not to be learnt from books in the closet, but by action in the field.

(48) *Cic. de Oratore, l.* ii.

a to purſue the reſolution ſhe had taken of procuring all the *Greeks* their liberty. *Æolis* and *Ionia*, ſaid he, are inhabited by colonies from *Greece*; and we have formed a deſign of ſetting all the *Greeks* at liberty. Thoſe of *Europe* are already ſecured againſt the tyranny of *Philip*, and it is now our buſineſs to protect thoſe of *Aſia* againſt the power of *Antiochus*: what can be more humane or commendable? This ſpeech of *Flaminius* confounded, if *Livy* is to be credited, *Hegeſianax*, who, by his ſilence, ſays he, ſhewed his confuſion. But, with that great hiſtorian's leave, nothing can be weaker than the principle on which *Flaminius* argued; for if *Thrace*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia* belonged to *Antiochus* by an ancient conqueſt, could the pretence of reſtoring them to their liberty be a juſt reaſon for withdrawing them from their obedience to their lawful b ſovereign? the deſign of ſetting a prince's ſubjects at liberty, is not ſurely a ſufficient reaſon for others to make war upon him: it muſt therefore be owned, that the war, which *Rome* waged with *Antiochus*, was founded on ambition, and not on juſtice. The final anſwer of the ten commiſſioners was this: Take your choice, either let *Antiochus* forbear ever ſetting foot in *Europe*, or not be ſurprized if we ſend our troops over into *Aſia*. The embaſſadors declared, That their maſter would not enter into an alliance with *Rome* upon ſuch diſhonourable terms, but would prefer a war to the loſs of his ancient right to vaſt countries in *Europe* and *Aſia* [c]. It is not improbable, that *Antiochus* made theſe firſt advances in aſking the friendſhip of the *Romans*, purely to throw all the blame of a rupture upon them; for in effect he was already c determined upon a war, and making great preparations for the carrying it on both by ſea and land.

Hannibal, who kept conſtantly with *Antiochus*, encouraging him to declare war with *Rome*, and inſpiring him with the hatred he himſelf bore to that imperious republic, made an attempt to engage his own nation in the party he had lately embraced. He had ſtill many friends at *Carthage*; however, he did not think it ſafe to treat with them by letters, but pitched upon a foreign merchant, who was come to trade at *Epheſus*, where *Hannibal* was then reſiding with *Antiochus*. His name was *Ariſto*, and he ſeemed to be mighty well qualified for any difficult negotiation. As he was by birth a *Tyrian*, he underſtood the *Carthaginian* language, the *Tyrians* and d *Carthaginians* being, as it were, but one people. Beſides, he was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity and reſolution, and *Hannibal* had more than once experienced his ſkill in buſineſs, having employed him in the execution of ſeveral important commiſſions; he therefore gave him proper inſtructions, told him the names of thoſe he might confide in, and of ſuch as he ought to ſuſpect, and, without committing any thing to writing, taught him ſeveral ſigns, by which he might ſatisfy his friends that he acted in his name. *Ariſto*, with theſe inſtructions, ſet out for *Carthage*, and arriving there was taken for a *Carthaginian*. He did not therefore make himſelf known to any but *Hannibal*'s friends, ſoliciting them, in his name, to take up arms once more againſt their old enemy, and join many other nations that were ready to e fall upon *Rome*, and in all likelihood to overpower her. He diſcovered to them the deſign *Antiochus* had formed of ſending *Hannibal* to revive the war in *Italy*, &c. But tho' the *Tyrian* carried on his negotiations with all the ſecrecy and circumſpection he could, yet his frequent viſits to the leading men of *Hannibal*'s faction betrayed him, and at length one of the oppoſite party declared in the public ſenate, that he had certain intelligence of dangerous intrigues, which were carrying on by one *Ariſto* in favour of *Antiochus*, and that a ſtorm was ready to break out, which would utterly deſtroy the *Carthaginian* republic. Hereupon the ſenators all with one voice cried out, that *Ariſto* ought to be ſeized, and embaſſadors ſent to *Rome* to deliver him up to the ſenate. *Ariſto* was therefore cited to appear, which he did without betray- f ing the leaſt fear; nay, he defied them all to produce any proof of his being ſent by *Hannibal*, or carrying on intrigues of any ſort whatſoever; but as he could not give a good account of his buſineſs at *Carthage*, and had been obſerved to make frequent and private viſits to thoſe of *Hannibal*'s faction, ſome were for ſeizing, and puniſhing him, as an emiſſary ſent by *Hannibal* to draw their republic into new troubles; but others pleaded in his behalf, remonſtrating, that, if they arreſted him upon bare ſuſpicions, no foreign merchants would, for the future, venture to come into their ports, by which means they ſhould be deprived of the moſt valuable branch of their revenues; beſides, as the ſubjects of their republic were continually trading to all the

Hannibal endeavours to draw Carthage *into a confederacy with* Antiochus.

[c] Liv. ibid c. 59.

ports of the *Mediterranean*, other nations, especially the *Tyrians*, would not fail to a
make reprizals, which would put a stop to their trade, without which their republic
could not subsist. These considerations suspended, for some days, the arrest of the
Tyrian, who took this opportunity to make his escape, having kept, the whole time
he was at *Carthage*, his ship in a readiness to set sail; but, before he went off, he
made use of a stratagem, which seemed calculated to make the *Romans* suspect the
whole senate. In the dusk of the evening he went privately into the hall where public
audiences were given, and, over the president's seat, affixed the following words in
capitals: Aristo *had no orders to treat with private persons, but with the senate of*
Carthage. His design in this was to prevent *Hannibal*'s friends from being suspected,
or brought into troubles, and to raise disturbances in the city. Accordingly the sight b
of this writing put the whole city in a ferment; some were for taking part with *Anti-*
ochus in his wars with *Rome*, others for keeping to their late engagements with a re-
public, whose superiority they had already experienced, and whose vengeance they
dreaded. The latter party prevailed, and an embassy was sent to *Rome*, to in-
form the senate of what had passed. As for *Aristo*, he set sail that very night, and
got safe to *Ephesus*, where he was amply rewarded by *Hannibal*, tho' his negotia-
tions had failed of the desired effect [f].

Anticchus in the mean-time, without declaring his intentions, continued his pre-
parations for the war he was resolved to make upon the *Romans*; and, in order to
strengthen himself by new alliances, went to *Raphia* (G), and there married his c
daughter *Cleopatra* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* king of *Egypt*, to whom she had been some
years before betrothed. The princess's portion was *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Judæa*
and *Samaria*, but upon this condition, that the revenues of these four provinces should
be equally divided between the father and son-in-law. Some writers tell us, that
Antiochus had no other view at first in marrying his daughter to *Ptolemy*, but to
have a fair opportunity, by her means, of dispatching him, and seizing the kingdom
for himself; but that the virtuous queen preferred the regard she owed to her husband
to the ambitious designs of her father. On his return from *Raphia* to *Antioch*, he
married *Antiochis* his second daughter to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. The third
was designed for *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, in order to draw off that brave prince d
from his ancient alliance with *Rome*. With this view he caused the match to be pro-
posed to the king of *Pergamus* and his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Philetærus*. His
two brothers highly approved of it, thinking it a very honourable and an advan-
tagious match; but the young king himself judged otherwise of it, thinking it
advisable to prefer the alliance of the *Romans* to that of *Antiochus*. He told his
brothers, that, if he married the daughter of *Antiochus*, he could not help engaging
with him in his wars against the *Romans*, who, if they should get the better of
Antiochus, as he had reason to believe they might, would certainly drive them out
of his kingdom. On the other hand, if *Antiochus* should conquer, no advantage
would accrue from thence to him, it being manifest, that *Antiochus* aimed at the e
sovereignty of all *Asia*; and if he accomplished his designs, he might perhaps leave
him, as being his son-in-law, on the throne, but would, at the same time, require
such subjection and dependence from him, as would sowr all the pleasure of reigning.
These reflections made *Eumenes* reject the offer made him by the king of *Syria*, and
continue attached to the *Romans*. The event sufficiently proved the wisdom of his
choice [g].

Antiochus had no sooner solemnized these marriages, but he hastened back into
Asia Minor, and arrived at *Ephesus* in the depth of the winter. From thence, in
the beginning of the spring, he marched against the *Pisidians*, who still held out
against him, and made himself master of all the country round *Selga*, a city on the f
banks of the river *Cestrius* (H). The *Romans*, hearing of the progress he made in
Pisidia,

[f] Liv. l. xxxiv. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 3, 4. Appian. in Syriac. p. 89, 90. [g] Liv. l. xxxv. & xxxvii. Appian. in Syriac, p. 88. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. Polyb. legat. 25.

(G) *Strabo* and *Livy* place *Raphia* in *Phœnice*; *Ptolemy* makes it a city of *Samaria*, and *Pliny* of *Idumæa*; but as it stood near *Gaza*, it is counted by other geographers among the cities of *Palestine*.

(H) The name of *Selga* is corrupted in most copies of *Livy*. *Gelenius* is of opinion, that *Livy* means the city of *Selga*, which stood on a mountain near the borders of *Pamphylia*; and for this reason some modern geographers place it among the cities of that province. *Niger* calls it *Philadelphia*. *Glarean*, instead of *Sica* and *Sita*, which we find in the text, reads *Sida*, which was a city of *Pamphylia* near *Pisidia*, at a small distance from the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*.

Pisidia, and being informed by their friends in *Asia*, that most of the eastern princes were ready to declare for *Antiochus*, in order to avert the evil consequences of an alliance, into which all *Asia* seemed to have entered, and at the same time to have a certain knowledge of the state of affairs in those distant regions, thought it necessary to send embassadors to the king of *Syria*, with orders to visit the coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, and there see what states or republics seemed to waver between *Antiochus* and *Rome*. Three persons of distinction, who had been already employed in negotiations with the princes of the east, were pitched upon for this embassy, *viz.* *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Ælius*, three of the ten commissioners who had settled affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon*. *Livy*, on the authority of some historians, tells us, that *Scipio* was in this embassy, and that, on this occasion, *Hannibal* gave him that celebrated answer, when, speaking of great commanders, he named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, and himself in the third. Some authors are of opinion that *Scipio* was not in this commission, and consequently look upon the conference between him and *Hannibal* as a mere fiction; but this point we shall examine in a more proper place. The embassadors set out from *Rome*, and, pursuant to their directions, landed at *Elæa* (I) in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where they found king *Eumenes* ready to take up arms against *Antiochus*. As this prince was still in *Pisidia*, and *Hannibal* waited for him at *Ephesus*, the *Roman* embassadors went thither to visit *Hannibal*, being ordered by the senate to gain him over, if possible, or at least, by their civilities, to make *Antiochus* suspect him as keeping a secret intelligence with his enemies. The last of these designs had the desired effect, as we shall soon see, *Villius*, and, if *Claudius Quadrigarius* is to be credited, *Scipio* paying him frequent visits, and shewing a particular regard for him. In one of these visits they reproached him, in a friendly manner, with his flight from *Carthage*, assuring him, that *Rome* would have protected him against his domestic enemies; they advised him to return to his own country, where he should, under the protection of *Rome*, be reinstated in all his former honours; they told him, that *Rome* never spoke of him but with admiration, the terror which he had formerly struck into her, being changed into esteem, *&c.* *Hannibal* was greatly pleased with these fine speeches; but nevertheless could not be prevailed upon either to return to *Carthage*, or abandon the cause of *Antiochus*, which he had espoused. He often appeared in public with the *Roman* embassadors, frequently conversed with them in private, and lastly, even suffered them to lodge with him in the same house, not being well apprised, as sagacious as he was, of the bad consequences that might attend his conversing thus familiarly with the *Roman* envoys. In effect, *Antiochus* was informed of it in *Pisidia*, and, from that time, began to suspect him, fancying that he had reconciled himself to *Rome*; he was therefore no more employed in making the necessary preparations for the war, *Antiochus* not thinking it safe to depend upon him in matters of such importance [h].

A new embassy sent by the Romans *to* Antiochus.

From *Ephesus* the embassadors advanced to *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, with a design to wait there for *Antiochus*, who being informed of their arrival, went thither to hear their propositions. As the *Romans* were too proud to abate any thing of their pretensions, they still insisted on *Antiochus*'s confining himself to *Asia*; on his giving up some cities which he actually possessed, and his renouncing all his rights in *Europe*, particularly to *Thrace* and the *Chersonesus*; so that the conference between the king and the embassadors was warm, but not long, a melancholy piece of news which the king received having soon put an end to it. He received advice, that his son *Antiochus*, a prince of great merit, and one who had signalized himself by a conduct worthy of an hero, was dead in *Syria*, whither he had been sent to keep those provinces in their duty. What heightened the king's grief on this occasion was, a report spread abroad, that he, growing jealous of his rising merit, had caused him to be poisoned by the eunuchs of his court. Tho' this report had no good foundation, it was necessary for the king to destroy it, by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. The embassadors were therefore dismissed without concluding any thing, and *Antiochus* pursued his

Hannibal *over-reached by the* Roman *envoys.*

[h] Liv. l. xxxiv, xxxv. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 4. Front. Stratag. l. i. c. 8. Appian. in Syriacs p. 90, 91.

(I) *Elæa* bordered upon *Great Mysia*, about twenty miles from *Pergamus*, and stood on the *Ægean* sea, near the mouth of the *Caicus*, over-against *Metelina*, and had a convenient harbour. It is at present a small village, known by the name of *Alea*. The ancient city of *Elæa* was divided from *Lesbos* by an arm of the sea, called the *gulph of* Elœa.

his rout to *Epheſus*, where *Hannibal*, who was ſtill in that city, ſoon found, that he a
was not the ſame favourite as formerly; for *Antiochus*, under pretence of ſolitude, ſhut himſelf up in his palace, and refuſed the *Carthaginian* admittance. The king ſpent his whole time there in private conferences with one *Minio* his ſole confident. *Minio* was a courtier, who had no knowledge of foreign affairs, and judged of his maſter's war with the *Romans* only by the victories he had gained in the eaſt. He did not doubt in the leaſt, but *Antiochus*, who had defeated *Achæus*, *Molo*, *Alexander*, and often the king of *Egypt*, would, in like manner, humble the haughty *Romans*; being therefore big with this expectation, he deſired the king to ſend for the *Roman* embaſſadors, who were then at *Pergamus*, and undertook to anſwer them in his name. *Antiochus*, being tired with ſo many uſeleſs conferences, and his mourning b
ſerving him for a juſt pretence to treat with the *Romans* for the future only by his favourites, complied with his requeſt, and the embaſſadors were accordingly ſent for. When they arrived, the proud *Minio* received them with more haughtineſs than *Antiochus* himſelf would have done. What he chiefly urged in behalf of his maſter's pretenſions was, That he had as good a right to the countries poſſeſſed by the eaſtern *Greeks*, whom he or his anceſtors had conquered, as the *Romans* had to thoſe of the weſtern *Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily*. All the *Greek* colonies, ſaid *Minio*, have, according to you, a right to the general liberty of *Greece*; but does not *Rome* herſelf act in a direct oppoſition to this pretty ſpeculation? Are there not cities in *Italy* which are as much *Grecian* as thoſe in *Aſia*? Were not *Rhegium*, *Naples*, and *Tarentum* built c
by *Greeks*? and yet you exclude them from this general infranchiſement, and keep them in ſubjection to your republic. What! can you keep the eaſtern part of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, the fineſt iſland in the ſea, in ſlavery, and, at the ſame time, make war upon *Antiochus*, becauſe he keeps *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace* under his juriſdiction? What is the difference between the ſlavery of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* on one ſide, and that of *Tarentum* and *Syracuſe* on the other? The right *Antiochus* has to *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace* was derived to him from his anceſtors; whereas *Rome* owes her poſſeſſing of *Great Greece* in *Italy*, and all the whole iſland of *Sicily*, to conqueſt. He concluded his ſpeech by deſiring them not to uſe querks or impertinent words, but to give a direct anſwer to this queſtion, Why does not *Rome* maintain the liberty d
of the weſtern *Greeks*, ſince ſhe is ſo zealous for that of the eaſtern? *Sulpitius* endeavoured to anſwer this demand, by ſaying, That *Rome*, ever ſince ſhe conquered thoſe cities, had held them without any interruption, they never having paſſed into any other hands from the time they were firſt ſubdued by the republic; whereas the *Greek* countries poſſeſſed or claimed by *Antiochus*, tho' formerly conquered by his anceſtors, had undergone, ſince that time, many changes. Some, ſaid he, have been ſubject to *Philip* or *Ptolemy*; others have recovered their liberty; can therefore any thing be more juſt and humane than to reſtore it to them [i]? The reaſoning of the *Roman* was, as every one ſees, more ſpecious than ſolid; ſo that all things conſidered, the war which the *Romans* made upon the king of *Syria* was unjuſt, and e
the effect only of their unbounded ambition. However, *Minio*, by his maſter's order, offered to give up his claim to ſome *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, and to maintain the liberty of *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*; nay, he even conſented, that theſe free ſtates ſhould enter into an alliance with *Rome*; but the embaſſadors were not ſatisfied, and ſtill inſiſted, that *Ionia* and *Æolis* ſhould partake of the common liberty of *Greece*. This *Antiochus* oppoſed, and the embaſſadors returned to *Italy*, leaving matters in the ſame ſituation they had found them on their firſt arrival [k].

Antiochus reſolves upon a war with the Romans.

They were no ſooner gone but *Antiochus* called a council of war, compoſed of all the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as *Syrians*. *Hannibal* alone was excluded from it, his too familiar conferences with the *Roman* envoys having made *Antiochus* f
jealous of him. The queſtion which the king put to the council was, Whether it was proper to make war with the *Romans*? The council knew the king's inclinations, and were therefore all zealous for a war, that being the ſureſt way to make their court, and gain his confidence. *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who had formerly ſerved *Philip* and was now in great favour with *Antiochus*, aſſured the king, that the *Macedonians* would join him as ſoon as he landed in *Greece*; and that, as the *Ætolians* and *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta* had taken up arms, and were ready to declare for him, he could not fail of ſucceſs; but at the ſame time he adviſed him to diſmiſs *Hannibal*, and ſend him

[i] Liv. ibid Appian. in Syriac. p. 92. [k] Idem ibid.

him back to his own country. His presence there, said he, will alone be sufficient to keep the *Romans* in awe, and increase their diffidence. The hopes, in all likelihood, of commanding the army himself, was what induced the *Acarnanian* to give this advice; but, however that be, *Antiochus* from that time resolved to declare war with the *Romans*.

In the mean time *Hannibal* plainly seeing, by the king's behaviour to him, that he had taken umbrage at his conduct, thought it necessary to undeceive him; having therefore demanded, and, with much-ado, obtained a private audience, he told the king, that when he was scarce nine years old, he began to be an irreconcileable enemy to the *Romans*, his father *Hamilcar* having made him swear upon the altars, that he would never lay aside his hatred to *Rome* but with his life; that he had ever acted suitable to that oath, having made war with those republicans for thirty years together; that he had now left his native country for no other reason but to keep more strictly to these engagements; that this animosity brought him into *Asia*, and the eager desire he had of doing what mischief he could to that proud and imperious republic, had led him into his dominions. If you, said the *Carthaginian*, disdain my assistance, guided by the same hatred, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up new enemies against *Rome*. I hate them, and am hated by them. So long as you are resolved to make war upon them, you may consider *Hannibal* as the first of your friends; but if there be any motives which incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not of me. I seek for nothing but war, and if I cannot find it here, I will be gone, and leave the place, I ought to hold near you, to courtiers, who seek my ruin only to aggrandize themselves. *Antiochus*, struck with these words, seemed to be reconciled to him. He then told the king, That he did not, by any means, approve of the advice which *Alexander* the *Acarnanian* had given him. No, said he, it is not in *Greece*, but in *Italy* that you can make yourself formidable. The *Romans* are invincible every-where but on their own continent. You must employ the forces of the *Italians* against the masters of *Italy*. Indeed any other nation would find it difficult to transport troops into the east; but the *Romans* will tire you out even here by their constancy. Their troops will overrun these countries like a torrent in a few months. This I take the liberty to tell you now in private, and shall not be afraid to repeat the same things in public in the face of your court. Have I not some right to teach your generals how to make war with the *Romans*? They were never able to conquer me so long as I kept footing in *Italy*; but *Carthage* recalled me, and I met with a conqueror in *Africa*, who could not hurt me in *Italy*. Take therefore my advice, carry your troops over into *Italy*, and stop the inundation which threatens you at the spring head [1]. This discourse would have made a lasting impression in the mind of *Antiochus*, had not the many flatterers about him, who were jealous of *Hannibal*, effaced it; and lucky it was for *Rome* that *Hannibal*'s scheme was thus opposed; for the *Brutii*, *Salentini*, *Lucani*, *Samnites*, and the greatest part of the east of *Italy* were ready to follow his standards, while the *Gauls* in the west would have obliged the *Romans* to divide their forces; so that *Rome* would have relapsed into the same dangers from which *Scipio* had delivered her.

Hannibal's speech to Antiochus, who distrusted him.

His opinion with relation to the war.

The *Romans*, not knowing yet for certain whether *Antiochus* would accept or not the conditions offered him, made no preparations for war till the return of their ambassadors; but then they began to take proper measures to prevent the evils that threatened them, both in *Greece*, where the *Ætolians* were ready to revolt, and in *Asia*, where *Antiochus* was making vast preparations. Nothing now kept this prince in *Asia*, but an expedition which he had undertaken against the cities of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Alexandria* in *Troas*, which *Antiochus* thought dangerous to leave behind him unreduced. The *Ætolians* being, from confederates of the *Romans*, now become their enemies, had sent embassadors to him, inviting him over into *Greece*. *Thoas*, the brother of *Dicæarchus*, then prætor of *Ætolia*, who was at the head of this embassy, assured *Antiochus*, that the *Ætolians* would join him as soon as he landed in *Greece*, with all their forces, and act in concert with him; that *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Nabis* king of *Lacedæmon*, and several other *Greek* powers, who hated the *Romans* in their hearts, would declare against them. He observed in his speech to the king, that the *Romans*, by drawing their forces out of *Greece*, had left

[1] Liv. ibid.

it in a defenceleſs condition; that this was the beſt opportunity he could wiſh for to poſſeſs himſelf of that country; that the *Greeks* would all receive him with open arms the inſtant he came among them, &c. This ſoothing deſcription of the ſtate of *Greece* prevailed ſo far with *Antiochus*, that he reſolved to drop the deſign of reducing the three above-mentioned cities, and haſten into *Europe*, without even waiting for the forces that were in full march from *Syria* to join him. Accordingly, having first gone to *Ilium*, and there offered a ſacrifice to *Minerva*, he embarked for *Greece*, with no more than ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, which were ſcarce enough to take poſſeſſion of the country, had it been wholly unguarded. With theſe forces he arrived in the iſland of *Eubœa*, about the end of the ſummer, and from thence paſſed to *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, where he ſummoned all the chief officers of his army, to conſult with them about the future operations of the war. On this occaſion *Hannibal*, who was admitted to the council, and aſked his opinion in the firſt place, inſiſted on what he had often declared, *viz.* That the *Romans* were not to be conquered but in *Italy*, and therefore it had been his conſtant advice to begin the war there; however, ſince other meaſures had been taken, and the king was then in *Greece*, it was his opinion, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, that the king ſhould ſend immediately for all his forces out of *Aſia*, without depending upon the *Etolians* or other *Greek* allies, who, he foreſaw, would deceive him; and that the inſtant theſe forces arrived, he ſhould march with them to thoſe coaſts of *Greece* which lie over-gainſt *Italy*, and there likewiſe keep his fleet, one half of which ſhould be employed to ravage and alarm the coaſts of *Italy*, and the other kept in ſome harbour near him, to make ſhew of paſſing over, and to be, in effect, ready to croſs over, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. By this means, ſaid he, the *Romans* will be kept at home to guard their own coaſts; and this, at the ſame time, will be the beſt method of carrying the war into *Italy*, the only place where they can be conquered. This advice was undoubtedly the beſt that could then be given to *Antiochus*; but he complied with it only in that particular which related to the troops of *Aſia*, ſending immediately orders to *Polyxenides* his admiral to tranſport them into *Greece*. With regard to all the reſt of *Hannibal*'s plan, the flatterers about the court diverted the king from putting it in execution, aſſuring him, that he could not fail of ſucceſs; that, ſhould he follow *Hannibal*'s plan, all the glory would be aſcribed to the *Carthaginian* who had formed it; that it was proper the king ſhould have all the honour of this expedition, and therefore they adviſed him to follow his own counſels, without hearkening any more to *Hannibal*. After this the king went to *Lamia*, and there being inveſted with the chief command of the *Ætolians*, and declared their generaliſſimo, he returned to *Eubœa*, where he made himſelf maſter of *Chalcis*, and took up his winter-quarters in that city [m]. There he fell in love with the daughter of a *Chalcidian* called *Cleoptolemus*, in whoſe houſe he lodged; and notwithſtanding the diſproportion of her age, ſhe being under twenty, and he upwards of fifty, married her, and paſſed the remainder of the winter in nuptial rejoicings and revellings, with as much ſecurity as in the moſt peaceable times. The example of the king infected the whole army, both officers and ſoldiers abandoning themſelves to idleneſs and debauchery. He was not rouzed out of this lethargy, till news was brought him, that *Acilius* the *Roman* conſul was advancing full march againſt him at the head of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. All he could do on this alarm, was to ſeize the famous ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, and ſend to the *Ætolians* for more forces; for the inclemency of the weather, and contrary winds having prevented the arrival of the *Aſiatic* troops, which *Polyxenidas* was bringing over, the king had only thoſe forces with him which he had brought the year before; but before the *Ætolians* could come to his aſſiſtance, the *Romans* having forced, with incredible bravery, the paſſes of *Thermopylæ*, cut the king's army in pieces, *Antiochus* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped with only five hundred men to *Chalcis* [n]. But of this battle and the ſurrender of the cities and ſtrong holds that followed it, we have already given a particular and diſtinct account in our hiſtory of *Greece* [o]. *Antiochus* did not ſtay long at *Chalcis*, but from thence made all the haſte he could to his fleet, and going on board with the poor remains of his ſhattered army, paſſed over to *Epheſus*, carrying with him his young wife; and thinking himſelf ſafe there from the *Romans*, he entirely neglected every

Antiochus *croſſes over into* Greece. *Year after the flood* 2807. *Before Chriſt* 192.

Antiochus *defeated at* Thermopylæ. *Year of the flood* 2808. *Before Chriſt* 191.

Antiochus *returns into* Aſia.

[m] Liv. l. xxxvi. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 5 & 6. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93, 94. [n] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Catone Appian. Front. l. 2. ſtratag. [o] Hist. Univers. Vol. II. p. 847.

a every thing that could ſecure him againſt ſo formidable an enemy. His flatterers had made him believe, that they would never venture over into *Aſia*; but *Hannibal*, who had regained his confidence, rouzed him out of the idle and indolent life, into which he was relapſed, telling him, that as the *Roman* fleet was no leſs formidable than their land-forces, he was ſurprized that they had not yet croſſed over into *Aſia*; that they would without all doubt ſoon appear on the coaſts, and oblige him to fight both by ſea and land for the dominion of *Aſia*; and that he muſt reſolve either to renounce his pretenſions to ſo wealthy a country, or to defend it ſword in hand. The king was ſtruck with this ſpeech, and therefore ſent to haſten the march of his troops from the eaſtern provinces, which were not yet arrived. He likewiſe cauſed his fleet b to be equipped with all poſſible expedition, and going on board of it himſelf ſet ſail for the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, where he fortified *Lyſimachia*, as alſo *Seſtos* and *Abydos*, and the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the *Romans* from croſſing the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, who was then at *Epheſus*, having received advice that the *Roman* fleet had appeared off *Delos*, diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint *Antiochus* therewith. Upon this intelligence the king haſtened back to *Epheſus*, and having there ſummoned a council of war, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that *Polyxenidas*, the *Syrian* admiral, ſhould ſail out in ſearch of the *Roman* fleet, and venture an engagement. Accordingly the fleet, to the number of an hundred, or, as others will have it, two hundred ſail, weighed anchor, ſteering their courſe c towards *Phocæa* in *Æolis*. The *Roman* fleet, commanded by *C. Livius*, and conſiſting of fourſcore ſhips, upon intelligence that the *Syrians* were in ſearch of them, left the road of *Delos*, and having doubled the cape of *Corycus* in *Ionia*, met the enemy's fleet near *Cyſſus*. Both fleets advanced in line of battle, and engaged with the utmoſt fury; victory was long doubtful, *Livius* having the advantage in the right wing, and *Polyxenidas* in the left. At length *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, who had been placed in the rear with fifteen ſhips, falling upon *Polyxenidas*, put the enemy's right wing in diſorder, and thereby determined the fate of the day. The *Syrians* on all ſides betook themſelves to flight, and *Livius*, purſuing them, took thirty of their ſhips after having ſunk ten in the engagement. The *Romans* loſt but one d ſhip, which was taken in the very beginning of the fight; but the whole crew leaped over-board, and eſcaped ſlavery by ſwimming to the other *Roman* veſſels. *Polyxenidas* put in no-where till he got to *Epheſus*, whither *Livius* purſued him; but finding that he would not venture out, he ſent *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* home, and retired himſelf to *Canæ*, a port in *Myſia*, where he drew his ſhips aſhore for the enſuing winter, after having fortified the place with a ditch and rampart [p].

The fleet of Antiochus *defeated by that of the* Romans.

In the mean time *Antiochus* was at *Magneſia* aſſembling there his land-forces. When news was brought him that his fleet had been defeated at *Corycus*, he haſtened to the ſea-coaſt, and applied himſelf with great care to the fitting out of a new fleet, being unwilling to part with the maſtery of thoſe ſeas. He refitted the ſhips which had e eſcaped the late defeat, built new ones, and diſpatched *Hannibal* into *Syria* to bring from thence the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* fleets for their reinforcement. He likewiſe ordered his ſon *Seleucus* with one part of the army into *Æolis* to watch the *Roman* fleet, and keep that country in awe; the reſt of the troops he kept ſome time with himſelf, and then put them into winter-quarters in the neighbouring towns of *Phrygia* [q].

The next year the *Romans* appointed *L. Cornelius Scipio* conſul to command the land-forces in room of *Acilius*, and *L. Æmilius Rhegillus* to carry on the war by ſea in the place of *C. Livius*. The great *Scipio Africanus* ſerved under *Cornelius* his brother in quality of his lieutenant, to the unſpeakable joy of the *Romans*, who were f highly delighted with the expectation of ſeeing *Scipio* and *Hannibal* once more enter the lifts. They were now both ſubalterns, one under a conſul, the other under a king; and this new ſcene drew the attention of all nations.

The two brothers imbarqued at *Brunduſium* with thirteen thouſand men, including auxiliaries and voluntiers, and landed at *Apollonia*. From thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Theſſaly* to *Amphiſſa*, where *Acilius*, who was beſieging that place, reſigned the command of his two legions to the conſul. The two *Scipios*, who were in haſte to paſs over into *Aſia*, which was the chief object of their ambition, granted the *Ætolians* a ſix months truce, that they might have full time to ſend a new embaſſy

[p] Liv. l. xxxvi. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99. [q] Liv. l. xxxvi. & xxxvii. Appian. ibid. & p. 100.

embaſſy to *Rome*, and purſued their march through *Macedon* and *Thrace* to the *Helleſpont*. *Philip* had prepared every thing that could render their paſſage through his dominions agreeable to them. He came in perſon to meet them on his frontiers, and ſeemed to make it his duty, as well as pleaſure, to attend them, diſcovering in the entertainments, which he gave the chief officers of the army, ſuch a politeneſs as was very pleaſing to *Scipio Africanus*. In return for the extraordinary kindneſs he had ſhewn them, the two brothers remitted him in the name of the republic the ſums which yet remained to be annually paid by him, according to the agreement between him and *Flaminius*. In the mean time *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, being joined by the *Rhodian* fleet and that of *Eumenes*, ſailed with the latter from *Canæ* in *Myſia*, where he had wintered, to ſecure the ſtraits of the *Helleſpont*. With this view he made himſelf maſter of *Seſtos* on the ſide of *Europe*, and inveſted *Abydos* on the oppoſite ſhore; for theſe two cities ſtood oppoſite to one another in that part of the ſtrait where the paſſage into *Aſia* was the ſafeſt. While *Livias* was thus employed on the *Helleſpont*, *Polyxenidas*, having repaired the *Syrian* fleet, and being in a condition to put to ſea again, deſtroyed by a piece of treachery the greateſt part of the *Rhodian* fleet with *Pauſiſtratus*, who commanded it, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Rhodes* [r]. This diſaſter obliged *Livius* to raiſe the ſiege of *Abydos*, and haſten to the defence of the ſhips he had left in the harbour of *Canæ* in *Myſia*. Beſides *Seleucus* was making ſome progreſs on the coaſt of *Aſia*, and had already taken *Phocæa*, *Cyme*, and ſome other maritime places. It was therefore neceſſary to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the young prince, and retake *Phocæa*. But *Livius*, finding upon his arrival the gariſon of *Phocæa* very numerous, he only made a deſcent, and ravaged the neighbouring territory. From thence he ſailed to *Samos*, being attended thither by the fleet of the king of *Pergamus*. As for the *Rhodians*, the defeat of their fleet, and the loſs of their admiral, ſunk them almoſt into deſpair. However, they did not renounce their alliance with *Rome*, but fitting out twenty new galleys, they gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, who immediately joined the *Roman* fleet at *Samos*. *Livius* with this reinforcement left *Samos*, and ſailing to *Epheſus*, inſulted the *Syrian* fleet in that harbour. Some of the *Romans* landed, and laid waſte the neighbouring country; but the gariſon of *Epheſus*, marching out againſt them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire with precipitation on board their ſhips. The next day *Livius* challenged the *Syrians* to an engagement aſhore, but they declining it, he returned to *Samos*, and there reſigned the command of the fleet to *Æmilius* his ſucceſſor (K), who immediately detached him with ſome ſhips to attempt the reduction of *Patara* in *Lycia*, a place which was a great check upon the *Rhodians*, while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt, and ſoon after returned to *Rome*. As for *Æmilius*, he firſt appeared before *Epheſus* with the reſt of the *Roman* fleet, but was forced by a ſtorm to put out to ſea. Then calling to mind the affront the *Romans* had received before *Patara*, he flew thither with a deſign to beſiege the place; but the officers remonſtrating againſt the enterprize as dangerous

[r] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. III. p. 149.

(K) *Livy* tells us (49), that *Æmilius* no ſooner took upon him the command of the fleet, but he ſummoned a council of war to adviſe with the chief officers about the firſt enterpriſe he ſhould undertake. On this occaſion *Livius*, whoſe command was juſt expired, being asked his opinion the firſt, gave it, ſays our hiſtorian, like an artful man, who was jealous before-hand of the ſucceſs *Æmilius* might have. His pretence was very ſpecious, but his real deſign was, to make *Æmilius* loſe the whole campaign by engaging him in a trifling project; and it was therefore rejected. Had I continued in the command, ſaid *Livius*, my deſign was to ſhut up the mouth of the port of *Epheſus*, and there keep the *Syrian* fleet confined. To this end I would have ſunk ſome old barks filled with ſtones at the entrance into the harbour. Being by this means become ſo e maſter of the ſeas, I would have ravaged the coaſts, and forced the maritime cities to ſurrender. *Eumenes*, who ſaw into *Livius*'s deſign, replied thus: After we have ſtopped up the mouth of the port, ſhall the *Roman* fleet continue before it, or not? If it continues there, the enemy's fleet will be in better condition than ours. They will be covered and ſheltered by a great city, which will be ſupplied by land from all parts of *Aſia*. Whereas we ſhall be expoſed to winds and tempeſts, and loſe time in a road without gaining any advantage but that of continuing inactive, and giving the enemy leiſure to make the neceſſary preparations againſt the enſuing campaign. If we do not continue before *Epheſus*, the *Syrian* fleet will without all doubt, clear the mouth of the port, and ſail out; ſo that we ſhall have loſt our time, labour, and expence to no purpoſe. *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, diſapproved the project of *Livius*, without propoſing any other. But *Epicrates*, an inferior officer in the *Rhodian* fleet, was for ſending part of the fleet againſt *Patara*, and reducing that city. This propoſal was approved of, and *Livius* ordered to put it in execution.

(49) *Liv. l.* xxxvii. c. 14.

a to the allies, who in the absence of the *Roman* fleet would be left to the mercy of the enemy, he returned to *Samos*, where he was near enough to watch the motions of the *Syrians* [r].

Antiochus *invades the kingdom of* Pergamus.

While these things were doing, *Antiochus* on one side, and his son *Seleucus* on the other, thinking that the *Roman* fleet was engaged in the siege of *Patara*, invaded the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Seleucus* passing the *Caicus* from *Æolis*, where he had wintered, entered the dominions of *Eumenes* by the way of *Elæa*, while *Antiochus* advancing to *Sardis*, and from thence to the banks of the *Caicus*, incamped at a small distance from his son. The king had in his army about four thousand *Gauls*, whom he employed in plundering and laying waste the country, while *Seleucus* at the head of b his body appeared before *Pergamus*, the capital of the kingdom, threatening to besiege it. But *Eumenes*, upon the first notice of the danger from his brother *Attalus*, whom he had left to take care of his dominions during his absence, sailed back to the port of *Elæa*, landed there, and reached his capital before the enemy had notice of his march. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets followed him without delay; all the troops they had on board made a descent without opposition, and at the same time news came from all parts, that the *Scipios* were advancing by great marches through *Macedon*, would soon reach the *Hellespont*, and be ready to enter *Asia*. Upon this *Antiochus*, being struck with as much terror as he had given *Eumenes*, retired to an eminence near *Elæa*, and having intrenched himself there, sent an embassy to *Æmilius*, c desiring to enter into a treaty with him. *Æmilius*, thinking it would greatly redound to his glory to conclude a peace before the *Scipios* arrived, readily hearkened to the proposal, and desired *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* to come to his camp and assist at a council on the subject of *Antiochus*'s proposal. The *Rhodians* were not disinclined to a peace; but *Eumenes* opposed it, and by his arguments prevailed upon the council to return this answer to the messengers of *Antiochus*, that they could not determine any thing before the arrival of the *Scipios*. Hereupon *Antiochus*, leaving his son to ravage the kingdom of *Pergamus*, marched into the country of *Troas*, which adhered to the *Romans*, and encamped near *Adramyttium* at the foot of mount *Ida*. *Æmilius* therefore accompanied by *Eumenes* hastened to the assistance of those faithful allies. But *Attalus* continued at *Pergamus* to make head against *Seleucus*, and was there rein- d forced by a thousand foot and an hundred horse sent him from *Achæa*, under the command of one *Diophanes*, an officer of great courage and skill in military affairs; for with this small body he sallied out of the city, gained a considerable advantage over *Seleucus*, and obliged him to raise the siege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* [t] (L).

Antiochus

[r] Liv. l. xxxvii. [t] Liv. ubi supra.

(L) The defence of *Pergamus* was chiefly owing to a reinforcement of the *Achæans*, who came thither very seasonably, to the assistance of the young prince. Their commander, by name *Diophanes*, was an officer of distinction in his own country, had made his first campaigns under the famous *Philopœmen*, and seemed to have imbibed all the excellencies of his great master. With his body of a thousand foot and a hundred horse, he harassed *Seleucus* to such a degree, that he at length forced him to abandon the country, which he infested. *Diophanes* spent the two first days after his arrival in observing the *Syrian* intrenchments, and the steps they took to make themselves masters of the city, which they kept invested. He observed from the ramparts, that they posted an advanced guard at the foot of an hill to keep the city in awe, and then dispersing themselves in the plains, pillaged the country As no-body durst venture out against the advanced guard, the *Syrians* pillaged the country without opposition. This inaction of the besieged lulled the besiegers into a security; insomuch that they spent great part of their time in diversions, and were often observed to fall asleep even upon guard. *Diophanes* therefore concluded that it would be no difficult matter to surprize them. He acquainted *Attalus* with his resolution of attacking the advanced guard. That prince looking upon such an expedition as a rash attempt, was with much ado prevailed upon to consent to it. However, submitting his judgment to that of an old experienced officer, he at length gave him leave to march out at the head of his *Achæans*. All the citizens crowded to the ramparts to be spectators of the action, and there saw that the approach of so small a body did not even draw the *Syrians* off from their sports. At first *Diophanes* stood still, as if he had marched out only to watch the enemy's motions. But when he observed that the enemy took no notice of him, he marched at the head of his hundred horse directly up to a body of three hundred of the enemy, ordering his thousand foot to attack four thousand *Syrians*, who were posted near their three hundred horse. The onset was so sudden, and the shout of the *Achæans* so formidable, that the enemy's horse was immediately put in disorder. Their infantry, having scarce had time to draw up, after a faint resistance betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter by *Diophanes*. The next day the enemy posted themselves at a greater distance, and observed better discipline. However, *Diophanes* invited the citizens of *Pergamus* to march out with him, promising them a second advantage. But the garison refusing to follow him, he took with him his *Achæans* alone, who were glad to venture a second action under his conduct. All the

The Rhodians *defeat the* Phœnician *fleet commanded by* Hannibal.

Antiochus had no better ſucceſs in *Troas*; for *Æmilius*, ſupported by the confederate fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramyttium*; ſo that after he had taken by aſſault ſeveral defenceleſs cities in his way, he returned to *Sardis*. Hereupon the confederate fleets ſailed back to *Samos*, where they ſeparated; *Æmilius* continued there to watch the motions of *Polyxenidas*, *Eumenes* ſailed towards the *Helleſpont*, to get every thing ready for the paſſage of the *Roman* troops into *Aſia*, and *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes*, there to receive freſh reinforcements. The latter, receiving intelligence that a fleet was coming from *Syria* under the command of *Hannibal*, haſtened the equipment of his ſhips, ſailed out to meet the *Carthaginian*, who was now indeed out of his proper element, and with fewer ſhips intirely defeated him off *Sida*, a maritime city of *Pamphylia*, as we have related elſewhere [t]. a b

Antiochus *endeavours to gain over* Pruſias *king of* Bithynia.

Upon the news of this defeat, *Antiochus*, who was then at *Sardis*, being ſenſible of the imminent danger he was in, uſed all poſſible means to engage in the ſame war all the powers of *Aſia*. He began with *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, a potent prince, and then in a condition to bring into the field and maintain a numerous army. In order to draw him into his meaſures, *Antiochus* uſed the ſtrongeſt argument that can be made uſe of with ſovereign princes. He repreſented to him the ambitious views of the *Romans*, telling him that their main aim was to overturn monarchy in all places, and, under the ſpecious pretence of liberty, to ſolicit all nations to ſhake off the yoke of their kings; that after having ſubdued *Philip* and *Nabis*, they were now coming againſt him; and that if he ſhould be unfortunately overcome, the haughty conquerors would ſoon penetrate into the heart of *Bithynia*. The two *Scipios*, who were then on their march into *Aſia*, being informed of the endeavours *Antiochus* was uſing to engage *Pruſias* in the war, thought proper to put a ſtop to the intrigues of the king of *Syria*; and with that view diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter to *Pruſias*, wherein they obſerved, that it was the conſtant practice of the *Romans* to beſtow the greateſt honours on ſuch kings as ſought their alliance; *Africanus* mentioned ſeveral inſtances, which he himſelf had been concerned in; he ſaid, that in *Spain* ſeveral princes, who before they were favoured with the protection of the *Romans*, had made a very inconſiderable figure, were ſince become mighty kings; that *Maſiniſſa* had not only been reſtored to his kindom, but that of *Syphax* had been given him, whereby he was become one of the moſt powerful potentates of the univerſe; that *Philip* and *Nabis*, though vanquiſhed, had nevertheleſs been ſuffered to ſit peaceably on their thrones; that the tribute, which he had agreed to pay, had been lately remitted, and his ſon, who was an hoſtage at *Rome*, ſent back to him; that as for *Nabis*, they had left him in poſſeſſion of his crown, which he would have ſtill enjoyed, had he not loſt his life by the treachery of the *Ætolians*. This letter made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of *Pruſias*; but he was ſtill wavering between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, till a new embaſſy quite fixed him. *C. Livius*, who had the laſt year commanded the fleet on the coaſts of *Aſia*, came from *Rome* to *Bithynia*, and made ſuch propoſals to the king in the name of his republic, as prevented him from entering into any engagements with the king of *Syria* [u]. c d e

Antiochus being thus diſappointed in the hopes he had entertained of winning over *Pruſias* to his intereſt, his whole dependence was on his fleet. He thought he could more effectually keep the *Romans* out of *Aſia* by recovering the maſtery of the ſea, than by guarding the ſhores of the *Helleſpont* with his land-forces. With this view he left *Sardis* and came to *Epheſus*, where *Polyxenidas* was waiting for him with a good number of ſhips, all well equipped, and ſtored with arms and proviſions. *Hannibal* had not yet joined him with the *Phœnician* fleet, being ſtill blocked up in the ports of *Pamphilia*. But, on the other hand, the *Romans* had not yet been reinforced by the gallies they expected from *Rhodes*, and the fleet of *Eumenes* was waiting for the f

Scipios

[t] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. III. p. . [u] Polyb. Legat. 22. Liv. l. xxxvii. Appian. in Syriac. 150. 151.

the day was ſpent in watching one another, without any attack on either ſide. At ſun-ſet the *Syrians* withdrew to their camp; and this was the opportunity which *Diophanes* waited for. As the *Syrian* troops filed off in a line, the *Achæans* fell on their rear, and there made a moſt dreadful havock, the foremoſt haſtening their pace to reach the camp without daring to face about and relieve their companions. Theſe repeated advantages gained by *Diophanes* and his brave *Achæans* obliged *Seleucus* at laſt to raiſe the ſiege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* (50).

(50) *Appian. in Syriac. & Liv. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 20.

a *Scipios* on the coaſts of the *Helleſpont*. *Antiochus* therefore ordered *Polyxenidas* to engage the *Romans* once more at ſea. As for himſelf, he marched with his land-forces to *Notium* between *Smyrna* and *Epheſus*, and from thence to *Colophon*, which he inveſted. This was one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Ionia*, and had been long troubleſome to *Antiochus*'s fleet; for as it was ſituated on an eminence, the *Colophonians* diſcovered all that paſſed in the port of *Epheſus*, and gave the *Romans* notice of it. *Antiochus* expected that the *Roman* fleet would fly to the aſſiſtance of their allies, and his aim was to draw it out of the port of *Samos*, that his admiral might have an opportunity of attacking it. And indeed the *Colophonians* immediately diſpatched ſome of their citizens to *Æmilius*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt an enemy, which they had
b drawn upon themſelves only by their fidelity to *Rome*. This meſſage broke the admiral's meaſures, for he had determined to ſail to the *Helleſpont* with the firſt favourable wind, and aſſiſt the *Scipios* in their paſſage. However, he was prevailed upon by *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, who had joined him with ſome gallies, to alter his ſcheme; and accordingly he ordered the fleet to be in a readineſs to ſet ſail. But before he attacked *Antiochus*, he reſolved to touch at *Chios*, and take in there ſome proviſions, the general magazine of the *Romans* both for their ſea and land-forces being there. From *Chios* he ſailed to the iſland of *Teos*, being informed that thoſe iſlanders had promiſed the king of *Syria* about five thouſand hogſheads of their beſt wine. He was reſolved either to force them to deliver up the wine to him, or take
c and demoliſh their city, the veſſels which were bringing wine to the *Roman* fleet being kept back by contray winds. In the mean-time *Polyxenidas*, being informed that the *Roman* fleet was at *Teos*, left *Epheſus*, and ſailed to that iſland in hopes of being able to ſhut up the enemy's fleet in the harbour. For the city of *Teos* had two ports, whereof the ſafeſt and moſt capacious was formed by two promontories, which came ſo near each other, that two gallies could ſcarce ſail out of it a-breaſt; and in this *Æmilius* firſt anchored, but before the arrival of *Polyxenidas* he had by the advice of *Eudamus* changed his poſt. Wherefore the *Syrian* admiral inſtead of blocking up the harbour was obliged to keep his fleet ſheltered under the iſland of *Macris* over-againſt *Myonneſias*, till the *Roman* fleet ſailed out. There he continued two days in hopes of
d ſurprizing the *Romans* as they ſailed by from *Teos* to *Colophon*. But in the mean-time *Æmilius*, being informed that the *Syrian* fleet waited for him at *Macris*, left *Teos*, and ſteered his courſe towards that iſland with his ſhips drawn up in line of battle. As *Polyxenidas* had poſitive orders to engage the *Romans*, he laid hold of this opportunity, and attacked them with great reſolution. The *Roman* fleet conſiſted of eighty ſhips, and the *Syrian* of eighty-nine, ſome of which were of an enormous ſize, two of them being heptaremes, and three hexaremes. The *Rhodians* had then invented a kind of fire-ſhips, which ſtruck great terror into the *Syrian* fleet; cauldrons full of combuſtible and burning materials were hung out at their prows, ſo that none of the enemy's ſhips durſt approach them. Theſe fell on the enemy's gallies, ſtruck their beaks into *The* Syrian
e them, and at the ſame time ſet them on fire. The *Syrian* gallies left their ranks, *fleet defeated by the* Romans.
and crowded round them, not with an intent to board them, but to diſcharge their arrows, darts, and javelins againſt their crews; in the mean-time the *Roman* ſhips, ſailing into the ſpaces which the *Syrians* had left, put their whole fleet in confuſion, *Polyxenidas* did all that lay in his power to encourage his men, but in ſpight of all his efforts the left wing being in great diſorder, clapped on all the ſails they could, and quitted the fight. Then *Polyxenidas* endeavoured to retire in good order, but the *Rhodian* fire-ſhips advancing againſt him, and ſetting ſome of his gallies on fire, the reſt betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. The hiſtorians, who moſt leſſen the advantage gained by *Æmilius* on this occaſion, agree, that he ſunk thirty-nine of the
f enemy's ſhips, and took thirteen; but others ſay, that the *Syrians* loſt forty-two ſhips and thirteen gallies, whereas the *Romans* loſt but two ſhips, which were ſunk in the very beginning of the engagement [w].

Antiochus was ſo ſtruck with the news of this defeat, that, as he had been quite deprived of his ſenſes, he took ſuch meaſures as were quite oppoſite to his intereſt. For in this conſternation he ſent orders for drawing his forces out of *Lyſimachia* and the other cities of the *Helleſpont*, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, tho' *Lyſimachia* alone might have ſtopped the whole conſular army for a great while. Then he complained of his hard fate in theſe words: I know not what god has infatuated me!

[w] Liv. & Appian. ibid.

me! every thing happens contrary to my expectations. Heaven perſecutes me, and what can I infer from all this, but that my ruin approaches? Being greatly dejected by theſe reflections, he raiſed the ſige of *Colophon*, and retired firſt to *Sardis*, and then to his ſon-in-law *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, where he made it his whole buſineſs to aſſemble all the land-forces he could with a deſign to make head againſt the *Scipios*, who were already arrived at the *Cherſoneſus* near the *Helleſpont*. Here *Scipio Africanus* received advice of his ſon's being taken priſoner by the *Syrians*, an accident which gave him great uneaſineſs. He had brought him with him into *Greece* to form him from his tender years to the military profeſſion, and had ſent him in a *Chalcidian* ſhip to *Demetrias*, being unwilling to expoſe him to any hazards in *Aſia*. But in his paſſage, the ſhip, which carried him, being attacked and taken by a *Syrian* galley, the young *Roman* was brought to *Antiochus*, who treated him with all the marks of honour that were due to his birth, and the reputation of his father. But after all the detention of a ſon, ſo tenderly beloved, ſenſibly affected the father. This accident, however, did not abate the ardor of *Scipio*, and the deſire he had of fighting *Antiochus*. The *Roman* troops purſued their march, not doubting but they ſhould meet with a vigorous reſiſtance at *Lyſimachia*. They approached the city in battle-array, but were never more ſurprized than when they found that the ſea was unguarded, and that *Lyſimachia* opened her gates to them. *Antiochus* had drawn the gariſon out of that important place, as we have related above, and the *Syrians* had evacuated it with ſuch precipitation, as to leave all the proviſions behind them; ſo that the *Roman* army, which was fatigued with a long march, found there all ſorts of refreſhments, and waited in that neighbourhood for the coming up of their ſtragglers and ſick. During their ſtay they received another piece of news no leſs ſurprizing than the abandoning of *Lyſimachia*. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood the city of *Abydos*, the key of *Aſia*, which was to be taken before they could enter the *Syrian* dominions. This city likewiſe *Antiochus* had deſerted, and ordered the gariſon to evacuate the place and join him; ſo that the inhabitants ſent to acquaint the *Roman* generals, that they were ready to receive them as ſoon as they arrived. Hence the *Scipios* concluded, that *Antiochus* without *Hannibal* was no formidable enemy; for the reſolution of evacuating theſe cities, and waiting for the *Romans* in the heart of *Aſia*, had been taken in his abſence. As the *Romans* found no enemies at the *Helleſpont* to diſpute their paſſage, they croſſed over in good order by the care of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, who had waited for them there [x] (M). The *Romans* being now in *Aſia*, went up to *Troy*, and ſtopt ſome time there, looking upon that city as their primitive country, and the place they originally ſprung from. The conſul offered up ſacrifices to *Minerva*, who preſided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed much after the ſame manner as parents and children when they meet after a long ſeparation. The inhabitants ſeeing thoſe who were deſcended from the ſame anceſtors with themſelves conquerors of the weſt, and of *Africa*, laying claim to *Aſia*, imagined they ſaw *Troy* riſe from its aſhes in greater ſplendor than ever. On the other ſide, the *Romans* were highly pleaſed to ſee themſelves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to *Rome*; and to view and contemplate the temples and deities which they had in common with that city [y] (N).

The Romans *enter* Aſia. *Year of the flood*, 2809. *Before Chriſt* 190.

Antiochus *ſends an embaſſy to the* Scipios.

When advice was brought to *Antiochus* that the *Romans* had croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and were encamped at *Abydos*, he was ſeized with freſh terror; and being fully convinced that ſome deity was contriving his ruin, he turned all his thoughts on

[x] Liv. ibid. & Appian. p. 105.

[y] Justin. l. xxxi. c. 8. & Liv. ubi ſupra.

(M) We are told by *Livy*, that *Scipio Africanus* did not croſs the *Helleſpont* with his brother, but remained ſome days on the *European* ſhore, being detained there by religious duties. He was one of the *Salii*, that is, one of the prieſts of *Mars*, who every year after a ſolemn ſacrifice carried through the city of *Rome* thoſe ſacred ſhields, which *Numa* was ſuppoſed to have received from heaven. During this ſolemnity the *Salii*, though generals of armies, did not undertake any enterprize, or even ſtir from the place they were in. This was a troubleſome ſuperſtition, but *Scipio* complied with it, and continued ſome days in *Europe*, while his brother and the *Roman* troops were in *Aſia* (51). We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this and other *Roman* feſtivals in the hiſtory of *Rome*.

(N) *Demetrius Scepſius*, as quoted by *Strabo* (52), tells us, that he, being then very young, happened to come to *Ilium* or *Troy* to viſit the curioſities of the place, while *Scipio* was there; and adds, that the inhabitants were at that time ſo wretchedly poor, that they had not even tiles wherewithal to cover their houſes, which were filled with filth and naſtineſs.

(51) *Liv. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 33.

(52) *Strabo, l.* iii. *p.* 594.

a on peace. He ſeldom employed any but foreigners in the moſt important negotiations, and the perſon he now pitched upon was one *Heraclides*, by birth a *Byzantine*, and of *Thracian* extraction. His inſtructions were to addreſs himſelf in the firſt place to *Scipio Africanus*, to make his court to him with great aſſiduity, and when he found him diſpoſed to hearken to his propoſals, to aſſure him, but in private, that *Antiochus* was ready to reſtore him his ſon, whom he ſo tenderly loved, without ranſom; that all the king of *Syria*'s treaſures were at his ſervice, and that he was willing to ſhare his dominions with him, and whatever elſe he had. The propoſals which he was to make to the *Roman* council were, that *Antiochus* was ready to deliver up to them the cities of *Lampſacus*, *Smyrna* and *Alexandria*, and was not averſe from evab cuating ſuch places in *Ionia* and *Æolis* as the *Romans* had demanded; and, laſtly, that he would conſent to pay half the expence which *Rome* had been at in bringing the war into *Aſia*. With theſe inſtructtions *Heraclides* ſet out for the *Roman* camp on the banks of the *Helleſpont*; but was ſurprized not to find the eldeſt *Scipio* there, he having ſtaid on the *European* ſhore to perform ſome religious ceremonies. *Heraclides* therefore prolonged his ſtay at *Abydos* under various pretences, till the arrival of *Publius*, and then he demanded audience, and being admitted into the council of war, ſpoke agreeable to his inſtructions [z].

The embaſſador thought his propoſals ſo advantagious, that they could not be rejected; but the *Romans* judged otherwiſe, and gave him this final anſwer; that c a peace would not be granted to *Antiochus* upon any but the following conditions: 1. That ſince he had drawn the war upon himſelf, he ſhould defray the whole expence of it: 2. that he ſhould reſtore liberty in general to all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*: 3. That to prevent all future hoſtilities he ſhould relinquiſh all *Aſia* on this ſide of mount *Taurus*.

His propoſals rejected.

Heraclides finding that the council would not comply with any of his demands, endeavoured, purſuant to his private inſtructions, to win over *Scipio Africanus* ſingly. He was very aſſiduous at his tent, and being always well received by him in regard of the kindneſs his maſter had ſhewn to his ſon, he at laſt diſcloſed his inſtructions to him, telling him that *Antiochus* was not only ready to reſtore him his ſon without d ranſom, but to ſhare all his treaſures with him, and even place him on the ſame throne. To theſe overtures *Scipio* returned the following anſwer, If the king of *Syria* reſtores me my ſon, it will be a perſonal obligation, which, as a father, I ſhall ever acknowledge with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude; but he is not to expect any gratification from me as a ſervant of the public. As a good citizen I can neither receive any thing from an enemy, nor promiſe any thing to him. But let me give him a piece of advice, ſince that is all I can do in the condition to which he has reduced himſelf. He ought to have kept poſſeſſion of *Lyſimachia*, which would have ſtopt us, or appeared on the banks of the *Helleſpont*, to diſpute our paſſage e into *Aſia*; in that caſe he would have perhaps obtained more favourable terms. But now that we have entered *Aſia*, and are, as it were, maſters both of the horſe and his rider, all he has to do is to ſubmit to whatever conditions we ſhall think fit to preſcribe to him. As for the kindneſs he ſhews my ſon, all I can do is to pray the gods that he may never be in his ſituation, nor want that protection which he ſo generouſly gives the child. And if he would preſerve himſelf from ſo great a misfortune, let him avoid coming to a pitched battle with the *Romans*. This advice is the ſtrongeſt teſtimony I can give him, both of my eſteem and gratitude [a].

The ill ſucceſs of this embaſſy ſunk *Antiochus* into a deep melancholy. He thought that the *Romans* could not have preſcribed him worſe terms had they conquered him, and ſuch a peace appeared to him as diſadvantagious as the moſt calamitous war. He f therefore turned all his thoughts from projects of peace to the neceſſary preparations for oppoſing the enemy, and preventing his further progreſs. He encamped near *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, and there aſſembled all his forces. On the other hand, the *Roman* army leaving *Troy*, advanced in ſix days to *Elæa* near the the mouth of the *Caicus*. As this city was ſubject to the kings of *Pergamus*, *Eumenes* went immediately to wait on the *Scipios*, and then retuning to *Pergamus*, ſent from thence all manner of proviſions for the army, which he ſoon joined with all his force. While they were encamped in the nighbourhood of *Elæa*, *Scipio Africanus* falling ſick was ſent to that city, which *Antiochus* no ſooner heard than he ſent his ſon to him without ranſom. A

[z] Liv. ibid. Appian. in Syriac. p. 106. Polyb. legat. 23.

[a] Liv. l. xxxvi. xxxvii.

most noble instance of generosity in an enemy so lately provoked. *Scipio* received a him with inexpressible joy, and after having embraced him a thousand times, he strictly charged the *Syrian*, who brought him, to return his most hearty thanks to *Antiochus*, and to tell him that he could no otherwise shew his gratitude at present, than by giving him one piece of advice, which was, that the king should by no means hazard a battle, till he was recovered, and returned to the camp [b]. Perhaps *Scipio*, thought that a delay for some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done; and incline him to conclude a solid peace. But however that be, the transports of joy, which *Scipio* felt on this occasion, gave a turn to his distemper, and quite cured him. But before he was in a condition to return to the camp, the consul appointed *Cn. Domitius* to be his lieutenant in the room of his brother, and marched against *Antiochus*, who was encamped at *Thyatira*, without him, not doubting but he should be able to conquer without sharing the glory of the victory with his brother. Although the superiority of *Antiochus*'s forces, which were much more numerous than those of the *Romans*, might naturally induce him to venture a battle, yet the wisdom and authority of *Scipio*, whom he considered as his last refuge, in case any calamitous accident should befal him, prevailed over all other considerations. He therefore would not wait for the consul in the plains of *Thyatira*, but moved from thence, and leaving the river *Hermus* between him and the *Romans*, encamped near *Magnesia*, within reach of mount *Sipylus*. In order to prevent his being attacked in this new post, he dug a ditch round his camp six cubits deep, and twelve broad, which was guarded on the outside by a double row of palisades, the second row being defended at proper distances by strong walls and towers to keep off the enemy. In the mean time the consul, leaving the banks of the *Caicus*, advanced by great marches towards *Thyatira*, where he supposed the king was still encamped. But being informed of the new situation of the *Syrian* army, he turned towards the *Hermus*, and posted himself at first within five miles of the enemy. While he was forming his camp a party of *Gauls* mixed with some *Scythians* appeared in sight of the *Romans*, and advanced in good order to attack them. The *Romans* repulsed them, and while they were endeavouring to repass the river, killed great numbers of them. After this skirmish both parties continued inactive for some days, till the consul passing the river posted himself within two miles and an half of the enemy's camp. While he was fortifying his new camp, three thousand *Syrians* attacked the workmen, but were soon obliged to retire with the loss of two hundred men partly killed, and partly taken. Both armies marched out of their camps every morning, and drew up in order of battle, but so near their trenches, that it was plain they had no mind to come to an engagement. At length the *Romans* marched into the plain, and challenged the *Syrians*, but *Antiochus* notwithstanding this challenge continued near his intrenchments. These delays tired out the consul's patience, who dreaded the arrival of his brother, being unwilling to share with him the glory of the victory. He therefore summoned a council of war in all haste, and proposed attacking the enemy's intrenchments: the winter, said he, approaches, and the season will soon force us either to discontinue the war till the next spring, or to spend the winter in our tents. Let us therefore march out immediately against these effeminate *Asiatics*, and attack them in their trenches, since they have not the courage to meeet us in the field. The *Romans* never shewed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion; they were all to a man for forcing the *Syrian* camp, if they continued to decline a battle. Accordingly the next day the consul after viewing the situation of the enemy's camp, advanced to it in order of battle. On the other hand, the king thinking it would be shameful for him to decline an engagement, being at the head of an army far more numerous than that of the enemy, in a friend's country, and in the midst of his allies, resolved at all events to accept the challenge, and accordingly prepared for a decisive battle [c].

The battle of Magnesia.

THE *Roman* army consisted of four legions partly *Romans*, and partly *Latins*, each legion at this time containing five thousand five hundred men, and of seven thousand auxiliaries sent by the kings of *Pergamus* and *Macedon*; but of these two thousand were ordered to guard the camp during the action. The *Romans* were posted in the centre, and the *Latins* in the two wings, the left of which extended to the river. On the side of the right wing to cover and support it, the consul posted the auxiliary troops

[b] POLYB. legat. 23. LIV. l. xxxvii. JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 7. APPIAN. p. 105, 106. AUREL. VICT. p. 609. [c] LIV. & APPIAN. ibid.

troops of *Eumenes*, a ſmall body of horſe, and ſome *Trallians* and *Cretans* lightly armed. He did not think it neceſſary to ſtrengthen in like manner the left wing, the river and banks, which were very ſteep, ſeeming a ſufficient defence on that ſide. The ſixteen elephants, which the *Romans* had, were placed behind the army by way of corps-de-reſerve, the conſul not thinking it proper to oppoſe them to thoſe of the enemy, which were far more numerous, being in all fifty-two; and beſides excelled the *Roman* elephants in ſtrength, height, and courage, the former being brought from *India*, and the latter from *Africa*. As for the *Syrian* army, all the nations of the eaſt ſeemed to be aſſembled to ſupport the cauſe of *Antiochus*. But the main ſtrength of it conſiſted in ſixteen thouſand foot, armed after the *Macedonian* manner, who compoſed the phalanx. This body faced every way, was armed with long pikes, and taught to fight in cloſe order as the ſoldiers of *Alexander the Great* had formerly been. *Antiochus* did not draw up his phalanx as uſual; but divided it into ten companies ſeparated from each other, placing in the ſpaces between each of the companies an elephant loaded with a tower full of armed men. On the right of the phalanx was drawn up in a line part of the cavalry, *viz.* fifteen hundred *Aſiatic Gauls*, three thouſand horſe armed cap-a-pee, and a thouſand horſe more, the flower of the *Median* cavalry. At ſome diſtance from theſe followed the cavalry of the king's houſhold, richly cloathed, and wearing bucklers plated over with ſilver. In the ſame line twelve hundred *Scythians* on horſeback, armed with bows and arrows, made a great figure, being all choſen men, and of an extraordinary ſize. The light-armed troops, to the number of three thouſand, partly *Trallians*, and partly *Cretans*, with ten thouſand *Myſian* archers, and four thouſand men more, partly *Cyrtæans* armed with ſlings, partly *Perſians* armed with bows, and partly *Arabians* mounted on dromedaries cloſed the right wing, which was led on by the king in perſon, ſurrounded by a body of *Syrians* and *Lydians* well mounted, but not heavily armed. The left wing was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Antipater*, the former the kings's ſon, and the latter his nephew, and diſpoſed thus. Cloſe to the phalanx were poſted fifteen hundred *Galatians*, and two thouſand *Cappadocians*, which king *Ariarathes* had ſent to the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law. Next to theſe were placed two thouſand ſeven hundred auxiliaries ſent from different countries. Theſe were followed by three thouſand cuiraſſiers well mounted. And, laſtly, in the flank of this wing marched two thouſand horſe lightly armed. At ſome diſtance were placed ſeveral ſmall bodies of light-armed troops both foot and horſe; among which were two thouſand five hundred *Galatian* horſe, ſome *Tarentines*, *Cretans*, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, &c. The phalanx, which was in the center, was commanded by three officers of diſtinction, viz. *Minio*, *Zeuxis*, and *Philip*. A vaſt number of chariots, armed with hooks and ſcythes, were drawn up before the firſt line, as were likewiſe a great many elephants carrying towers with ſeveral floors, all filled with ſlingers and archers; and beſides many camels, animals then unknown to the *Roman* troops, mounted by *Arabians*, armed with ſwords ſix foot long, that the riders might from their backs reach the enemy. The *Romans* had never ſeen a more numerous army, nor one more finely adorned (O); and nevertheleſs they never ſhewed ſo great a contempt for an army as for this, which they were now going to attack.

On the day of the battle the weather proved very favourable to the *Romans*; for a thick fog riſing in the morning, the day was almoſt turned into night, ſo that the *Syrian* commanders could not have all the corps under their command in view, on account of their great extent, and ſend them proper orders in time; whereas the fog was not thick enough to prevent the *Roman* generals from ſeeing their ſeveral bodies at the greateſt diſtance, as they took up but little ground. Beſides the damp, which

(O) *Florus* tells us (53), that *Antiochus* ſtrengthened his army with elephants of a monſtrous ſize, all covered with gold, ſilver, ſcarlet, and their own ivory. We read in the firſt book of the *Maccabees* (54), that he had an hundred and twenty elephants. And indeed when he fought with *Ptolemy* he had an hundred and two, and afterwards, as *Polybius* aſſures us, an hundred and fifty. But in this engagement *Livy* writes, that he had only fifty-four elephants, ſeventy thouſand foot, and upwards of twelve thouſand horſe. According to *Appian* he had in all but ſeventy thouſand men. *Florus* moſt hyperbolically raiſes the number of his forces to three hundred thouſand men; and adds, that he had as many horſes and iron chariots in the field that day. The *Romans* were between eight and twenty and thirty thouſand men, horſe and foot, whereof two thouſand were left to guard the camp.

(53) *Flor. Hiſt. Rom. l.* ii. *c.* 8.

(54) 1 *Maccab. c.* 8. *v.* 6.

which was occaſioned by the fog, ſlackened the ſtrings of the enemy's bows, ſo that a the *Aſiatics*, who uſed them, could ſhoot their darts and arrows but faintly. The whole dependance of *Antiochus* in the firſt attack was on his armed chariots, which were to cut their way into the *Roman* army. For this purpoſe they had long halberts faſtened to their poles, and ſharp hooks to their axle-trees; the former were about the height of a man's head, and the latter almoſt ſwept the ground, and cut off the legs of all who ſtood in their way. But *Eumenes* undertook to render them uſeleſs, and even fatal to the enemy. This brave prince, putting himſelf at the head of the bow-men and ſlingers, ordered them to charge not in a body, but divided in platoons, and to aim only at the horſes in the chariots. Accordingly, as ſoon as the chariots moved, *Eumenes* advanced at the head of his men, who pouring on b them from every quarter darts, ſtones, and javelins, and at the ſame time ſhouting as loud as they could, ſo frightened the horſes, that they could no longer be kept in order, but ſcouring up and down, and turning againſt their own troops, fell on the *Arabians*, who ſupported them, which occaſioned a great confuſion in that quarter. Thoſe in the *Syrian* army, who were at a diſtance, hearing the noiſe and outcries, and not knowing the cauſe of them, were ſtruck with no ſmall terror. After this advantage, the *Roman* cavalry advanced, and fell on thoſe whom the chariots had put in diſorder. The *Syrians*, being already intimidated, after a faint reſiſtance gave way, and the *Romans* made a great ſlaughter of their men and horſes, both being bore down with the weight of their heavy armour. *Eumenes* charged the left wing, c in which *Seleucus* commanded, with ſuch vigor, that he put it to flight, and the fugitives flying to the phalanx for protection, put that body likewiſe in diſorder, which *Domitius* obſerving, advanced againſt it at the head of his legionaries, but could not break it till he ordered his men to attack the elephants, which, as we have obſerved above, were placed in the ſpaces between the companies. The *Romans* had learnt in their wars with *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal* not to fear thoſe monſters, which were once ſo terrible to them. They attacked them therefore with great reſolution, and driving them againſt the phalangites, put that body into diſorder, by means of thoſe very animals which had been poſted there for its defence.

But in the mean time advice was brought that the left wing of the *Romans* was d in great danger. *Antiochus*, who had obſerved that the flanks of the left wing were quite opened and uncovered, the four ſquadrons which covered it, having joined the reſt of the cavalry to fall upon the enemy's left wing, had charged it at the head of all his auxiliaries not only in front, but in flank. The *Roman* infantry, ſeeing themſelves in imminent danger of being ſurroundeded and hemmed in on all ſides, fled in great diſorder to their camp, which was guarded by two thouſand men under the command of a legionary tribune called *Æmilius*. This man ſeeing the *Romans* flying towards him, marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and after having bitterly reproached them for their cowardice and ignominious flight, ordered his men to draw their ſwords, and cut in pieces ſuch as ſhould advance one ſtep e farther, or refuſe to face about againſt the enemy. This order given ſo ſeaſonably, and put in execution without mercy againſt ſome, had the deſired effect. Thoſe who were flying firſt halted, and then, being both reinforced and encouraged by *Æmilius*, returned under his conduct to wipe off the diſhonour of their flight. At the ſame time *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, having left the right wing on his receiving advice that the left was in danger, arrived very ſeaſonably with two hundred horſe. *Antiochus* obſerving that the troops, which had fled, were returning to the battle, and that the enemy's right wing was ready to fall upon him, turned his horſe about and fled. This ſerved in a manner as a ſignal for the reſt of the troops, for the whole *Syrian* army immediately turned their backs. *Eumenes* alone purſued them f at the head of the cavalry, and made a moſt dreadful havock of the fugitives. The *Romans* walking over heaps of dead bodies, eſpecially where the phalanx ſtood, marched up to the *Syrian* camp, attacked, and plundered it. The riches they found in it are not to deſcribed, but the taking of it coſt the *Romans* a new battle, which proved more fatal to the *Syrians* than that in the field, for the *Romans*, having in ſpite of a moſt deſperate reſiſtance forced the intrenchments, gave no quarter, but put all to the ſword without diſtinction. There fell this day in the battle, in the purſuit, and in the plunder of the camp fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, fifteen hundred were taken priſoners, and fifteen elephants. In the conſular army there were but three hundred foot killed, and twenty-five horſe. *Eumenes* had only fifteen of

Antiochus *defeated.*

of his men killed, so that this victory, as we are told by the ancients, seemed a prodigy to all nations both of the east and west [d].

Antiochus retired to *Sardis* with as many of his forces, that had escaped the slaughter, as he could draw together. From *Sardis* he soon marched to rejoin his son *Seleucus*, who had fled to *Apamea*. As for the consul he took advantage of the king's defeat and flight, making himself master of all the neighbouring countries. Deputies hastened to him from all parts; the cities of *Thyatira*, *Magnesia*, *Trallis*, *Magnesia* in *Caria*, all *Lydia*, and *Ephesus* itself, though highly favoured by *Antiochus*, declared for the *Romans*. *Polyxenidas*, upon the news of the king's defeat, left the port of *Ephesus*, and sailed to *Patara*, where he landed with a very small guard, and returned by land into *Syria*. The consul took the road to *Sardis*, which opened its gates to him. As he stopped there, his brother *Africanus*, as soon as his health allowed him, came and joined him in that city, and congratulated him on the glory he had so lately acquired. But after all, the consul, we may say, had but a small part in the victory; for all the historians, who speak of the battle of *Magnesia*, ascribe the whole success of it to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* and *Attalus* his brother, without mentioning any valiant action or prudent order, by which the consul signalized himself on that occasion. However, he took the surname of *Asiaticus* as his brother had done that of *Africanus*.

Antiochus finding his affairs in a bad situation both by sea and land, and not daring to appear before the consular army in the field, sent *Antipater*, his brother's son, and *Zeuxis*, who had been governor of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, to sue for a peace. They were ordered to treat chiefly with the elder brother, of whose clemency and good nature *Antiochus* entertained a high opinion. Accordingly on their arrival at *Sardis*, where the consul then was with his brother, they addressed the latter, and were by him presented to the consul. Their speech was very submissive, and such as became a vanquished people. To you, O *Romans*, said they, we apply to know by what means we may appease the wrath of your republic. All the kings you have hitherto conquered have experienced your clemency after their defeat. Shall *Antiochus* then be the only prince on whom you will wreak your vengeance? No victory has given you so much reason to favour the vanquished as this. It assures you of the conquest of the universe. It even puts you upon a level with the immortal gods. Learn therefore to be like them, slow to punish, and ready to forgive [e].

Hereupon a council was summoned, and after long debates the embassadors were called in, and *Scipio Africanus*, being desired by the consul to acquaint the deputies with the resolutions of the assembly, is said to have expressed himself in the following terms: We are sensible, that the victory, which we have lately gained, is owing to the gods; and therefore shall treat the vanquished with moderation, demanding little more of them now than we did at our first entering into *Asia*. *Antiochus* shall obtain a peace upon the following terms: That he gives up his pretensions to *Europe*, confines his dominions to *Asia* beyond mount *Taurus*, pays us fifteen thousand *Euboic* talents for the expences of the war, five hundred down, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people shall confirm the articles, and one thousand more every year for twelve years together. We also insist upon his satisfying king *Eumenes*, and his paying him the four hundred talents he owes him, and what remains due for the corn, which his father sent to the king of *Syria*. It is likewise the pleasure of the council, that you deliver up to us *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Mnesilochus* the *Acarnanian*, and *Philo* and *Eubulis* two *Chalcidians*; for these have been the authors of our divisions, the incendiaries who kindled the present war. Lastly, the king of *Syria* for a further proof of his sincerity shall give us twenty such hostages as we shall chuse, of whom *Antiochus* his youngest son shall be one [f].

Articles of the peace between Antiochus *and the* Romans.

The embassadors of *Antiochus* had been ordered to refuse no terms, and therefore these were accepted, and the whole affair concluded. So that the *Syrian* embassadors now prepared to set out for *Rome* to get the conditions of peace proposed by *Scipio* ratified there. In the mean time the consul dividing his army into three bodies, put it into winter quarters; one part continued at *Magnesia*, another was sent to *Trallis*, and the third to *Ephesus*, where the *Scipios* took up their quarters. There they received a new embassy from *Antiochus* with the hostages he had promised, the *Romans*

[d] Liv. Appian. & Justin. ubi supra. [e] Appian. in Syriac. III. Polyb. legat. 4. Liv. l. xxxviii. [f] Polyb. legat. 24. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 9. Liv. l. xxxvii. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 8. Appian. ibid.

Roman priſoners and deſerters, and the ſtrangers, which the conſul had demanded, except *Hannibal*, who, after the king's defeat, had fled out of his dominions, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, who, as ſoon as he heard that a treaty was on foot between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, had returned to *Ætolia*, where a war was likely to break out between that republic and *Rome*. *L. Aurelius Cotta* was ſent with the embaſſadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the ſenate with the particulars of the treaty. When they appeared before the conſcript fathers, they ſpoke with great ſubmiſſion, and only deſired them to ratify the articles which the *Scipios* had offered to their maſter. The ſenate, after examining them, ordered that a treaty of peace ſhould be concluded with *Antiochus*, and the articles of it engraved on braſs, and fixed up in the capitol. They only added one clauſe, which was, That the *Syrians* ſhould change every year all their hoſtages, except the ſon of king *Antiochus*, who ſhould continue at *Rome*, as long as the republic thought fit. The peace being thus ratified, and all *Aſia*, on this ſide of mount *Taurus*, delivered into the hands of the *Romans*, the *Greek* cities were by them reſtored to their liberty, the provinces of *Caria* and *Lydia* given to the *Rhodians*, and all the reſt that had belonged to *Antiochus* beſtowed upon *Eumenes* [g].

In the mean time the conſulſhip of *Scipio* being expired, *Cn. Manlius Vulſo* was ſent into *Aſia*, to ſucceed him in the command of the army, and with him ten commiſſioners to regulate affairs there. *Manlius* hearing, on his arrival, that the city of *Perga* (P) was ſtill under the dominion of *Antiochus*, contrary to the treaty of peace, advanced with his troops to that place, being deſirous to pick a new quarrel with *Antiochus*; but the governor of the city ſhewing himſelf ready to deliver it up to the *Romans*, as ſoon as he received proper orders from his court, thirty days were allowed him for that purpoſe, and the city was given up at the time appointed. From *Perga* *Manlius* returned to *Apamea*, where the ten commiſſioners and king *Eumenes* then were; and they all together put the laſt hand to the treaty, which was brought from *Rome*; with the additions and alterations, which the ſenate had, after the departure of the embaſſadors, thought fit to make in it (Q). Nothing now remained but to ratify

[g] Appian. & Liv. ubi ſupra.

(P) The city of *Perga* ſtood on the banks of the *Ceſtrius*, and ſtill retains in ſome degree its ancient name, being called by the inhabitants *Pirgi*. The river *Ceſtrius* or *Ceſtrus* had its ſpring on mount *Taurus*, towards the confines of *Iſauria*. It waſhed *Piſidia* and *Pamphylia*, and diſcharged itſelf into the *Attalic* gulf, or the gulf of *Sattalia*.

(Q) As this is a very material part of hiſtory, we ſhall ſet down the treaty at full length, with the alterations and additions which the ſenate thought fit to make in it, ſuch as it has been tranſmitted to us by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians. It was couched in the following terms: "Peace and friendſhip ſhall "be eſtabliſhed between the *Roman* people and "*Antiochus* king of *Syria*, on the following condi- "tions. I. The king ſhall not ſuffer any army of "any enemy to the *Roman* people, or their al- "lies, to paſs through his territories; neither ſhall "*Rome*, or her allies, ſuffer any army to paſs "through their territories to make war on *An-* "*tiochus*. II. The king of *Syria* ſhall have no "right to extend his conqueſts to the iſlands near "*Aſia*; and he ſhall renounce all his pretenſions "to *Europe*. III. *Antiochus* ſhall withdraw his "troops from all the cities, towns, and caſtles on "this ſide of mount *Taurus*, as far as to the river "*Halys*, and out of all the plain which ſeparates "*Pamphylia* from *Lycia* on one ſide, and from *Ly-* "*caonia* on the other. IV. When the *Syrian* "troops evacuate any place, they ſhall not carry "the machines of war with them; and if they "have done ſo in any caſe, they ſhall reſtore them. "V. *Antiochus* ſhall not receive or harbour in his "dominions any fugitive of the kingdom of *Eu-* "*menes*. VI. The inhabitants of the cities given "up by the king of *Syria* ſhall not continue in "*Syria*, but repair to *Apamea*, on a day appointed, "to be ſent home to their native countries. "VII. But the *Syrians*, who have a mind to con- "tinue in the cities ſubject to *Rome*, or to the al- "lies of *Rome*, ſhall be ſuffered to do ſo without "moleſtation. VIII. *Antiochus* ſhall, if it be in "his power, deliver up into the hands of the pro- "conſul, *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* and ſon of "*Hamilcar*, *Mneſilochus* the *Acarnanian*, *Thoas* the "*Ætolian*, *Eubulis* and *Philo*, two *Chalcidians*, "and all perſons who have enjoyed any magiſtracy "in *Ætolia*. IX. The king of *Syria* ſhall deliver "up all his elephants to the *Romans*, and train up "no more for war. X. He ſhall put the *Romans* "in poſſeſſion of all his armed gallies; ſhall have "no more than ten ſhips at ſea, which ſhall only "be of thirty oars; and ſhall not ſail beyond the "promontories of *Calycadnus* and *Sarpedon*, unleſs "it be to bring to *Rome* money, embaſſadors, or "hoſtages. XI. *Antiochus* ſhall not raiſe mercena- "ries in the countries ſubject to *Rome*, or receive the "voluntiers who ſhall offer to ſerve him. XII. The "houſes and other edifices which were built before "this treaty by the *Rhodians*, and other allies of "*Rome*, in the *Syrian* territories, ſhall ſtill belong "to the *Rhodians*, or thoſe other allies who built "them. XIII. Both parties ſhall be at liberty to "demand the money that ſhall be reſpectively due, "and to demand the reſtitution of any thing that "has been taken from them. XIV. Thoſe to whom "*Antiochus* has given the poſſeſſion of any cities, "ſhall evacuate them, and put them into the hands "of their old poſſeſſors. XV. *Antiochus* ſhall pay "the *Romans* for twelve years the annual ſum of a "thouſand talents (*that is*, 258,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*) "of the pureſt ſilver, ſuch as that of *Athens*, and a "hundred and forty thouſand modii (35,000 *En-* "*gliſh* buſhels) of the beſt wheat. XVI. He ſhall "pay king *Eumenes*, in the ſpace of five years, three "hundred and fifty talents, and an hundred and "twenty-ſeven talents more, by way of ſatisfaction "for the corn he received from *Attalus*. XVII. *An-*

"*tio-*

a ratify the treaty by religious ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution. The proconſul took the uſual oath of the *Romans*, that is, ſtruck a ſow on the head with flint, ſaying, *If I break my word, may* Jupiter *ſtrike me as I ſtrike this victim.* Then Q. *Minucius Thermus*, one of the ten commiſſioners, and *L. Manlius*, were diſpatched to the court of *Syria*, where they made *Antiochus* ſwear, That he would inviolably obſerve all the articles of the treaty. The *Syrian* fleet was then in the port of *Patara*, whither *Fulvius Labeo* repaired, on board the *Roman* gallies, and burnt, according to the conventions, all *Antiochus*'s ſhips, chooſing rather to give this inſtance of ſeverity to all the maritime nations, than to apply the navy of the conquered king to their own uſe. They affected to ſhew the ſame diſintereſtedneſs with regard to b the king of *Syria*'s elephants; for they made a preſant of them to the king of *Pergamus*. Thus ended the war with *Antiochus*, which coſt the *Romans* but little blood, and yet contributed more than any other to the aggrandizing of their republic; but, at the ſame time, this conqueſt proved, in a manner, fatal to *Rome*; for, from this period, the *Roman* writers date the depravity and corruption of manners, which ended at laſt in the total deſtruction of the republican ſtate. The *Romans*, who ſerved in *Aſia*, brought from thence great wealth, and introduced into *Rome* a taſte and love for luxury and effeminate pleaſures. Luxury, ſays a *Roman* poet, entered triumphant into *Rome*, with the pompous ſpoils of *Aſia*, and, dragging after it all manner of vices, made greater havock in the city than the greateſt armies could have c done; and thus revenged the conquered world [h].

Death of Antiochus.

As for the unhappy *Antiochus*, he did not long ſurvive his fall. Being greatly puzzled how to raiſe the ſum which he was to pay the *Romans*, he made a progreſs through the eaſtern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him, leaving the regency of *Syria* to his ſon *Seleucus*, whom he had declared his ſucceſſor. Being arrived in the province of *Elemais*, he was informed, that a very conſiderable treaſure was lodged in the temple of *Jupiter Belus*. This was a ſtrong temptation to a prince, who had not much regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a falſe pretence, that the inhabitants of that province had taken up arms againſt him, he entered the temple in the dead of the night, and ſeized on d all the riches, which had been religiouſly kept there during a long ſeries of years. The populace, highly exaſperated at this ſacrilege, riſing up in arms, ſlew him, and all that were with him. This is the account of his death, which St. *Jerom* gives us, upon the teſtimony of *Strabo* [i]. But *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that this unfortunate prince, after his retreat beyond mount *Taurus*, gave himſelf up to all manner of debauchery, and was killed at an entertainment by one of his gueſts, whom he had ſtruck and abuſed. The difference of theſe accounts has made the moſt judicious among the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians paſs over his death in ſilence. He died in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, and fifty-ſecond of his age, and is highly commended by moſt of the ancient hiſtorians for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A e decree, which he is ſaid to have enacted, giving his ſubjects permiſſion, and even commanding them, not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws, ſhows, that

[h] Juven. l. ii. ſatyr. 6. [i] Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11.

"*tiochus* ſhall put into the hands of the *Romans* "twenty hoſtages, of which his ſon *Antiochus* "ſhall be one; ſhall exchange them all, except his "ſon *Antiochus*, every three years; and theſe hoſta- "ges ſhall all be between eighteen and forty-five "years of age. XVIII. If he is defective in the "ſums he is to pay annually, or brings any bad "money, he ſhall make ſatisfaction the next year. "XIX. If any of the allies make war upon *Antio-* "*chus*, he ſhall have a right to defend himſelf; but "he ſhall not keep any of their cities to himſelf, or "take them into friendſhip, or draw them over "to his party by corruption. The diſpute ſhall be "determined by pitched battles. XX. If any party "chuſes to add any further articles to theſe, it may "be done by mutual conſent (55)."

Moſt of the copies of *Livy*, inſtead of the river *Halys*, mentioned in the third article, have the river *Tanais*; which muſt certainly be a miſtake, ſince the *Tanais* divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, and falls into the *Palus Mœotis*, and neither the *Romans* nor *Antiochus* had at that time any intercourſe with the nations in that neighbourhood, which lay at a great diſtance from the provinces of *Aſia Minor*; whereas the *Halys* divided *Aſia Minor* into two parts; and *Antiochus* was not only to retire beyond mount *Taurus*, but to withdraw his troops from all the places lying between that mountain and the river *Halys*, which was on this ſide of it. The promontory *Calycadnus*, ſpoke of in the tenth article, ſtood at the mouth of a river in *Cilicia* bearing the ſame name, and near it was the promontory of *Sarpedon*. The river is now known to the *Italians* by the name of *Fiume del Ferro*. The promontory of *Calycadnus* is the ſame with *Strabo*'s cape *Zephyrium*.

(55) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 112. *Polyb. legat.* 35. *Liv. l.* xxxviii. *c.* 38.

that he had an extraordinary regard for juſtice [k]. Till the fiftieth year of his age he behaved on all occaſions with ſuch courage and prudence, as crowned with ſucceſs all his enterprizes, and gained him the title of *the Great*; but, after that age, as he declined in the wiſdom of his conduct, as well as in his application to buſineſs, all his affairs were proportionably unſucceſsful. His conduct in the war with the *Romans*, the contempt in which he held the wiſe counſels of *Hannibal*, and the ignominious peace which he was forced to accept, drowned all the glory of his former expeditions. The prophet *Daniel* had foretold both his great exploits and misfortunes, and his prophecies were fully accompliſhed, as the reader will find in our notes (R).

[k] Aurel. Victor. de viris illuſtr.

He

(R) The prophecies of *Daniel*, from the tenth verſe of the eleventh chapter to the nineteenth inclusive, relate to the actions of this prince, and were all fully accompliſhed. *But his ſons*, ſays the prophet, ſpeaking of the king of *Syria*, or the king of the north, *ſhall be ſtirred up, and ſhall aſſemble a multitude of great forces; and one* (Antiochus the Great) *ſhall certainly come and overflow, and paſs through: then ſhall he return, and be ſtirred up, even to his fortreſs.* This king of the north was *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left behind him two ſons, *Seleucus Ceraunus* and *Antiochus*, afterwards ſurnamed *the Great*. The former reigned but three years, and was ſucceeded by *Antiochus* his brother. The latter, after having quelled the troubles of his kingdom, waged war with *Ptolemy Philopator* king of the ſouth, that is, of *Egypt*, diſpoſſeſſed him of *Cælo-Syria*, which was delivered to him by *Theodotus* governor of that province, defeated *Ptolemy*'s generals in the narrow paſſes near *Berytus*, and won part of *Phœnice*, advancing as far as the fortreſs, or, as we read in the *Hebrew*, as far as the fortreſſes, that is, to the frontiers of *Egypt*. The victory gained by *Ptolemy* over *Antiochus* is plainly pointed out in the following lines: *And the king of the ſouth ſhall be moved with choler, and ſhall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he ſhall ſet forth a great multitude, but the multitude ſhall be given into his hand. Ptolemy Philopator* was an indolent effeminate prince; his ſubjects were forced to drag him, as it were, into the field, to repulſe the enemy who was marching into his country. At laſt he put himſelf at the head of the army, and, by the valour and conduct of his generals, gained a ſignal victory over *Antiochus* at *Raphia*. There *a great multitude*, that is, the great army which *Antiochus* led into the field, *was given into his hands*, and *Ptolemy did caſt down*, that is, ſlew *many thouſands of them*, and put the reſt to flight. *And when he has taken away the multitude, his heart ſhall be lifted up*, &c. *but he ſhall not be ſtrengthened by it. Antiochus* loſt upwards of ten thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, and four thouſand of his men were taken priſoners. *Philopator*, after this victory haſtened back into *Egypt*, and there gave himſelf up to ſloth and idleneſs, without taking the advantages which it gave him; and therefore was *not ſtrengthened by it. For the king of the north ſhall return, and ſhall ſet forth a multitude greater than the former, and ſhall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches. Antiochus*, having ended the war which he had waged with the nations beyond the *Euphrates*, raiſed a mighty army in thoſe provinces, and, fourteen years after the ending of the former war, returned againſt *Egypt*, during the minority of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, defeated *Scopas* near *Paneas*, and regained the whole country which *Philopator* had reduced after the victory gained at *Raphia*. *And in thoſe times there ſhall many ſtand up againſt the king of the ſouth.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* againſt the infant king of *Egypt*, by the conſpiracy of *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* for the regency, and by that of *Scopas*, who wanted to diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions, and ſeize them for himſelf. *Alſo the robbers of thy people ſhall exalt themſelves to eſtabliſh the viſion, but they ſhall fall.* Several apoſtate *Jews*, to ingratiate themſelves with the king of *Egypt*, complied with every thing he required of them, in oppoſition to the ſacred ordinances of the law. But *they fell*; for when *Antiochus* got again poſſeſſion of *Judæa* and *Jeruſalem*, he either cut off, or drove out of the country, all the partiſans of *Ptolemy*. So *the king of the north will come and caſt up a mount, and take the moſt fenced cities; and the arms of the ſouth ſhall not withſtand, neither his choſen people; neither ſhall there be any ſtrength to withſtand.——But he that cometh againſt him, ſhall do according to his own will, and none ſhall ſtand before him; and he ſhall ſtand in the glorious land, which by his hand ſhall be conſumed. Antiochus*, after having defeated the *Egyptian* army at *Paneas*, beſieged and took, firſt *Sidon*, then *Gaza*, and afterwards all the cities of thoſe provinces notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the choſen troops, which the king of *Egypt* ſent againſt him, under the command of his beſt generals. *He acted according to his own will* in *Cælo-Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and purſuing his conqueſts, entered *Judæa*, that *glorious land*, and there eſtabliſhed his authority, by driving out of the caſtle of *Jeruſalem* the garriſon which *Scopas* had left there; but that garriſon having made ſuch reſiſtance, as obliged *Antiochus* to ſend for the reſt of his army to reduce it, and the ſiege continuing ſome time, the country was deſtroyed and *conſumed* by the ſtay the army was forced to make in it, and the city of *Jeruſalem* ſuffered greatly, as appears from the decree which *Antiochus* afterwards enacted in favour of the *Jews*, granting them leave to repair their demoliſhed city, and raiſe it from the ruinous condition to which it was reduced. This decree was directed to one *Ptolemy*, who ſeems to have been governor of thoſe provinces at that time, and is ſtill extant in *Joſephus* (56). *He ſhall alſo ſet his face to enter with the ſtrength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus ſhall he do, and he ſhall give him the daughter of women corrupting her; but ſhe ſhall not ſtand on his ſide, neither be for him.* St. *Jerom* tells us (57), that *Antiochus* gave his daughter in marriage to *Ptolemy*, *corrupting her* with bad principles, and inſtructing her how ſhe ſhould betray her husband, and put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom: but he was not ſucceſsful in his deſign, for ſhe was no ſooner married to *Ptolemy*, but ſhe forſook her father's intereſt, and engaged in that of her husband; and hence it is that we find her joined with him in an embaſſy which was ſent from *Egypt* to *Rome*, congratulating the *Romans* on the victory which *Acilius* had gained over her father at *Thermopylæ*

(56) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 3.

(57) *Hieronym. in c.* 11. *Danielis.*

Seleucus Philopater. *Year after the flood* 2812. *Year before Christ* 187.

HE was succeeded by *Seleucus* surnamed *Philopator*, or, as *Josephus* stiles him, *Soter*[l], which indeed was the surname of his son *Demetrius*. This prince reigned eleven years, and some months; but made a very poor figure, by reason of the low state to which the *Syrian* empire had been reduced by the *Romans*, and the exorbitant sum of a thousand talents he was obliged to pay annually, by virtue of the treaty of peace between the king his father and that republic. It was under this prince that the famous accident happened concerning *Heliodorus*, which is mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees*[m]. The city of *Jerusalem* enjoyed, at that time, a profound tranquility, *Onias* the high-priest causing the laws of God to be observed, and prompting even kings and idolatrous princes, by his exemplary piety, to have the holy place in the highest veneration, and to honour it with rich donatives. *Seleucus* supplied, out of his private revenues, whatever was necessary for the pomp and magnificence of the solemn sacrifices, notwithstanding the difficulties he laboured under, by reason of the heavy tribute he was obliged to pay annually to *Rome*; but this scene was all on a sudden changed, and great disturbances raised in the city by one *Simon* of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and chief governor or protector of the temple. This man falling out with *Onias*, to be revenged on him for opposing his unjust enterprizes, fled from *Jerusalem*, and went to *Apollonius*, who was governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine* for *Seleucus*, and told him, that there were immense treasures laid up in the temple, which were not designed for the sacrifices, but squandered away by the priests, and therefore might be better lodged in the king's coffers. Hereupon *Apollonius* immediately gave notice of what he had heard to the king, who sent *Heliodorus* his treasurer to *Jerusalem*, with orders to seize on the treasures, and bring them to *Antioch*. *Heliodorus*, on his arrrival at *Jerusalem*, aquainted the high-priest, who had received him with great demonstrations of respect and esteem, with the motive of his journey, and asked him, Whether the information which had been given to the king was true? *Onias* told him, That there was indeed some money lodged in the temple, but that it was only deposited there in trust, being allotted for the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not, by any means, dispose of it in wrong of those to whom it belonged; that the whole amounted to no more than four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold, and was, in great part, the private property of *Hyrcanus*, a man of great honour and probity; and lastly, that such was the holiness of the place, revered throughout the whole world, that no man ought to lay hands on what was deposited there. But *Heliodorus* alledging the positive orders he had received from his master, told the high-priest in plain terms, that he must seize the money, whatever might be the consequences of such a seizure, and carry it to the king at *Antioch*. When *Heliodorus*, on the day appointed, came to the temple, with a design to execute his commission, the whole city was seized with dread. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal robes, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; and the people, covered with sackcloth, flocked to the temple, and jointly with the priests, besought the Almighty, not to suffer so holy a place to be violated and exposed to contempt. But, in the mean time, *Heliodorus*, attended by his guards, was got to the gates of the treasury, and preparing to break it open, when *the Lord of spirits* revealed his power by most sensible marks, striking all those, who dared to obey *Heliodorus*, with such terror as deprived them of their senses; for there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which, rushing upon *Heliodorus*, struck him several

Seleucus *sends* Heliodorus *to plunder the temple of* Jerusalem.

[l] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

[m] 2 MACCAB. iii. iv.

mopylæ (58). *After this he shall turn his face to the isles, and shall take many; but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach, which* Antiochus *had offered him, to cease: without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him*; for after having put an end to the war in *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, he sent his two sons with his army, by land, to *Sardis*, while he himself, with a great fleet, sailed to the *Ægean* sea, where he reduced several islands, and extended his empire on that side; *but the prince of the people to whom he had offered reproach* by that invasion, that is, *Lucius Scipio* the *Roman* consul, *made the reproach turn upon him*, by defeating him in the battle of *Magnesia*, and driving him out of all *Asia Minor*. *Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.* *Antiochus*, after his defeat, *returned to the fort of his own land*, that is, to *Antioch*, the capital of his kingdom, and strongest place in it. From thence going into the eastern provinces to levy money wherewithal to pay the *Romans*, he was slain, so that he returned not into *Syria*, nor was afterwards *found* there. These are, as it were, the out-lines of *Antiochus*'s picture, and as they resemble none but him, we cannot imagine that they were drawn undesignedly, or at random.

(58) *Liv. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 3.

several times with his fore-feet. His rider had a terrible aspect, and his weapons a
seemed to be of gold. At the same time appeared two young men, whose beauty daz-
led the eye. These, standing on each side of *Heliodorus*, scourged him incessantly with
their whips in a most violent manner. *Heliodorus* fell to the ground speechless, and
without the least symptoms of life, and being in this condition put into a litter, was
by his guards carried off, while the temple, which before resounded with lamentati-
ons, now echoed with the joyful shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to
the Almighty for having thus displayed his power in defence of the sanctuary. Some of
Heliodorus's friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour; whereupon
he offered a sacrifice for his health, and while he was praying, the two young men
above-mentioned appearing to *Heliodorus*, spoke to him thus: Return thanks to *Onias* b
the high-priest, since, for his sake, the Lord has granted you life; and since you
have been scourged from heaven, declare to all men the mighty power of God.
Having spoke these words, they disappeared. *Heliodorus* offered up sacrifices, made
solemn vows to him who had saved his life, and returning thanks to *Onias*, departed
from *Jerusalem*, declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to
which he himself had been an eye-witness. On his return to court, the king, per-
sisting still in his former resolution of plundering the temple, asked him, Who, in
his opinion, was the most proper person for that attempt? *Heliodorus* replied, That
if he had any enemy or traitor, he might send him, since that was the most expedi-
tious way of getting rid of him, He, who dwells in heaven, being present in that c
place, and protecting it against such as come to profane it. *Josephus*, who also relates
this event, instead of *Heliodorus*, names *Apollonius*, who, as we have hinted above, was
governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*; and with *Josephus* agree the *Fasti Siculi*. Tho'
the hand of God had appeared on this occasion in a very miraculous manner, yet
Simon did not lay aside his animosity against *Onias*, but carried it so far as to murder
several of those who favoured the high-priest, being backed therein and encouraged
by *Apollonius*. Hereupon *Onias* took a journey to *Antioch*, to complain to the king
of these violences; but he had not been long there ere *Seleucus* died. The epito-
mizer of *Jason* of *Cyrenia* tells us, that *Seleucus* was dead before *Onias* reached *Antioch*;
but *Eusebius* says, that he found him alive, and prevailed upon him to banish the d
perfidious *Simon* [n]. But, be that as it will, heaven did not long defer punishing
Seleucus for his sacrilegious attempt upon the temple, by that very hand which he had
employed in it. We have observed above, that when *Antiochus the Great*, the father
of *Seleucus*, made peace with the *Romans*, after the famous battle of *Magnesia*, among
other hostages that were then given for the observance of the articles, one was
Antiochus the kings son, and younger brother to *Seleucus*. This prince had been now
thirteen years at *Rome*, was twenty-seven years of age, and *Seleucus* was desirous of
having him home, and sending to *Rome*, by way of exchange, his own son *Deme-*
trius, who was but ten years old. Some authors are of opinion [o], that *Seleucus* in
this had no other view but to give his son a *Roman* education. Others conjecture, e
that he wanted *Antiochus*, to employ him in an expedition against *Egypt* during the
minority of *Philometor* [p]; but what prompted him to send for *Antiochus* is not record-
ed by any authentic history of those times. The affair was warmly debated in the
senate at *Rome*; but at length the exchange was accepted, and *Antiochus* set out for
Asia, about the same time that the young *Demetrius* set out for *Rome*. During the ab-
sence of the two heirs to the crown, *Heliodorus* thinking this a fair opportunity of seizing
the throne, by cutting off *Seleucus*, accordingly poisoned him, and placed the crown
on his own head. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of *Daniel*, who, speaking of the
death of *Antiochus the Great*, *Then shall stand up*, says he, *in his estate a raiser of taxes*
in the glory of the kingdom; *but within few years he shall be destroyed, neither in anger*
nor in battle. These words evidently denote the short and obscure reign of *Seleucus*,
and the kind of death which befel him; for he reigned only eleven years, and his
death was neither *in anger* nor *in battle*; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in rebel-
lion at home, but by the treachery of one of his own friends. The prophet calls him
a *raiser of taxes*, or, as we read in the *Hebrew* text, a *collector of taxes*; and such he
was during the whole time of his reign, being obliged to pay the *Romans*, agreeable
to the articles of peace between them and his father, a thousand talents annually; and
the last of these twelve years was the last of his life. He is said to have once raised

Seleucus *poisoned.*
Year of the World, 2823.
Before Christ 176.

[n] 2 Maccab. iv. Euseb. in Chron. [o] Salian. ad Ann. Mund. 3878. [p] Vaillant. in hist. reg. Syr.

a

a a conſiderable army with a deſign to aſſiſt *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* againſt *Eumenes*; but when he was ready to paſs mount *Taurus*, dreading the vengeance of the *Roman* people, he returned home, and diſbanded his troops [r]. *Joſephus* tells us [s], that he employed *Hyrcanus* the ſon of *Joſeph*, and nephew to *Tobias*, to gather the taxes on the eaſt ſide of the *Jordan*, where *Hyrcanus* on that occaſion built a ſtrong caſtle of white marble not far from the land of *Heſhbon*; the ſame author adds, that *Seleucus* appointed him governor of all that country, which he held the ſeven laſt years of that prince's reign, living all the time in war with the *Arabians*, and gaining ſignal victories over them.

b It is manifeſt from the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, and alſo from *Joſephus* [t], that *Seleucus* had been in poſſeſſion of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, ſome time before his death. For *Apollonius* was governor of thoſe provinces for *Seleucus*, *Heliodorus* was ſent by him to plunder the temple, and *Onias*, when oppreſſed by *Simon*, had recourſe to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, and not to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. But by what means, or on what occaſion thoſe provinces became ſubject to *Seleucus*, is what we find no where recorded. After the battle of *Paneas*, *Antiochus*, as we have related above, made himſelf maſter of all *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*; but when *Ptolemy Epiphanes* married his daughter, he agreed to reſtore them to him by way of dowry. And if they were reſtored, how came *Seleucus* to be poſſeſſed of them a-new? *Polybius* [u] ſeems to inſinuate, that this agreement was never executed; for that author tells us,

c that the above-mentioned provinces continued ſubject to the king of *Syria* ever after the battle of *Paneas*; and adds, that *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who ſucceeded *Seleucus*, in the anſwer he gave to the embaſſadors, who came from *Greece*, to compoſe the differences that aroſe between him and *Ptolemy Philometor*, denied that *Antiochus* had ever agreed to deliver up *Cœle-Syria* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* on the marriage of his daughter. The authority of *Polybius* would prompt us to believe that *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, notwithſtanding the above-mentioned agreement, had been retained by the *Syrian* kings, if the contrary were not plain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewiſe from *Joſephus* [w], who tells us, that *Hyrcanus* and all the nobles of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, when news was brought them of the birth of *Philometor*, flocked to *Alexandria* to

d congratulate on that occaſion king *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* his queen, which they certainly would not have done had thoſe provinces been ſubject to the king of *Syria*. *Diodorus Siculus* [x] tells us, that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* raiſed a powerful army with a deſign to make war upon *Seleucus*, but was prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution. Now it is not unlikely that *Seleucus*, being provoked thus by *Epiphanes*, taking advantage of the minority of his ſon *Philometor*, purſued the war, which his father was ready to begin, and ſeized on thoſe provinces. For it is certain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewiſe from *Joſephus*, that *Seleucus* was in poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces, when he died. But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory:

Antiochus, brother of *Seleucus*, being arrived at *Athens* on his return from *Rome*, Antiochus Epiphanes.

e received there the news of his brother's death, and was at the ſame time told that *Heliodorus* had ſeized the crown, and was ſupported by a ſtrong party; but that another was forming in favour of *Ptolemy*, who claimed the kingdom of *Syria* in right of his mother, the deceaſed king's ſiſter. Hereupon *Antiochus* had recourſe to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and to *Attalus* that king's brother, who conducted him into *Syria* at the head of a powerful army, drove out the uſurper, and ſeated him on the throne [y]. As this king proved a cruel proſecutor of the *Jews*, the prophet *Daniel* [z] foretold every thing that was to befal him. He expreſſes himſelf with relation to his acceſſion to the crown in the following words [a]: *And in his* (Seleucus's) *eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom*; *His character.*

f *but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* It is ſaid here, *that to him they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom*; and truly he did not come to the crown either by right of birth, ſince his brother *Seleucus* had left behind him a ſon, who was his lawful heir; nor by the election of the people; but by the powerful aſſiſtance of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, whom he gained by *flattering ſpeeches*, and great promiſes. On his being ſettled on the throne he aſſumed the ſurname of *Epiphanes*, that is, *the illuſtrious*, which title, as will ſoon appear, was never worſe applied. The whole

[r] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 302 [s] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4, 5. [t] 2 Maccab. c. 3, 4. [u] Polyb. legat. 72. p. 893. [w] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. [x] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 294, 297. [y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 116, 117. [z] Daniel. c. xi, & xii. [a] Daniel. c. xi. v. 21.

whole series of his life shews, that the epithet of *vile*, or, more agreeable to the original, *despicable*, given him by the holy prophet, suits better with his character. *Polybius* [b], *Philarchus* [c], *Livy* [d], and *Diodorus Siculus* [e], all heathen writers, and the two first his contemporaries, tell us that he frequently used to go out of his palace, attended only by two or three of his domestics, and ramble about the streets of *Antioch*; that he spent whole days in the shops of goldsmiths and engravers, disputing with them about the mysteries of their trades, which he ridiculously pretended to understand as well as they; that he was not ashamed to stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the people, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places, to which they resorted, drinking and carousing with them, though he had never seen them before; that when he heard of any young rakes met together on a party of pleasure, he never failed to intrude himself, and join in all their wanton frolics, without any regard to common decency, or his royal character; that sometimes divesting himself of his royal robes, and putting on a *Roman* gown, he run from street to street, as he had seen done in the elections of magistrates at *Rome*, taking some by the hand, embracing others, and begging all he met to favour him with their votes; for sometimes he set up for ædile, at other times for tribune, or some such employment; having thus got himself elected, he used to call for the curule chair, and sitting down in it, decided petty suits relating to contracts, bargains and sales made in the market, with as much gravity and attention, as if they had been matters of the highest concern. We are likewise told [f], that he was much given to drunkenness; that he squandered away great part of his revenues in riotous excesses, and that when intoxicated with liquor, he scowered up and down the streets, throwing money by handfuls among the populace, and crying out, Let him take it to whom fortune gives it. At other times he appeared in a *Roman* gown with a garland of roses on his head, and in that garb walked about the streets quite unaccompanied. If any one offered to follow him, they were sure to be well pelted with stones, which he carried under his gown for that purpose. He took pleasure in going into the public baths among the common people, where he exposed himself by his indecent and ridiculous behaviour. This odd and extravagant conduct made his subjects look upon him as a madman; whence instead of *Epiphanes* or *the Illustrious*, they used to stile him *Epimanes*, that is, *the Madman* [g]. S. *Jerome* tells us, that he was a most lewd prince, and did not even scruple to gratify his lust publicly, and in the sight of the people [h]. From what we have related, we leave our readers to judge, whether he best deserved the title of *Illustrious*, which he assumed, or that of the *Vile* and *Contemptible*, which the prophet *Daniel* gave him.

SCARCE was *Antiochus* seated on the throne, when the brother of the high-priest *Onias*, whose name was *Jesus*, which he afterwards changed into that of *Jason*, being ambitious of the high-priesthood, to which was annexed in those times, the regal power, applied to the king for it, and by an offer of three hundred and sixty talents, besides eighty more which he promised on another account, prevailed upon *Antiochus* to displace the righteous *Onias*, and advance him to that dignity. Nor was this all, as *Onias* was universally revered for his exemplary piety and strict justice, *Jason* well knew that his authority would be of no weight so long as his brother continued at *Jerusalem*; the intruder therefore procured from the king an order for his removal from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, and his confinement to that place. As the public treasury was quite empty, when *Antiochus* came to the crown by reason of the heavy tribute paid to the *Romans* the twelve foregoing years, *Jason* found the king disposed to grant any thing for ready money; and therefore proposed to advance an hundred and fifty talents more, on condition that the king would impower him to make as many of the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* freemen of *Antioch* as he should think fit, and give him leave to erect at *Jerusalem* a gymnasium, or *place of exercise*, and an ephebeum, or *a place for the training up of youth* after the *Greek* manner. The king complied as readily with these proposals, as he had done with the former; and by this means *Jason*, on his return to *Jerusalem*, drew over many of his countrymen from the party of *Onias*. For the *Jews* were at that time, generally speaking, mighty fond of the *Greek* fashions; whence they began to be reconciled to *Jason*, when they found him bent upon introducing the *Greek* customs among them. Besides,

[b] Apud Athenæum. l. v. p. 193. [c] Apud eundem, l. x. p. 438. [d] LIV. l. xli. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 304. [f] ATHEN. l. x. p. 438. [g] Idem ibid. [h] HIERON. in Dan. c. 11. p. 37.

a sides, the freedom of *Antioch*, which he could grant to whom he pleased, was attended with many valuable privileges under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings; whence many, in hopes of having it conferred upon them, espoused the party of *Jason* with great animosity; so that under his detestable reign the manners of the *Jews* were totally corrupted, and the customs of the *Gentiles* introduced among them. They were ashamed of their circumcision, which was the distinguishing mark of the people of God. They built amphitheatres in *Jerusalem* for profane shews, and places for the most infamous debaucheries. The priests themselves were not ashamed to leave their sacred function, and run to the public sports, in which they often became actors [i].

b In *Egypt* ever since the death of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, *Cleopatra* his widow, sister to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had taken upon her the government of the kingdom and the tuition of her infant son, and had conducted herself with great care and prudence. But she dying this year, the management of affairs fell into the hands of *Leænnus*, an *Egyptian* nobleman of great distinction, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was appointed to superintend the king's education. These no sooner entered on the administration, but they demanded *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine* of *Antiochus*; a demand, which soon occasioned a war between the two crowns. As *Cleopatra* was mother to one, and sister to the other of these two kings, she had prevented them so long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not shew so much regard for *Antiochus*, nor scruple to demand what they took to be their sovereign's right. It must be

c owned, that the kings of *Egypt* had always possessed these provinces ever since the first *Ptolemy*, till the time that *Antiochus the great* wrested them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and left them to *Seleucus* his son, with no other right than that of conquest. The *Egyptians*, to make good their claim, argued, that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of *Alexander*, after the famous battle of *Ipsus*, these provinces had been assigned to *Ptolemy*; that he and his successors had held them ever since that partition, till *Antiochus the great* made himself master of them after the battle of *Paneas*, and that *Antiochus* had stipulated on the marrying of his daughter to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and made it the main article in the marriage-contract, to restore to him those provinces by way of dowry. *Antiochus* denied both

d these particulars, and pretended, that in the general division, which had been made of *Alexander*'s empire, all *Syria*, including *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, had been allotted to *Seleucus Nicator*, and therefore belonged to him as his lawful heir in the *Syrian* empire. As to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the *Egyptians* demanded the restitution of those provinces, he maintained, that there was no such article in that agreement. Having thus laid down their respective claims without coming to any conclusion, the decision of the controversy was at last referred to the sword [k].

In the mean time the king of *Egypt* being declared of age, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the solemnity of his coronation, as was usual among the *Egyptians*. On this occasion *Antiochus* sent *Apollonius*, one of the chief noblemen of his

e court, with the character of embassador to assist at the solemnity, and congratulate the young king in his name on his taking the administration into his own hands. This in outward appearance was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was to discover the designs of the court, and the measures they were taking with regard to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*. And accordingly being informed on the return of *Apollonius*, that war was intended against him, he immediately imbarqued for *Joppa* to visit the frontiers towards *Egypt*, and put them in a state of defence against any attempts, which the *Egyptians* might make on that side. In this progress he took *Jerusalem* in his way, and was received there by *Jason* with all the marks of honour which the basest flattery could dictate, and that blind people were

f profuse of their acclamations to an idolatrous prince, whose tyranny they were soon to experience. From *Jerusalem* he went into *Phœnice*, and having settled all things in the places he passed through, he returned to *Antioch* [l]. The next year *Jason* sent his brother *Menelaus* to *Antioch* to pay the tribute to the king, and negotiate some other affairs in his name. But *Menelaus* in the audience which he had, instead of pursuing his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office by offering three hundred talents more than *Jason* had given for it. *Menelaus*, on his return to *Jerusalem*, was opposed by his brother, and even obliged to quit the city; but having recourse to *Antiochus*, and promising to embrace his religion and the worship of the

[i] 2 Maccab. 4, 10, 11, 12. Joseph. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6. [k] Hieronymus in Dan. & Polyb. legat. 82. p. 308. legat. 72. p. 893. [l] 2 Maccab. iv. 21.

the *Greeks*, he so far gained the king's favour, that he was sent back with such a a
power as *Jason* could not resist; who thereupon left *Jerusalem*, and retired into the
country of the *Ammonites*. Upon his flight *Menelaus* took possession of the high-
priesthood, and made good his promise to *Antiochus*, by apostatizing from the law
of *Moses* to the superstition of the *Greeks*, and seducing as many of his countrymen
as he could. Having thus taken possession of the high-priesthood, he neglected pay-
ing the money he had promised, and was on that account summoned to appear before
the king at *Antioch*. But before he reached that city, *Antiochis* was gone from thence
to quell an insurrection at *Mallus* and *Tarsus*, two cities of *Cilicia*. For the revenues
of these two cities having been allotted to *Antiochus*, one of the king's concubines, b
for her maintenance, the inhabitants out of indignation, or perhaps because *Antio-*
chis exacted upon them, rose up in arms, and committed great disorders. *Antiochus*
therefore hastened thither in person to appease the sedition, leaving the government
of *Antioch*, during his absence, to *Andronicus*, one of the chief men of his court.
In the mean time *Menelaus*, by selling many of the gold vessels of the temple, at
Tyre and in the neighbouring cities, raised a sufficient sum, not only to pay the
king, but to bribe *Andronicus* and the other courtiers to reinstate him in the king's
favour. *Onias*, who was then confined to *Antioch*, could not help reproving the
apostate for the sacrilege he had been guilty of in plundering the temple of the sacred
vessels; which *Menelaus* not being able to brook, applied to *Andronicus*, and by pro-
mising a large sum of money engaged him to dispatch *Onias*, who, upon intelligence of c
what was plotting against him, took sanctuary in the asylum at *Daphne*. But *An-*
dronicus, having by fair promises prevailed upon him to quit the asylum, treache-
rously slew him, and thereby earned the money which the impious *Menelaus* had pro-
mised him. His death was universally regretted by the *Greeks*, as well as the *Jews*
of *Antioch*, who therefore joined in petitioning the king to take cognizance of the
murder which had been committed in his absence. *Antiochus*, wicked as he was, had
a great esteem, and even veneration, for *Onias*; and therefore, to gratify his own
resentment, as well as that of the *Antiochians*, who had presented him the petition,
caused *Andronicus*, after he had been convicted of the crime laid to his charge, to
be conducted with infamy to the place where the murder had been committed, and d
there put to death in such manner as his crime deserved [m]. Upon the authority of
the second book of the *Maccabees*, we have rejected the testimony of *Josephus*, who
tells us [n], that *Jason* was not created high-priest till after the death of *Onias*. Nay
in this *Josephus* contradicts himself; for in his small treatise of the *Maccabees* he re-
lates this affair agreeable to the history we have followed. *Antiochus*, says he in that
treatise, abrogating the high-priesthood of *Onias*, put his brother *Jason* in his room,
who promised to pay him a yearly tribute of three thousand six hundred and sixty
talents; when he was in possession of the high-priesthood, he led the nation, estranged
from their ancient manners and institutions, into all sorts of iniquity; and not only
established a gymnasium in the fortress of our country, but introduced a total neglect e
of the temple. Thus far *Josephus*, agreeable to the history of the *Maccabees* in every
particular, save the annual tribute, which he increases, if the copy is not corrupted,
beyond all measure.

Antiochus having ever since the return of *Apollonius* from the *Egyptian* court been
making the necessary preparations for the war, which he saw himself threatened
with by *Ptolemy* on account of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and finding himself in a con-
dition to begin it; resolved to defer it no longer, but to carry it into the enemy's
country instead of waiting for it in his own. He imagined that as *Ptolemy* was then
but sixteen years of age, and governed intirely by weak ministers, he should be able
to bring him to what terms he pleased. Besides, the *Romans*, under whose protection f
the *Egyptians* had put themselves, were not at leisure to afford them any assistance, by
reason of the war which they had on their hands with *Perses* king of *Macedon*; think-
ing therefore that he could not have a more favourable conjuncture for putting an end
to the quarrel, he resolved forthwith to begin the war. However, to keep as fair
with the *Romans* as the case would admit, he sent an embassy to *Rome* to pay the arrears
of the tribute that was due to the republic, and at the same time to lay before the
senate the right he had to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine* then in his posses-
sion, and to justify the war which he was obliged to engage in to maintain them [o].

Epiphanes *sends an embassay to* Rome.

Apollonius,

[m] 2 MACCAB. iv. 32, 33, 34, & seq. [n] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6. [o] LIV. l. xliii. c. 19. POLYB. legat. 71. p. 892. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 18. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6. HIERONYM. in Dan. c. 11.

Apollonius, who was at the head of the embaſſy, carried with him beſides the tribute, conſiderable preſents for the republic. When the *Syrians* arrived at *Rome*, and were introduced to the ſenate, their ſpeech conſiſted chiefly of apologies in the name of the king their maſter, for having ſo long delayed ſatisfying the *Romans*. For *Seleucus* had neglected to pay this debt, and *Antiochus* his ſucceſſor had not yet been in a condition to diſcharge it. After *Apollonius* had paid down the whole ſum, he offered, as a free gift, ſeveral vaſes of gold, which weighed five hundred pounds, returned the republic thanks for the excellent education their king had received at *Rome*, and the marks of honour that were paid him during his abode there, and concluded with laying before the ſenate his claim to *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and demanding that the alliance between *Rome* and *Syria* might be renewed. The ſenate received the envoys very graciouſly, defrayed their expences, and made them preſents of a conſiderable value. The prætor *Attilus* was ordered to draw up the act of confederacy upon the ſame foot on which it had been made with *Antiochus the Great*. The money which the embaſſadors delivered was put into the hands of the quæſtors, and the gold veſſels conſigned to the cenſors, who offered them to ſuch of the gods as they thought fit. As for the king's claim to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, the ſenate put off the diſcuſſing of that point to a more proper ſeaſon, returning no anſwer on that head [p].

Invades Egypt.

BEFORE the embaſſadors returned from *Rome*, *Antiochus*, putting himſelf at the head of his army, had marched towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. There he was met by the forces of *Ptotemy* between mount *Caſius* and *Peluſium*. Hereupon an engagement enſued, in which the *Egyptians* were routed at the very firſt onſet. *Antiochus*, taking advantage of this victory, fortified the frontiers of his dominions ſo well on that ſide, that they ſerved ever after as a barrier to check the utmoſt efforts of the *Egyptians* attempting to recover thoſe provinces. This was his firſt expedition into *Egypt*, after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to *Tyre*, and put his army into winter-quarters [q].

DURING his ſtay at *Tyre*, three deputies from the ſanhedrim of *Jeruſalem* waited upon him to complain of *Menelaus*, whom they convicted, in the king's preſence, of impiety, ſacrilege, and many violences and diſorders. Hereupon the king reſolved to put him to death; but *Menelaus*, having bribed *Ptolemy Macron* (S), one of the king's miniſters, with a large ſum of money, not only eſcaped the ſentence which was ready to be pronounced againſt him, but prevailed upon the king to put the three deputies to death, as if they had accuſed him unjuſtly, which was ſuch a bare-faced piece of oppreſſion and injuſtice, that the *Tyrians*, touched with compaſſion at their unhappy fate, cauſed them to be honourably interred [r].

His ſecond expedition into Egypt.

Antiochus having ſpent the whole winter in making freſh preparations for a ſecond expedition into *Egypt*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, marched to the frontiers of that country, where he gained a ſecond victory over the forces of *Ptolemy*, took *Peluſium*, and led his army into the very heart of the kingdom. In this laſt overthrow it was in his power to have cut off all the *Egyptians* to a man; but inſtead of purſuing this advantage, he took care to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, riding about the field in perſon, and forbidding his men to put any more to death. This clemency gained him the hearts of the *Egyptians* ſo far, that when he advanced up into the country, all the inhabitants voluntarily ſubmitted to him; by which means he made himſelf maſter of *Memphis* and all the reſt of *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*, which held out againſt him [s]. In this ſecond invaſion *Philopator* fell into the hands of the con-

[p] LIV. POLYB. JUSTIN. ibid. [q] HIERONYM. LIV. POLYB. ibid. [r] 2 MACCAB. xliv—l. [s] 1 MACCAB. xvii, xviii. & 2. MACCAB. v. 1. HIERONYM. in Dan. xi. 24, 25. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 311.

(S) This *Ptolemy Macron* having been formerly governor of the iſland of *Cyprus* under king *Ptolemy Philometor*, had during his minority kept in his own hands all the revenues of that iſland; and could never be prevailed upon to deliver them up to the miniſters, notwithſtanding their earneſt call for them. But as ſoon as the king was declared to be out of his minority, he brought the whole ſum to *Alexandria*, and paid it into the royal treaſury. As it was a ſupply very much wanted at that time to anſwer the exigences of the government, he was highly commended for his conduct. But afterwards exaſperated at ſome ill treatment he met with from the miniſters, or becauſe he was not rewarded for ſo important a ſervice according to his expectation, he revolted from *Ptolemy*, went over to *Antiochus*, and delivered up to him the iſland of *Cyprus*. The king received him with great favour, took him into the number of his principal friends, and appointed him governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, ſending *Crates*, who had commanded in the caſtle of *Jeruſalem* under *Soſtratus*, to be governor of *Cyprus* in his ſtead (59). Great mention is made of *Ptolemy Macron* in the books of the *Maccabees*.

(59) *Valeſii excerpt. ex Polyb. p.* 126.

conqueror; but whether he was taken priſoner, or ſurrendered himſelf to him of his own accord, is uncertain. The latter ſeems to ſome moſt likely; for *Antiochus* entertained him very kindly, allowed him his liberty, kept him at his own table, and carrying him with him to *Memphis*, affected to be extremely careful of the Intereſt of the young king, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he once ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the country, he ſeized all that was valuable for himſelf, pillaged the cities, and cauſed ſuch deſolations as are not to be expreſſed, enriching himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of the plundered people. *Philometor* all this time made a pitiful figure; in the field he had always kept as far as poſſible from danger, and had not even ſhewn himſelf to thoſe who fought for him. Afterwards he ſubmitted to *Antiochus* in a moſt abject manner, ſuffering himſelf to be deprived of ſo large a kingdom, without making one ſingle effort to preſerve it. This, however, was not ſo much owing to his want of courage, and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave many inſtances of both, as to the effeminate education he had received under *Eulæus* his governor. For that eunuch, who was alſo his prime miniſter, had taken care, by corrupting him with all manner of luxury, to make him as unfit for buſineſs as he was able, that when the young prince was grown up, he might be as neceſſary to him, and conſequently have the ſame power in the kingdom, as he had been during his minority [t].

While *Antiochus* was thus employed in *Egypt*, a falſe report of his death prevailing all over *Paleſtine*, *Jaſon* thought this a proper opportunity to recover his ſtation at *Jeruſalem*, and therefore marched thither with above a thouſand men; and having by the aſſiſtance of the party he had in the city made himſelf maſter of it, and obliged *Menelaus* to retire into the citadel, practiſed all ſorts of cruelties on his fellow-citizens, unmercifully putting to death all thoſe who fell into his hands, and whom he conſidered as enemies [u]. When advice of this was brought to *Antiochus* in *Egypt*, he concluded, that the *Jews* had made a general inſurrection, and therefore marched with all haſte out of *Egypt* into *Judæa* to quell it. What moſt provoked him was his being told, that the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* upon a falſe report of his death had made great rejoicings. He therefore in a great rage laid ſiege to the city, took it by ſtorm, and in three days time ſlew forty thouſand of the inhabitants, and taking as many priſoners ſold them for ſlaves to the neighbouring nations. Nor did he ſtop here, but entering forcibly into the temple and the moſt ſacred places, polluted with his preſence the holy of holies itſelf, whither the wicked *Menelaus* led him. And to offer the greater indignity to that ſacred place, he ſacrificed a ſow on the altar of burnt-offerings, and having cauſed part of it to be boiled, he ordered the temple to be ſprinkled all over with the water, in which it had been boiled, that he might thereby utterly defile it (T). After this adding ſacrilege to profanation, he carried away the

Takes Jeruſalem, *and profanes the temple.*

altar

[t] Maccab. i. 19. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. [u] 1 Maccab. i. 20--25. 2 Maccb. v. vi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

(T) This circumſtance is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus* in the following words: "*Antiochus Epiphanes*, having overcome the *Jews* entered the holy "oracle of God, to which the prieſts only had acceſs. There he found the ſtatue of a man with "a long beard, holding a book in his hand, and "ſitting upon an aſs; which he took to be *Moſes*, "who built *Jeruſalem*, founded the nation, and "eſtabliſhed thoſe laws which are hated by all nations. But he deſiring to take away what all "nations abhorred, did his utmoſt to abrogate the "laws. Therefore he ſacrificed a great ſow to "the founder, on the altar of God, which ſtood "in the open air, and poured blood both upon the "ſtatue and the altar, and boiling the fleſh commanded the holy books containing their laws to "be ſprinkled with the water; the immortal taper, as they term it, which always burnt in the "temple, he commanded to be put out, and compelled the chief-prieſt and other *Jews* to eat "hog's fleſh". Thus far *Diodorus Siculus* (60), who in this particular agrees with *Joſephus*. This author telling us, that *Antiochus*, after he had made himſelf maſter of the city, ſacrificed a ſow upon the altar, and cauſed the temple to be ſprinkled with the water, in which it had been boiled (61). And here we cannot help obſerving, that *Joſephus* in his account of *Antiochus*'s taking the city of *Jeruſalem*, not only contradicts all the ancients, but even himſelf. For *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Timagenes*, *Apollodorus*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, &c. tell us, that *Antiochus* took *Jeruſalem* by ſtorm after he had lain a conſiderable time before it; and *Joſephus* in his hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* war (62), writes in expreſs terms, that *Antiochus took the city by force*, and repreſents him as inraged by what he had ſuffered in the ſiege; and in another place (63), he ſpeaks of thoſe who were ſlain in the ſiege fighting againſt *Antiochus* in defence of the place. But for all this, in his antiquities he tell us, that *Antiochus* entered the city *without force*, thoſe of his party within opening the gates to him. But this is not the only place where that writer is inconſiſtent with himſelf.

(60) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xxxiv. *apud Photium cod.* 244. (61) *Joſeph. Antiquit. l.* xiii. *c.* 16 (62) *Joſeph. de bell. Judaic. l.* i. *c.* 1. (63) *Idem ibid. l.* vi. *c.* 11.

a altar of incenſe, the ſhew-bread table, the candleſtick of ſeven branches belonging to the ſanctuary, which were all of gold, and ſeveral other veſſels, utenſils and gifts of kings likewiſe of gold, to the value of eighteen hundred talents. To complete the calamity of the *Jews*, *Antiochus* on his departure from *Jeruſalem* appointed governor of *Judæa* one *Philip*, a *Phrygian*, who was a man of a moſt cruel and inhuman temper, and *Andronicus*, another of the like diſpoſition, governor of *Samaria*, and left *Menelaus*, the moſt wicked of the three, in the office of high-prieſt.

In the mean time the *Alexandrians*, ſeeing *Philometor* in the hands of *Antiochus*, whom he ſuffered to govern his kingdom as he pleaſed, looked upon him as loſt to them; and therefore placed his younger brother on the throne, giving him the name of *Euergetes*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Phyſcon* or *great-bellied*, his luxury and gluttony having made him remarkably corpulent, and by this name he is moſt commonly mentioned in hiſtory. On his aſcending the throne, *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed his chief miniſters, and to them was committed the care of reſtoring, if poſſible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flouriſhing condition [w].

Antiochus being informed of what was tranſacting in *Egypt*, took occaſion from thence to return a third time into that country upon the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring the depoſed king; but in reality to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom. Having therefore defeated the *Alexandrians* in a ſea-fight near *Peluſium*, he again entered that c unhappy country at the head of a powerful army, and advanced directly to *Alexandria* with a deſign to beſiege it. Whereupon the young king, conſulting with his two miniſters, agreed to ſummon a council compoſed of all the chief officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the moſt proper means to extricate himſelf out of his preſent difficulties. After long debates in the council they came at laſt to this reſolution; that as their affairs were in a very bad ſituation, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to make up matters with *Antiochus*, and that for this purpoſe the embaſſadors, who were then at *Alexandria*, from ſeveral of the *Greek* ſtates to the *Egyptian* court, ſhould be deſired to interpoſe their mediation. The embaſſadors readily complied with the king's requeſt, and being accompanied by two embaſſadors d from *Ptolemy* forthwith ſailed up the *Nile* to wait on *Antiochus* with propoſals of peace. *Antiochus* received them in his camp very kindly, and having given them the firſt day a noble entertainment, appointed the next to hear their propoſals. The *Achæans* ſpoke the firſt, and afterwards the reſt in their turns. All agreed in aſcribing the calamities of the war to the ill conduct of *Eulæus*, and the minority of *Ptolemy Philometor*, made artful apologies in favour of the young king, and did all that lay in their power to ſoften *Antiochus*, and bring him to terms of peace with his nephew, laying great ſtreſs on their affinity. *Antiochus* in his anſwer to them acknowledged all to be true, that they had ſaid, as to the origin and cauſe of the war, and then took the opportunity of laying before them his title to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, and e *Paleſtine*, exhibiting the various reaſons which we have already taken notice of, and producing ſome authentic inſtruments in proof of all that he alledged, which were judged ſo ſtrong, that all there preſent were of opinion that he had the beſt right to thoſe provinces. As for the propoſals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which, he ſaid, he would readily enter into with them, when two perſons then abſent, whom he named, ſhould be with him, without whom, he told them, he would not take a ſingle ſtep in ſo important a negotiation. Having returned this anſwer, he raiſed his camp, went to *Naucratis*, and from thence marched to *Alexandria*, which city he cloſely beſieged. In this extremity *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, who were in the city, ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, repreſenting f their caſe, and imploring the aſſiſtance of that powerful republic. The embaſſadors being, ſoon after their arrival at *Rome*, introduced to the ſenate, appeared there dreſſed in the deepeſt mourning, and carrying olive-branches in their hands. After they had fallen proſtrate before the conſcript fathers, they expreſſed themſelves in the following terms: *Egypt*, ſaid they, which you have protected, and whoſe kings have been under your tuition, is now upon the very brink of ruin. *Alexandria* is beſieged; and, to complete our misfortunes, the enemy, who threatens us, has found favour here. *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, who has been brought up here as your hoſtage, is the ſcourge which the gods have brought upon us. If therefore *Egypt* has deſerved your

His third expedition into Egypt.

The Egyptians *apply to the* Roman *ſenate.*

[w] Porphyrius in Græc. Euseb. Scaliger. p. 60. & 68. Polyb. legat. 81. p. 907. Liv. l. xliv. c. 19.

your compaſſion, as ſhe has always been faithful to you, ward off the blow that a
threatens her with deſtruction. Nothing is more eaſy to you than to fix on the head
of our ſovereign, and your friend and ally, a crown which an ambitious uncle would
bereave him of. *Antiochus* reveres your authority, and pays a deference to your or-
ders; one word from you will put an end to his unjuſt conqueſts and our fears.
How glorious will it be for *Rome* to reſtore, with one word, tranquility to *Egypt!* On
the contrary, what a reflection would it be on your republic, if our ſovereign ſhould
be forced to fly hither for refuge againſt an invaſion, which you might with ſo much
eaſe have prevented! The danger is imminent, and the leaſt dilatorineſs in your delibe-
rations will make the diſeaſe incurable [x]. Both compaſſion and policy inclined the
ſenate to favour the ſuppliants. They plainly ſaw, that it would be dangerous to b
ſuffer *Antiochus* to grow ſo powerful as the uniting the crown of *Egypt* to that of
Syria would make him. The ſenate therefore reſolved to ſend without delay an em-
baſſy into *Egypt* to put an end to the war. The perſons appointed for this impor-
tant negotiation were *Caius Popilius Lænas*, *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hoſtilius*.
their inſtructions were, that they ſhould firſt wait on *Antiochus*, and afterwards on
Ptolemy, ſhould order them in the name of the ſenate to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, and
put an end to the war; which if either of them ſhould refuſe to do, they were to
let him know, that the *Romans* would no longer look upon him as their friend and
ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the reſolution was taken in the
ſenate they ſet out together with the *Egyptian* embaſſadors from *Rome* [y] (U).

In the mean time embaſſadors arrived in *Egypt* from *Rhodes*, ſent by that repub- c
lic on purpoſe to make up matters between the contending parties. Theſe landing at
Alexandria went from thence, after having received the proper inſtructions from the
miniſters of that court, to the camp of *Antiochus* before the town, and uſed their
utmoſt endeavours to make a thorough reconciliation between him and his nephew,
inſiſting on the long friendſhip and alliance which had ſubſiſted between them and
both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themſelves under on this account
to uſe their beſt offices, in order to ſettle a good underſtanding between them.
But while they were making long harangues on theſe topics, *Antiochus* interrupting
them, declared in few words, that there was no occaſion for long ſpeeches on that d
ſubject, that the kingdom belonged to *Philometor* the elder brother, with whom he
had concluded a peace, and contracted a ſtrict friendſhip, and that if they would
reſtore the crown to him, the war would be ended at once. Thus he ſpoke, but
harboured very different deſigns in his heart. The reſiſtance he met with at *Alex-
andria*, which city he plainly ſaw he ſhould never be able to maſter, had made him
change his plan, and conclude, that the ſureſt way to compaſs his deſign was to keep
up an animoſity between the two brothers, and engage them in a war againſt each
other, which as it would ſoon exhauſt the kingdom, would give him a fair oppor-
tunity of overpowering both, and ſeizing the whole for himſelf. With this view he
raiſed the ſiege of *Alexandria*, marched towards *Memphis*, and there put *Philometor* e
in poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, except *Peluſium*, which he retained, that he
might re-enter *Egypt*, having the key of that country in his hands, the inſtant mat-
ters were ripe for his purpoſe. Having thus ſettled things agreeable to his new
ſcheme, he returned to *Antioch* [z].

Philometor being rouſed at length from the deep lethargy into which his indolence
and effeminancy had plunged him, had penetration enough to ſee into *Antiochus*'s deſign.
His keeping of *Peluſium* was a ſufficient indication to him, that he held this gate of
Egypt with no other view but to invade the country, when his brother and he ſhould
have waſted their ſtrength by their domeſtic broils, and not be in a condition to
make head againſt him; in which caſe they would both fall victims to his unbounded f
ambition.

[x] Polyb. legat. 90. p. 915. & legat. 84. p. 909. Liv. l. xliv. c. 19. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2.
[y] Liv. l. xliv. c. 9. Polyb. legat. 90. p. 915. [z] Liv. l. xlv. c. 11.

(U) The time of the departure of the embaſſadors from *Rome* is thus expreſſed in an ancient diary, which *Pighius* has inſerted in the ſecond volume of his annals 64). The third day before the nones of *April*, *C. Popilius Lænas*, *C. Decimius*, and *C. Hoſtilius*, are ſent embaſſadors to the kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* to put an end to the war between them. The embaſſadors early in the morning, attended by a troop of their clients and relations, ſacrificed in the temple of *Caſtor* to the houſhold gods of the *Roman* people a bull, and thus concluded their ſacrifices.

(64) *Vide Pighii Annal. ad Annum urbis* 585.

ambition. The inſtant therefore that *Antiochus* left *Egypt* he ſent to his brother, intreating him to lay aſide all animoſity, and make a thorough reconciliation, leſt *Antiochus*, taking advantage of their domeſtic feuds, ſhould diſpoſſeſs them both of the kingdom. *Ptolemy Phyſcon* readily embraced the propoſal, and by the mediation of *Cleopatra*, who was ſiſter to both, an agreement was made upon terms, that the two brothers ſhould reign jointly. After this *Philometor* returned to *Alexandria*, and *Egypt* was reſtored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly of the *Alexandrians*, who had greatly ſuffered by the war [a]. But the two brothers, not doubting but *Antiochus* would ſoon invade the kingdom anew, ſent embaſſadors into *Greece* to hire there ſome auxiliaries (W), which indeed was a very prudent ſtep; for *Antiochus* hearing of the reconciliation of the two brothers, and finding his fine ſcheme thereby intirely defeated, fell into a great rage, and reſolved to pull off the mask, and employ the whole force of his kingdom againſt both. Accordingly early in the ſpring he ſent his fleet to *Cyprus* to ſecure that iſland, and at the ſame time marched in perſon by land at the head of a powerful army to reduce the kingdom of *Egypt*, and ſeize it for himſelf, without pretending, as he had done before, to eſpouſe the cauſe, and ſupport the intereſt of one of his nephews. On his arrival at *Rhinocorura* he was met by embaſſadors from *Philometor*, who after having complimented him in their maſter's name, and told him that their ſovereign owed his reſtoration to his good offices, conjured him not to deſtroy his own work, but to ſuffer him peaceably to enjoy the crown, which he wore by his favour. But *Antiochus*, now throwing off the mask, and laying aſide thoſe tender and affectionate expreſſions which he had hitherto made ſhow of, returned the embaſſadors this haughty anſwer; that he would not grant peace to either of the brothers, but upon condition that the iſland of *Cyprus*, the city of *Peluſium* with all the lands on that branch of the *Nile* on which it ſtood, and the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, were delivered up to him for ever. Having thus declared his real deſign, he fixed a day for their returning him an anſwer to his demand, which not being ſatisfactory, he entered *Egypt* in an hoſtile manner, and having reduced the whole country as far as *Memphis*, received there the ſubmiſſion of moſt of the other cities and provinces. From *Memphis* he marched to *Alexandria* with a deſign to beſiege that city, the reduction of which would have made him abſolute maſter of all *Egypt*. And this he would without all doubt have accompliſhed, had not the *Roman* embaſſadors put a ſtop to his further progreſs, and daſhed at once all the deſigns which he had been ſo long carrying on, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of that country [b].

His fourth expedition into Egypt.

THE

[a] Liv. ibid. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scaliger. p. 60. & in Euseb. Chron. p. 68. Polyb. legat. 89. p. 912. [b] Liv. & Justin. ubi ſupra.

(W) Theſe embaſſadors were ſent into *Achaia*, deſiring in the two kings names only a thouſand foot under the command of *Lycortas*, and two hundred horſe under the conduct of his ſon *Polybius* the hiſtorian. The aſſembly of the *Achæans* was then ſitting at *Corinth*, and *Callicrates*, who preſided in it, oppoſed the requeſt of the embaſſadors, pretending that it was not for the intereſt of the *Achæan* confederacy to concern themſelves with foreign affairs; but that they ought to keep their troops at home, that they might be in a readineſs to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Perſes*. *Lycortas* and *Polybius* anſwered *Callicrates*, and in their anſwer obſerved, that *Polybius* having waited on the *Roman* conſul *Marcius*, who commanded the army in *Macedon*, and offered him the ſuccours which the *Achæans* had agreed to ſend him, the conſul had thanked him, and at the ſame time told him, that ſince he had got footing in *Macedon*, he ſhould not want any foreign aid; and hence they concluded, that the *Achæans* ought not, on that pretence, to refuſe the kings of *Egypt* the ſuccours they required. They added, that as the *Achæan* republic could, without the leaſt inconveniency, raiſe thirty or forty thouſand men, ſo ſmall a number, as was deſired by the princes, could not leſſen their ſtrength; that they ought to ſeize this opportunity of aſſiſting them; that it would be a monſtrous piece of ingratitude to requite in this manner the many favours which they had received from the kings of *Egypt*; and that their refuſal on this occaſion would even be an infringment of the treaties concluded between them and that crown. This ſpeech moved the members of the aſſembly, who were all for ſending immediately to the kings the ſuccours they required; which *Callicrates* obſerving, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, pretending, that it was not lawful to debate on an affair of this nature in a general meeting. It was therefore referred to a particular aſſembly, that was ſoon after held at *Sicyon*. In this all the members were of the ſame opinion with *Lycortas* and *Polybius*, when *Callicrates* produced a forged letter from *Marcius* the *Roman* conſul, wherein he exhorted the *Achæans* to interpoſe their mediation, and uſe their good offices in order to put an end to the war between the *Ptolemies* and *Antiochus*. This letter, which no one ſuſpected to be forged, determined the *Achæan* confederates to ſend an embaſſy only to the contending princes (65).

(65) *Polyb. legat.* 89—91.

The Roman embaſſadors oblige him to quit Egypt.

The embaſſadors came up with him at *Eleuſina*, a village but four miles diſtant from *Alexandria*, and *Popilius* accoſted him with an air of gravity proper to gain himſelf reſpect. As the king was intimately acquaintd with *Popilius*, and had contracted great familiarity with him, while he was an hoſtage at *Rome*, as he drew near him, he offered him his hand, which was an uncommon mark of familiarity and diſtinction from ſo great a prince. But *Popilius* diſdaining this kind reception, told him, that the public intereſt of his country muſt take place of private friendſhip, and that he would not join hands with him till he had firſt read to him the decree of the ſenate, with which he was ſent. I ſhall judge, ſaid he, by your ſubmiſſion, or refuſal, whether you ought to be treated as a friend or an enemy. If you obey, I ſhall receive all marks of your friendſhip with joy. Theſe words were very ſhocking to a victorious and powerful king at the head of a numerous army. However *Antiochus* took the decree which *Popilius* offered him, and after having read it, told him that he would adviſe with his council about it, and return him an anſwer in a ſhort time. But the proud republican inſiſting on an immediate anſwer, drew a circle round him in the ſand with a rod, which he held in his hand, and raiſing his voice, You ſhall not go out of this circle, ſaid he, till you either accept or reject the propoſal I have made to you. I expect you will pay me the reſpect that is due to the authority of the *Roman* people and ſenate. The king ſtruck with this ſtrange and peremptory way of proceeding, heſitated a moment, and then gave this anſwer, which would better have become a ſlave, than a great king. Then I muſt ſatisfy you, *Popilius*, I will do what your republic expects from me. He had no ſooner ſpoke than all the three embaſſadors offered him their hands at once, and *Popilius* behaved thenceforth according to his former friendſhip with him. The *Roman* embaſſadors, after *Antiochus* had left *Egypt*, returned to *Alexandria*, and having there put the laſt hand to the treaty of peace and reconciliation between the two brothers, ſailed to *Cyprus*, which *Antiochus* had conquered, obliged him to withdraw his troops from that iſland, and then returned to *Rome* to acquaint the ſenate with the ſucceſs of their negotiation [c]. They were ſoon followed by embaſſadors from *Antiochus*, and the two *Ptolemies*. The former being introduced to the ſenate made the following ſpeech, which ſufficiently ſhewed what a mean-ſpirited prince *Antiochus* was: Though *Popilius*, ſaid they, communicated your pleaſure to the king our maſter at a time when all *Egypt* was ready to ſink under his arms; yet he preferred obedience to victory. He thought himſelf as indiſpenſibly obliged to ſubmit to the deciſions of *Rome*, as to fulfil the will of the immortal gods. To this fulſome ſpeech the ſenate returned the following anſwer; *Antiochus* did wiſely in putting our orders in execution. The ſenate and people of *Rome* are ſatisfied with his conduct. After the *Syrian* embaſſadors, thoſe from *Egypt* were introduced; they addreſſed the ſenate in the like extravagant ſtrain; To you, conſcript fathers, ſaid they, we owe the deliverance of *Egypt*, and the concord that now reigns among us. The departure of *Antiochus*, and the union between the two rival princes by you brought to a happy iſſue, have ſecured our liberty, and reſtored peace to the kingdom. A double benefit! for which the kings and people of *Egypt* are as much indebted to you, as children to their parents, or mortals to the immortal gods. The ſenate anſwered in a few words, *Rome*, ſaid they, ſhares your happineſs, and is pleaſed with your gratitude. *Egypt* may always depend on her protection. After theſe compliments were paid the prætor was ordered to make the embaſſadors the uſual preſents [d].

Vents his rage upon Jeruſalem.

Antiochus, on his return from *Egypt*, being highly provoked to ſee himſelf thus obliged to quit a kingdom, which he looked upon as his own, vented his rage upon the unhappy city of *Jeruſalem*, which had no ways offended him. On his march through *Paleſtine* he detached twenty-two thouſand men under the command of *Apollonius* with orders utterly to deſtroy the place. *Apollonius* arriving at *Jeruſalem*, carefully concealed his orders, and behaved in a friendly manner till the next ſabbath, when ſeeing all the people aſſembled in their ſynagogues to perform the religious duties of the day, he thought that the moſt proper time for putting his bloody commiſſion in execution. Accordingly he let looſe all his troops upon the unarmed and defenceleſs multitude, ordering them to put all the men to the ſword, and ſeize the women and children, who by the king's orders were to be ſold for ſlaves. This barbarous

[c] Polyb. legat. 92. p. 916. Liv. l. xlv. c. 11, 12. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syriac. Val. Max. l. vi. c. iv. Velleius Patercul. l. i. c. 10. Plut. in Apophtheg. c. 32. Hieronym. in Dan. xi. 27. [d] Liv. l. xlv. Polyb. legat. 92. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4.

barbarous command was executed with the utmoſt rigor and cruelty; the ſoldiers inhumanly butchered all the men they could meet with; inſomuch, that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. They afterwards plundered the city, and ſet it on fire in ſeveral places, pulled down the houſes, demoliſhed the walls, and built with the ruins, which the fire had ſpared, a fortreſs on the top of one of the hills of the city of *David*, over-againſt the temple, which it commanded. This fortreſs they made their place of arms to keep the whole nation in awe, ſtored it with all manner of proviſions, and laid up in it all the ſpoils which they had taken in the plunder of the city. From hence the gariſon uſed to ſally out upon thoſe who came to worſhip the true God in the temple, ſprinkling the ſanctuary with blood, and defiling it with all
b manner of pollutions, which their malice and hatred to the *Jewiſh* nation could ſuggeſt. The temple was therefore deſerted, and a ſtop put to the daily ſacrifices, none of the true ſervants of God daring to go thither to worſhip [c]. But the deſolations he cauſed in *Judæa*, the cruel perſecution which he ſtirred up againſt the true believers, and the bloody war which he carried on againſt the people of God, with the generous reſiſtance made firſt by *Mattathias*, and afterwards by his ſon, the brave *Judas Maccabæus*, we ſhall deſcribe at length in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place.

After ſeveral of *Antiochus*'s generals had been defeated, and the armies they commanded cut to pieces by *Judas Maccabæus*, the king of *Syria* ſent at length *Lyſias*,
c one of the greateſt lords of his court, to complete the abolition of the law of God, and the deſtruction of its few defenders. The *Syrian* army deſigned for this purpoſe conſiſted of ſixty thouſand men; and theſe preparations alarmed *Tiberius Gracchus*, whom the *Roman* ſenate had ſent to viſit all the kings, republics, and free cities in the eaſt. He immedialy flew to *Antioch* to watch the ſteps, and examine the deſigns of the king, whom he ſoon found to be no ways a formidable enemy. During the ſtay of *Gracchus* at *Antioch*, *Antiochus* hearing that *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* general, after having conquered *Perſes* king of *Macedon*, and ſubdued that kingdom, had celebrated games at *Amphipolis* on the river *Strymon*, cauſed the ſame to be exhibited at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, having firſt ſent emiſſaries into all parts to invite ſpectators,
d and to bring, at an immenſe expence, the beſt actors and moſt skilful workmen in *Europe* and *Aſia*. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp and magnificence, and were by far the fineſt that had ever been in *Syria* (X). The part the king there

[c] Polyb. ibid. 1 Maccab. i. 29. 40. 1 Maccab. v. 24, 25, 26. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & in præfat. ad hiſtor. de Bell. Judaic. & l. i. c. 1. & l. vi. c. 11. ejuſdem hiſtor.

(X) *Polybius* gives us the following account of the ſolemn proceſſion which preceded the ſports. In the firſt place marched five thouſand men, all in the flower of their age, and in the attire of *Roman* ſoldiers; theſe were followed by the like number of young men in the *Myſian* dreſs; next to them came three thouſand *Cilicians* in light armor, with crowns of gold on their heads; then came three thouſand *Thracians*, five thouſand *Galatians*, many of them having ſilver ſhields, two hundred and forty couple of gladiators, a thouſand young men mounted on *Nicæan* horſes, three thouſand riding other horſes, moſt of them with gold trappings, and gold crowns. Theſe were ſucceeded by a thouſand of the king's friends all on horſeback with moſt coſtly trappings; four thouſand choice horſemen, all in purple robes interwoven with gold; a hundred chariots draw by ſix horſes abreaſt, and forty-two by four horſes; eight hundred youths with crowns of gold, walking before the ſtatues of the *Syrian* and *Greek* deities and heroes, which were carried by men in moſt rich and coſtly robes, and attended by a thouſand pages, all belonging to *Dionyſius* the king's ſecretary, and each of them carrying a ſilver veſſel, weighing a thouſand drachmas; the king's pages, to the number of ſix hundred, carrying veſſels of gold, two hundred women on foot, with chalices of gold full of ſweet-ſmelling waters to ſprinkle the ſpectators. The proceſſion was cloſed by fourſcore women in a very rich and expenſive attire, carried in litters with legs, according to the faſhion of thoſe days, of maſſy gold, and five hundred more in litters with legs of ſilver. Beſides the proceſſion, ſports, ſhews, and diverſions of all kinds were exhibited every day for the ſpace of a month; during which time the king entertained all the ſpectators of any note or rank at fifteen hundred tables, which were daily ſerved at an immenſe charge with the moſt expenſive diſhes of *Europe* and *Aſia*. In the rooms were placed fifteen large jars of gold, filled with precious ointments for the uſe of the king's gueſts. In ſhort, the whole was performed with ſuch order, elegancy, and ſplendor, as can hardly be expreſſed. But moſt of the ſpectators were more offended at the mean and unbecoming behaviour of the king, than pleaſed with all the reſt. At the proceſſion he appeared on a little palfrey, riding full ſpeed up and down, as if he had not been in his right ſenſes. He waited in perſon ſometimes at one table, and ſometimes at another, walking in his royal robes, and with the diadem on his head, before thoſe who brought in the diſhes. Sometimes he took it in his head to lie down on the floor, and there with a thouſand indecent actions put his gueſts quite out of countenance. He was once carried into the room, where his gueſts of moſt diſtinction were entertained, in the diſguiſe of a pantomime, and laid down on the floor as if he had been dead; but being rouſed by a ſudden flouriſh of inſtruments, he ſtarted up, and began to dance with ſo many ridiculous geſtures, that the whole company, ſhocked to the higheſt degree at ſuch a mean behaviour in a king, roſe up at once, and left the room (66).

(66) *Polyb. apud Athenæum, l.* v. *c.* 4. *& l.* x. *c.* 12. *Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. Valeſii, p.* 321.

there acted during the whole time, answered in every respect the character which *Daniel* had given of him, calling him a *vile* and *despicable* person. He exposed himself by a thousand indecent actions to the scorn and ridicule of that numerous assembly, and caused more laughter than the best pantomimes; insomuch, that many of the spectators shocked at a conduct so unworthy of a prince, and so repugnant to all rules of modesty and decorum, fled from the shows and returned home. On this occasion he brought out before the people all the vases and valuable moveables in his treasury, which had never before been seen in public; and there is no doubt but the spoils of the temple of *Jerusalem* were the finest part of the show. Towards the *Roman* deputy *Antiochus* behaved himself with the meanest flattery, attending him like a slave, and giving him his own palace to live in, while he himself lodged in a borrowed house the whole time *Tiberius* continued at *Antioch*; nay, he even offered to resign his crown to him; which offer the wise *Roman* rejected with the utmost indignation, and judging of the king from what he himself had seen, he acquainted his republic, that they had no reason to be under the least apprehension of any danger from the king of *Syria* [d].

Scarce was the *Roman* envoy gone, when news was brought to *Antiochus*, that the armies, which he had sent against the *Jews*, were intirely cut off. Hereupon the king in a great rage drew all his troops together, which formed a very numerous army, being fully determined to destroy the whole *Jewish* nation, and settle new colonies in their country. But when he came to pay his army, he found his treasury so exhausted that there was not money in it sufficient for that purpose, he having expended vast sums in his late shows, and besides squandered away the greatest part of his revenues in the presents he bestowed on his friends and followers. For he was naturally very generous, and in this particular excelled, as the author of the book of the *Maccabees* tells us, *all the kings before him*; and the prophet *Daniel* speaks of him as *scattering among his followers, the prey, and the spoil, and riches*. How he came by these *riches, spoil*, and *prey*, *Athenæus* tells us: All these expences, says he, speaking of *Antiochus*, were made partly out of the prey, which contrary to the promise he had made to *Philometor*, he took in *Egypt*, partly out of the gifts of his friends, but chiefly out of the spoils of the many temples which he had sacrilegiously robbed [e].

Besides the straits and difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, he was greatly perplexed, according to the prophecy of *Daniel*, by tidings that came to him out of the east, and out of the north. For in the north *Artaxias* king of *Armenia* had revolted from him, and *Persia*, which was in the east, paid no longer the usual tribute, all things being there, as in the other parts of the empire, in the utmost confusion, by reason of a decree which the king had enacted, injoining all the nations subject to him to renounce the religion of their ancestors, and conform to that of the *Greeks*. To put a speedy end to these evils, and prevent their spreading, *Antiochus* resolved to divide his army into two parts, leaving one of them with *Lysias* to reduce the *Jews*, and marching in person with the other first into *Armenia*, and afterwards into *Persia*, to restore the affairs of those provinces to their former condition. Accordingly having left *Lysias* governor of all the provinces on this side of the *Euphrates*, and committed to his care the education of his son *Antiochus Eupator*, who was then but seven years old, he crossed mount *Taurus*, and entering *Armenia* defeated *Artaxias*, and took him prisoner. From *Armenia* he marched into *Persia*, in order to oblige the inhabitants of that rich province to pay him the arrears of their yearly

[d] Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. c. 4. p. 194, 195. & l. x. c. 12. p. 439. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 321. Daniel. xi. 21. Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 8 [e] Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 13. & seq. Athenæus Deipnosoph. l. v. p. 195. 1 Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 27, 28.

(Y) *Artaxias* the first of that name, of whom mention is made here, had, according to *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Appian*, commanded the troops of *Antiochus the great* in the provinces of *Asia*, which were subject to the crown of *Syria*, and with the consent of his master made himself sovereign of a small state in *Upper Armenia*; while *Thariades*, another of the same king's generals, established a new kingdom, likewise with the consent of *Antiochus* in *Lower Armenia*. After the defeat of *Antiochus*, they both put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*. Nevertheless *Epiphanes* made war upon *Artaxias*, cut his army in pieces, and took the prince himself prisoner. But his captivity, in all likelihood, lasted no longer than the life of *Epiphanes*. For we find him soon after at war with *Mythrobuzanes*, the son of *Thariades*, whom he forced to abandon his dominions, and fly for refuge to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. *Artaxias* did all that lay in his power to prevail upon *Ariarathes* to destroy the fugitive prince. But the king of *Cappadocia* was so far from being seduced with the flattering hopes *Artaxias* gave him of sharing with him the provinces of *Lower Armenia*, that he even had the generosity to re-establish at the head of a powerful army *Mythrobuzanes* on his throne.

a yearly tribute. He there was informed, that the city of *Elymais* was greatly renowned for its wealth, and that there was in the place a temple, dedicated, according to *Polybius*, to *Diana*, according to *Appian*, to *Venus*, in which immenſe ſums were lodged. Upon this notice he flew to *Elymais* with a deſign to plunder both the city and the temple, as he had done at *Jeruſalem*. But his deſign having taken vent, the inhabitants of the city and the neighbouring villages, taking up arms in defence of their temple, repulſed him with the greateſt ignominy. *Antiochus*, greatly grieved at this diſgrace, withdrew to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. Soon after his arrival thither, news was brought him of the defeat of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus*, two of his generals, in *Judæa*; which inraged him to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ſet out from b *Media* with all poſſible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the moſt dreadful effects of his wrath, breathing nothing on his march but total ruin and utter deſtruction. As he was thus haſtening towards *Babylonia*, through which he was to paſs on his return, he was met on the road by freſh meſſengers, bringing him an account that *Lyſias* had been defeated, that the *Jews* had retaken the temple, thrown down the images and altars which he had erected, and reſtored their former worſhip. At this news his fury and rage increaſed, and being impatient to reach *Antioch*, that he might from thence march in perſon againſt the *Jews*, and execute his vengeance upon the whole nation, he commanded his charioteer to drive with the utmoſt ſpeed, threatening to utterly extirpate the whole nation without leaving one ſingle perſon of c the *Jewiſh* race alive. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words when he was ſeized with a great pain in his bowels, which no remedy could cure or abate. But notwithſtanding this violent ſhock, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried away by the wild tranſports of his fury, he gave orders for proceeding with the ſame precipitation in the journey. But while he was thus haſtening forwards, he fell from his chariot, and was by the fall ſo bruiſed, that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter. But not being able to bear even the motion of the litter, he was obliged to halt at a town called *Tabæ* (Z), ſituate among the mountains of *Parætacene* on the confines of *Perſia* and *Babylonia*, and there keep his bed, ſuffering inexpreſſible torments, occaſioned chiefly by the vermin which bred in his body, and the ſtench which made him inſupportable d even to himſelf. But the torments of his mind, cauſed by his reflecting on the former actions of his life, ſurpaſſed by many degrees thoſe of his body. *Polybius*, who in his account of this wicked prince's death, agrees with *Joſephus* and with the authors of the firſt and ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, tells us, that the uneaſineſs of his mind grew at laſt to a conſtant delirium or ſtate of madneſs, by reaſon of ſeveral ſpecters and apparitions of evil genii or ſpirits, which, he imagined, were continually reproaching him with the many wicked actions he had been guilty of. *Polybius* indeed aſcribes all this to the ſacrilegious attempt which he made on the temple of *Diana* in *Elymais*, without taking any notice of the many ſacrileges and profanations which he had not only attempted, but actually committed at *Jeruſalem*. But *Joſephus*, with e much more reaſon and juſtice, imputes his cruel death to what he did at *Jeruſalem*; and of this *Antiochus* himſelf, as we read in the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, ſeems to have been well appriſed. To what a condition, ſaid he to his friends in the height of his torments, am I reduced! what a change of fortune have I undergone! Alas! I now remember with grief the calamities I brought on *Jeruſalem*. I am but too ſenſible of the vengeance of the God, whom I have provoked; and it ſhall be now my whole buſineſs to appeaſe him. I will reſtore to the *Jews*, whom I have perſecuted, their ancient privileges and liberties: I will make them as happy and independent as the city of *Athens*: I will reſtore the temple of the true God to its former luſtre, and return the ſacred veſſels, and even increaſe their number. Nay, I will f embrace the law of the circumciſed myſelf, and zealouſly promote it in others. Thus ſpoke *Antiochus*, hoping he ſhould appeaſe the Almighty by theſe great promiſes; but as they were extorted from his mouth, and not from his heart, by the violence of his unrelenting torments, he did not obtain mercy, though he fought it with tears; and therefore, after having languiſhed ſome time in this deplorable condition, he

The unhappy death of Antiochus Epiphanes. *Year of the flood* 2834. *Before Chriſt* 165.

(Z) *Polybius* and *Porphyrius* agree with the author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, as to the place where *Antiochus* ended his days, *Caſtaldus* is of opinion that *Tabæ* and *Ecbatan* are one and the ſame city. It is plain from the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* that *Tabæ* ſtood in a mountainous country, and ſuch was the province of *Ecbatan* in *Media*. But *Niger* thinks that the ſituation of *Tabæ* agrees better with that of the preſent city of *Iſpahan*. *Q. Curtius* places *Tabæ* in *Parætacene*, which is the moſt northern province of *Perſia*.

he ended his unhappy life after having reigned eleven years and some months [f]. *Porphyrius*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Sulpitius Severus*, and others tell us, that he reigned only eleven years but the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* says, that he began his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and died in the 149th, which lengthens his reign to twelve years. To reconcile the abovementioned writers with the author of the history of the *Maccabees*, we must say with the learned *Usher*, that *Antiochus* began his reign in the end of the 137th year, and died in the beginning of the 149th year of that æra, after having reigned, according to that computation, eleven years and some months (A). As *Antiochus Epiphanes* was a violent persecutor of the *Jewish* church, and a type of the *Antichrist*, who in after-ages is to afflict the christian church, more is said relating to him in the prophecies of *Daniel*, than to any other prince. But of this more at length in our notes (B). b

Anticchus

[f] MACCAB. l. i, & ii. c. 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. POLYB. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 144. APPIAN. in Syriac. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. HIERONYM. in Dan. xi. 36. EUSEB. in Chron.

(A) As *Antiochus the great* attempted the same sacrilege in the country of *Elymais*, which *Antiochus* his son is said to have attempted in the city of *Elymais*, some have imagined that the identity of names may have led writers into a mistake, and made them ascribe to both the sacrilege, which was attempted only by one. On this supposition *Scaliger* (67) finds fault with S. *Jerom*, for saying in his comment on the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, that *Antiochus the great* was cut off with his whole army by the *Elymæans*, which he pretends not to be true of *Antiochus the great*, but only of his son *Epiphanes*. But what *Jerom* says is vouched by many other writers of no mean character, *viz.* that *Antiochus the great* was thus cut off in attempting to plunder the temple of the *Elymæans*, and none ever said that *Epiphanes* lost his life in such an attempt; for he escaped, with the loss indeed of many of his men, and died some time after; as *Appian* (68), *Polybius* (69), *Josephus* (70), and the authors of the first and second book of the *Maccabees* witness. Besides, though the attempt was made by both princes in the same country, yet it was not on the same temple; for that of *Antiochus the great* was on the temple of *Belus*, and that of *Epiphanes* on the temple of *Diana*, which goddess is said by *Strabo* to have had a very rich temple in the county of the *Elymæans* (71). The same author tells us, that this temple was plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found in it ten thousand talents. This temple, as the same *Strabo* informs us (72), was called *Azara*, or, as *Casaubon* reads it (73), *Zara*; whence *Diana* was called by the *Persians* *Zaretis* (74).

(B) The eleventh chapter of *Daniel* from the twentieth verse to the end, is wholly concerning *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the first relates to his war in *Egypt*, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the *Jews*. And first as to his wars with *Egypt*, the prophet after having spoke of his accession to the crown in the twenty-first verse; *And in his estate* (Seleucus Philopator's) *shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries* (75); after having thus, I say, pointed out his accession to the throne, the prophet goes on thus: *and with the arms of a flood shall they* (the *Syrians*) *be overflown before him*, (Antiochus Epiphanes) *and shall be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant. Heliodorus*, who had murdered *Seleucus*, and his adherents, as also the partisans of the king of *Egypt*, who had formed designs against *Syria*, were defeated by the forces of *Attalus*, and dispersed by the arrival of *Antiochus*, whose presence disconcerted all their measures. By the *prince of the covenant*, some suppose to be meant *Heliodorus*, the ring-leader of the conspirators; others *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, king of *Egypt*, who lost his life by a plot laid by his own subjects, while he was bent upon a war with *Syria*. In the following verses *Daniel* evidently speaks of *Antiochus*'s four different expeditions into *Egypt*; *And after the league made with him* (with *Ptolemy Philometor* his nephew, king of *Egypt*) *he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. Antiochus*, though he was already determined in his own mind to wage war, assumed a specious appearance of friendship for the king of *Egypt*; nay, he even sent *Apollonius* to congratulate his nephew on occasion of his coronation, and to assist in his name at that ceremony. Nevertheless soon after, on pretence of defending him, he marched into *Egypt*, defeated his forces, and returned to *Tyre* loaded with the spoils of the plundered people. What is said in the twenty-fifth, fortieth, forty-second and forty-third verses, was accomplished in his second expedition into *Egypt*, viz. *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him, and at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen and with many ships: and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over. Antiochus*, after having employed the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into *Egypt*, invaded that country both by sea and land as soon as the season allowed him, *and entered into* Egypt, as we read in the first book of the *Maccabees* (76), *with a great multitude, with chariots, with elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,--and made war against* Ptolemy *king of* Egypt. If we compare the history of the *Maccabees*, and indeed the profane writers, with *Daniel*'s prophecies, we shall find a perfect agreement among them, with this difference alone, that the prophet is more clear and particular than any of the historians, *He shall stretch forth his hand*, continues the prophet, *also upon the countries, and the land of* Egypt *shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and*

over

(67) *Scaliger. in animadver. ad Eusеb. chron. p.* 140. (68) *Appian. in Syriac.* (69) *Polyb. in excerpt. Valesii. p.* 144 (70) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 13. (71) *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 744. (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Casaub. in notis ad pag.* 744. (74) *Hesych. in voce Ζαρητις.* (75) *Daniel. c.* xi. *v.* 21. *v.* 22. *v.* 23. *v.* 25. *v.* 40. (76) *Maccab. l.* i. *c.* *v.* 17, 18, 19. *v.* 42, *v.* 43.

Antiochus Eupator.

a *Antiochus* before he expired, having sent for *Philip*, who was his chief favourite, and had been brought up with him from his infancy, appointed him regent of the *Syrian* empire during the minority of his son, and delivered into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and the other ensigns of royalty, charging him above all things to give his son, then nine years old, such an education as might qualify him to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. But *Philip*, on his arrival at *Antioch*, found the employment, which the king had conferred upon him, usurped by another. For *Lysias*, upon the first advice of the king's death, had placed his son *Antiochus*, who was then under his care, on the throne, giving him the name of *Antiochus Eupator*, and assuming to himself the tuition of his person and the government of his kingdom, *Philip* well knew that he was not at that time in a con-
b dition to contend with so powerful a rival, and therefore retired into *Egypt*, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted to drive out the intruder, and take upon him the government which the king had intrusted him with [g].

Demetrius *demands in vain leave to return to* Syria.

In the mean time, *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, who had been an hostage at *Rome* ever since his father's death, and was now in the twenty-third year of his age, hearing of the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes* and the accession of his son *Eupa-tor* to the crown, which of right belonged to him as the son of the elder brother, applied to the senate, and strongly represented to them the indisputable title he had to the crown of *Syria*. The same destiny, said he, when he was introduced to the
c conscript fathers, which formerly deprived *Syria* of *Seleucus* my father, has just now taken from her my uncle *Antiochus*. They succeed one another in the throne, and each of them left a son a minor. I was of the same age as young *Antiochus* is now, when upon the death of my father I was judged incapable of governing so great an empire. Afterwards I was brought from my native country to this place as an hostage,

[g] Appian. in Syriac. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14. Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 17.

over all the precious things of Egypt. *Antiochus* after the victory, which he gained over *Ptolemy*'s forces in his second expedition into *Egypt*, made himself master of all that country, *Alexandria* alone excepted, over-running it with an astonishing rapidity, *which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers*, as the prophet expresses it. What we read in the twenty-sixth verse, viz. *Yea, they that feed of the portion of his* (*the king of* Egypt's) *meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down slain*; this I say was fulfilled by the revolt of *Ptolemy Macron* from *Philometor*, and the treachery and male-administration of *Lennæus*, *Eulæus*, and other ministers employed under them. What is said in the twenty-seventh verse was fulfilled in the meeting of *Antiochus* and *Philometor* at *Memphis*; *and both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief*, says the prophet, *and they shall speak lies at one table*; *but it shall not prosper*; *for yet the end shall be at the time appointed* The two princes, in the time of the second and third expedition of *Antiochus* into *Egypt*, met at *Memphis*, eat frequently at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have the nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose an intire confidence in his uncle. But all this was mere shew and outside they both spoke lyes; the design of *Antiochus* being to seize on the kingdom for himself, and *Philometor*'s to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered, to disappoint him; as he did accordingly by agreeing with his brother and the *Alexandrians*, as we have observed in the text, out of *Livy* and other profane historians (77). Hereupon followed what is foretold in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verses; *At the time appointed he shall return, and come towards the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter. For the ships of* Chittim *shall come against him; therefore he shall grieve and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant*. For advice being brought to *Antiochus*, that the two brothers were reconciled, he pulled off the mask, and openly owned that he intended to take possession of *Egypt* himself, and with this view *he returned, and came again towards the south*, that is, into *Egypt*; *but he did not prevail as in the former, and in the latter* attempts upon that country, by reason of *the ships that came from* Chittim, or the country of the *Greeks* against him, having on board *Popilius Lænas* and the other *Roman* embassadors. For these, having embarqued on some *Greek* ships, which they found at *Delos*, sailed from thence to *Egypt*, and finding *Antiochus* before *Alexandria*, obliged him to leave the country, *to his great grief*, and return to his own dominions. However, what the prophet foretold in the forty-second and forty-third verses, *of his stretching forth his hand upon the land of* Egypt, *and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all other the precious things of that country*, had its thorough completion; for in all his expeditions into *Egypt*, he miserably harassed that country, returning from thence loaded with spoils, and carrying treasures of gold and silver taken *by him and his followers* (78). And thus far the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the wars between the kings of *Syria* and the kings of *Egypt*, or as the prophet stiles them, between the *kings of the north* and the *kings of the south*. As to the other part of *Daniel*'s prophecy, which, relates to the cruel persecution, he brought upon the *Jews*, we shall take notice of it in the history of that people. In the mean-time we cannot help observeing, that by *the prince of the covenant*, mentioned in the twenty-second verse, the prophet most likely pointed out *Onias* the high priest of the *Jews*, who was deposed and banished by *Epiphanes*, and at last murdered by one of his lieutenants; and not *Heliodorus*, or the king of *Egypt*, as some interpreters would have it.

(77) *Liv. l.* xliv. *c.* 19. *Athenæus, l.* v. *p.* 195. xi *v.* 27.

(78) *Athen. l.* v. *p.* 195. *Hieronym. in Dan. c.*

hoſtage, and have here had the happineſs to grow up under your eyes, and form myſelf by your examples. All the ſenators of this great metropolis are fathers to me, and all their children brothers. I am by the education you have given me become intirely *Roman*, and if I fill by your favour the throne of my anceſtors, I ſhall only ſit there to diſpenſe your laws. How glorious will it be for you, and how advantagious for *Syria* to ſee two of your pupils ſucceed one another! Can you in equity ſuffer a child to uſurp my rights, and let my reſidence among you be prejudicial to me? I am informed that *Antiochus* is already proclaimed king, and has taken the name of *Eupator*. My abſence alone could authorize his friends to give him a diadem, which, by right of birth and order of nature, can belong only to me. I am the ſon of a king, and of the eldeſt of the two brothers, who have ſucceſſively reigned in *Syria*. There is the ſame objection againſt the promotion of young *Antiochus* to the throne after his father, as there formerly was againſt my ſucceeding mine. He is too young to ſuſtain the weight of public affairs. He has no right to the crown, but what he derives from *Epiphanes*; and *Epiphanes* himſelf pretended at firſt to hold the crown only in truſt. Upon his death therefore my right revives, and I am now able to bear the burden of the ſtate; I am three-and-twenty years old, and have learnt the art of reigning from you. Let young *Antiochus* be brought to *Rome* for an hoſtage; his youth will make him ſuſceptible of your inſtructions; and give me leave, conſcript fathers, to go into *Syria*, and there take quietly poſſeſſion of my crown, or make good my right by dint of ſword[h].

NOTWITHSTANDING the juſtice of this demand, the ſenators were divided in their opinions. The moſt equitable among them thought they could no longer detain *Demetrius* at *Rome*, ſince by that means they debarred him from the crown, to which he had an indiſputable right. But the leſs ſcrupulous, upon principles of policy and motives of intereſt, were for keeping the young prince ſtill at *Rome*. Theſe remonſtrated, that ſuch a king of *Syria* as *Demetrius*, who was in the flower of his age, of an aſpiring genius, and of extraordinary parts, might in the end prove a formidable enemy to the republic, and raiſe new troubles in the eaſt; whereas a child on the throne would court their friendſhip, and ſeek for protectors at *Rome*. Nay, theſe refined politicians went further, and without any regard to juſtice propoſed declaring *Antiochus* ward of the republic, and ſending guardians to govern his dominions in the name and under the direction of the *Roman* ſenate. This opinion, though repugnant, in a moſt flagrant manner, to all the laws of common juſtice and equity, prevailed in that venerable body; and accordingly three perſons of conſummate experience were immediately named to give law to *Syria* under pretence of aſſiſting and adviſing the new king during his minority. Theſe were *Cn. Octavius*, who had diſcharged the conſulate with great reputation, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius*. This iniquitous decree was enacted by the ſenate, and confirmed by the people without the conſent or even privity of the *Syrians*, who had no thoughts of deſiring any foreign guardians for their king. So deſpotic a power did the haughty *Romans* aſſume over kings, after the defeat of *Perſes*, and reduction of *Macedon*. Neither was the ſenate ſatisfied with oppoſing the juſt claim of *Demetrius* to the crown of his father, and ſetting it on the head of a child, to whom it did not belong; but moreover gave the guardians, who were to take care of the affairs of *Syria*, ſuch inſtructions as tended to the weakening of the kingdom of their ward. For they were ordered by the ſenate to burn all the ſhips with decks, which the king of *Syria* had, as ſoon as they ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the guardianſhip, to hamſtring all his elephants, and in ſhort to weaken by all means poſſible the ſtrength of that powerful kingdom. With theſe inſtructions *Octavius*, who was at the head of this commiſſion, ſet out with his colleagues to govern in quality of guardians, the moſt powerful ſtate in *Aſia*[i].

The Romans *uſurp the guardianſhip of young* Eupator.

IN the mean time *Lyſias*, who, as we hinted above, had uſurped the tuition of the young king and the government of the kingdom, was purſuing with the utmoſt ardor the war againſt the *Jews*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* had begun. He had entered *Judæa* with fourſcore thouſand men, with all the cavalry of the kingdom, and fourſcore elephants, propoſing to make *Jeruſalem* the inhabitation of *Gentiles*, and utterly aboliſh the worſhip of the true God. He had opened the campain with the ſiege of *Bethſura*, a ſtrong fortreſs between *Jeruſalem* and *Idumæa*; but being there defeated by

Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus.

[h] JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 3. POLYB. legat. 107. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 117. [i] JUST. POLYB. APPIAN. & LIV. ubi ſupra.

a by the brave *Judas Maccabæus*, with the loſs of eleven thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, he had ſtruck up a peace with the conqueror, one of the articles of which was, that the decree of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, which obliged the *Jews* to conform to the religion of the *Greeks*, ſhould be revoked, and free liberty allowed them to live according to their own laws. But this peace was of no long duration; for the governors of the neighbouring provinces, not being ſatisfied with it, aſſembled all their forces to the number of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five and twenty thouſand horſe, and marching, under the command of *Timotheus*, into *Judæa*, put all to fire and ſword. But *Judas Maccabæus*, full of confidence in the God of armies, attacked and defeated them with a handful of *Iſraelites*. On this occaſion b the *Syrians* loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men, and the victory was attended with many advantages on the ſide of *Judas*, who purſuing the remains of the ſhattered army, came up with them at the city of *Carnion*, and finding that many of them had there taken refuge in the temple of *Atargatis* (C), he cauſed fire to be ſet to it, which ſoon conſumed the temple, and all who were in it. After this ſevere execution he fell upon the *Syrians* in the town, and put them all without diſtinction to the ſword; and on this occaſion five and twenty thouſand more of *Timotheus*'s forces were ſlain [k]. On his return to *Jeruſalem* the city of *Ephron*, which had been well garriſoned by *Lyſias*, refuſed him admittance, though he promiſed to abſtain from all hoſtilities, ſince he could not poſſibly march his army any other way but through c the city itſelf, which lay directly in the road. This refuſal exaſperated the *Jewiſh* general, who thereupon aſſaulting the place, took it ſword in hand, and after having put all the males, to the number of twenty-five thouſand, to death, cauſed the city to be razed to the ground [l]. After this *Judas* made himſelf maſter of all the ſouthern parts of *Idumæa* and the country of the *Philiſtines*, with the important city of *Azotus*, or *Aſtdod*, demoliſhing every-where the heathen altars, burning their carved images, and inriching his army wiſh the ſpoils of the plundered cities. But the *Syrian* garriſon, which ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem*, and frequently ſallied out upon the *Jews*, as they went up to worſhip in the temple, was a great thorn in their ſides. Wherefore *Judas*, to redeem himſelf from this annoy- d ance, having firſt made the neceſſary preparations, laid cloſe ſiege to the place. But ſome of the apoſtate *Jews*, who ſerved among the *Syrians* in the fortreſs, knowing that they were to have no quarter, if the place were taken, found means to make their eſcape, and flying to *Antioch* acquainted the king and his council with the poſture of affairs at *Jeruſalem*, and repreſented the diſtreſs to which the gariſon was reduced ſo effectively, that forthwith an army was drawn together of an hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, with thirty-two elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in perſon, with *Lyſias* the regent of the kingdom, put himſelf at the head of this formidable army, and entering *Judæa*, laid ſiege to *Bethſura*. Here *Judas* with a ſmall number of reſolute men fell on the king's army in the night, and e having killed four thouſand of them, and thrown the whole camp into the utmoſt confuſion, retired by break of day without the loſs of one ſingle man in ſo hazardous an attempt [m].

THOUGH the *Syrians* were well apprized of the extraordinary valour of the *Jews*, yet they did not doubt but they ſhould overpower them with the great number of their forces and elephants, and therefore leaving *Bethſura*, reſolved to venture a general engagement, which *Judas* did not decline; nay he at the head of his ſmall army began the onſet, and killed about ſix hundred *Syrians*. But finding that notwithſtanding all his efforts, he muſt at length be bore down, and perhaps hemmed in, by ſo numerous an army, he choſe to withdraw in time, and retire in good order f to *Jeruſalem*. Upon his retreat the king returned to the ſiege of *Bethſura*, which after a long

[k] MACCAB. l. i. c. 5. v. 37—43. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 24, 25, 26. [l] MACCAB. l. i. c. 5. v. 46—51. & l. ii. c. 12. v. 27, 28, &c. [m] Ibid. v. 65, 68, &c. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 15—17. &c.

(C) This deity is ſaid by *Strabo* (79) to be a *Syrian* goddeſs. *Pliny* (80) takes her to be the ſame with *Derceto*, and adds (81), that ſhe was worſhipped at *Joppa* in *Phœnice*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us (82), that the inhabitants of *Aſcalon* paid her a ſpecial worſhip, and that ſhe was repreſented in that city by an image, having in the upper part the form of a woman, and that of a fiſh in the lower. Hence *Selden* conjectures this deity to have been the ſame with *Dagon* worſhipped by the *Philiſtines* (83).

(79) *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 748. (80) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 23. (81) *Idem. ibid. c.* 13. (82) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* ii. (83) *Vide Selden de Diis Syris Syntag.* 2. *c.* 3.

a long and vigorous defence was obliged to surrender for want of provisions [n]. From thence *Antiochus* marched against *Jerusalem*, and besieged the temple, which the garison was ready to deliver up for want of provision, when providence relieved them by an unforeseen accident [o]. a

We have observed above, that *Philip*, whom *Epiphanes*, a little before his death, had intrusted with the education and guardianship of his son, had retired into *Egypt*, in hopes of finding assistance there against *Lysias*. But being disappointed in his expectation, by reason of the divisions which had again broke out between the two brothers, who reigned jointly at that time, he left *Egypt*, and hastening into the east, drew together a considerable army of *Medes* and *Persians*, and taking advantage of the king's absence on his expedition into *Judæa*, seized *Antioch* the capital of the empire, and there took upon him the government of the kingdom. When news of this attempt was brought to *Lysias*, he thought it necessary to make peace with the *Jews*, that he might be at liberty to turn his army against his rival in *Syria*. A peace was accordingly granted to the *Jews* upon very advantagious and honourable terms and sworn to by *Antiochus*. After this *Antiochus* was admitted within the fortifications of the temple, which seemed so strong to him and his officers, as truly they were, that contrary to the articles which he had swore to, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for *Syria* [p]. *Lysias* on his return to *Antioch* defeated *Philip* in a pitched battle, retook the metropolis, and having got *Philip* into his hands, by his death put an end to all the disturbances he had raised [q]. b

While *Lysias* was carrying on this war with the *Jews* and his rival *Philip*, the *Roman* embassadors, or rather guardians, arrived in the east, and were there kindly entertained by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, through whose dominions they passed in their way to *Antioch*. As this young prince had nothing more at heart than to gain the good-will of the *Romans*, he expressed great joy at the guardianship which they were going to take upon them over *Antiochus* his near relation. As he knew the temper of the *Syrians*, and suspected the intrigues of *Lysias*, he offered to conduct *Octavius* with an army into *Syria*, or to put the army under his command, in order to prevent disturbances, and guard the envoys against any treacherous attempts. For he thought nothing could be more bold than the enterprize they had in hand. They were going of their own authority, without any invitation from the king, or the *Syrian* nation, to assume the government of a people, who was subject only to their own king, *Ariarathes* therefore prefsed *Octavius* to accept of a guard at least; but the *Roman*, relying on the majesty of *Rome*, which he thought a safer guard than a numerous army, with those only who had attended him from *Rome* crossed *Cappadocia*, and entered the kingdom of *Syria*. Their arrival raised no small jealousy in the heart of *Lysias*, who, as he was himself of the blood royal, could not brook that foreigners should come so far to deprive him of what he thought his right on many accounts. But *Octavius*, without even giving *Lysias* notice of his arrival, or the commission on which he was come, advanced towards *Antioch* with all the pride of his republic, fancying that every thing would give way before him at the bare name of a *Roman*. *Lysias* was then master of the person of the young king, of all the wealth of the kingdom, and had the troops at his command. However, as he was too wise to oppose the designs of *Rome* sword in hand, he hired an *African* born at *Leptis*, and then residing in *Syria*, to dispatch *Octavius*, without appearing to have any hand in the murder himself. The assassin soon found a favourable opportunity for making good his engagements with *Lysias*. For *Octavius*, with an unheard-of presumption, arriving at *Laodicea*, a maritime city between *Tripolis* (D) and *Antioch*, began there to put in execution the unjust orders of his republic, and to act the sovereign before he had even taken possession of the regency. He caused all the *Syrian* ships, which he found there to be burnt, and the elephants to be disabled from serving in war, under pretence that, by the treaty made with the *Scipios*, *Antiochus the Great* had engaged to build no more ships of war, nor to tame more elephants. c d e f

This

[n] Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 49, 50. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 18, 22. [o] Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 48—54.
[p] Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 56. [q] Joseph. l. xii. c. 15.

(D) *Tripolis* stood at the foot of mount *Libanus* at a small distance from the sea, and was so called because it consisted of three great quarters, which were like so many cities, being about a stadium distant from each other, as *Strabo* informs us; but *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that it was called *Tripolis*, because inhabited by three different nations, viz. *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*. It still bears the same name.

Octavius, *embaſſador of the* Romans *in* Syria, *killed.*

a This bold ſtep exaſperated the populace to a great degree, and the *African*, in the height of the public indignation, falling upon *Octavius*, killed him in the gymnaſium at *Laodicea* [r]. This *Octavius* had been conſul ſome years before, and was the firſt of his family who had attained to that honour [s]. *Octavius*, who afterwards became emperor, and is well known by the name of *Auguſtus*, was of the ſame family with this *Octavius*, but of another branch, which had not as yet been honoured with the conſular dignity. *Lyſias*, foreſeeing the evil conſequences of this attempt, did his utmoſt to clear himſelf from all ſuſpicion of being any ways concerned in it. He cauſed *Octavius* to be buried with extraordinary pomp, and immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to aſſure the ſenate, that neither he nor the king had b any hand in the aſſaſſination. But *Rome* ſent back the embaſſadors without any anſwer, reſerving the whole to a future enquiry. But in the mean time to honour the memory of *Octavius*, they commanded his ſtatue to be placed among thoſe of the great men, who had ſacrificed their lives for their country; and this ſtatue was ſtill ſtanding near the tribunal of harangues in the time of *Auguſtus* [t]. In the mean time the aſſaſſin did not leave *Laodicea*, but publicly owned the action, which he maintained to be very commendable, and done at the inſtigation of the gods. Nay, one *Iſocrates*, a *Rhetorician*, made a public panegyric on the aſſaſſin, and exhorted the people to diſpatch in like manner the other embaſſadors and all their attendants, that none might ſurvive to ſtir up the *Roman* ſenate againſt them, or give any c information of what had happened [u].

Demetrius, thinking that the murder of *Octavius* might have ſo far alienated the minds of the *Romans* from *Eupator*, that they would no longer detain him at *Rome* for his ſake, reſolved to addreſs the ſenate a ſecond time, and beg permiſſion to return into *Syria*. But as he had contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip with *Polybius* the hiſtorian, who was then a priſoner at *Rome* and generally deemed one of the beſt politicians of his age, he firſt adviſed with him; and that great man and ſincere friend, when the young prince asked his opinion, whether he thought it proper for him to apply to the ſenate once more for leave to return into *Syria*, and take poſſeſſion of a crown to which he had an indiſputable right, returned him the follow- d ing anſwer: Take care not to ſtumble twice againſt the ſame ſtone. Have you but one way of getting into *Syria?* Should a man of your age depend on the capricious will of an unjuſt ſenate like a child? Only dare to ſet yourſelf at liberty, and you will reign of courſe. Theſe words ſtruck the prince, who had a great opinion both of the fidelity and wiſdom of *Polybius*, and had long governed himſelf intirely by his counſels. But the advice of a more timorous friend effaced the impreſſions they made. This was *Apollonius*, a young nobleman of *Syria*, who had been bred up with *Demetrius*, and was afraid his maſter might, by ſtealing privately away, diſguſt the ſenate, and thereby ruin his affairs. He therefore told him, that it was impoſſible *Rome* ſhould be ſo unjuſt as to detain him in the preſent circumſtances; and that e ſhe would be glad to ſee an avenger of *Octavius* and an enemy to *Lyſias* ſet out for *Syria*, now that he ſtood in no need of her armies or fleets to recover his right at her expence. The advice of *Apollonius* prevailed, and *Demetrius* had again recourſe to the ſenate, joining intreaties to all thoſe motives of mutual intereſt, which might well induce him to deſire leave to depart, and the ſenate to grant it. But *Demetrius* was not ſo well acquainted with the *Romans* as *Polybius*; for they having ſtill the ſame reaſons for keeping him in *Rome*, perſiſted in the ſame reſolution. After all, ſaid they, when the matter was debated in the ſenate, the powerful kingdom of *Syria* is governed by a child, and *Rome* has nothing to fear during a minority. Beſides, are we ſure that *Demetrius*, who is a young man of uncommon parts, will f be as pliant on the throne, as he affects to be at *Rome?* Upon theſe conſiderations the ſecond requeſt of the prince met with a ſecond refuſal. When the decree of the ſenate, ordering him to continue in *Italy* till it pleaſed the conſcript fathers to diſmiſs him, was read to him, he could not forbear exclaiming with great indignation againſt the unjuſt and undeſerved uſage he met with. He then remembered the advice of *Polybius*, and reſolved to court the republic no longer, but to make his eſcape as ſoon as he could. He was greatly confirmed in this reſolution by *Diodorus* his governor, who being juſt then returned from *Syria*, whither his maſter had ſent him, told him that all *Syria* was in a flame, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that if he only

[r] Appian. Syriac. p. 117. Polyb. legat. 114. p. 944. & legat. 122. p. 954. [s] Cic. Philip. c. n. 4. [t] Cic. ibid. [u] Polyb. legat. 122. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

only ſhewed himſelf to his people they would all receive him with open arms as their deliverer. However, before he took any ſtep in ſo nice a matter, he deſired the advice of *Polybius* as to the manner in which he might beſt elude the vigilance of the *Romans*. The faithful *Achæan* took the whole management of the affair upon himſelf, and having communicated the deſign of *Demetrius* to an intimate friend of his, by name *Menithyllus*, who then reſided at *Rome* in quality of agent from the eldeſt of the two *Ptolemies*, he found out by his means an expedient to facilitate the prince's flight. There was at that time a *Carthaginian* ſhip riding at anchor in the port of *Oſtia*, and bound for *Tyre* with the firſt-fruits, which the *Carthaginians* annually ſent to the gods of the city from whence they originally came. *Menithyllus*, pretending buſineſs in the eaſt, deſired the commander of the ſhip to tranſport him and his attendants thither, and agreed with him on a price for his paſſage. As no body entertained any ſuſpicion of him, he was allowed to carry on board what baggage and proviſions he pleaſed. When every thing was got ready, *Demetrius*, to conceal his deſign from the many domeſtics he had in his houſhold, ſent moſt of his retinue with his hunting equipage to *Anagnia*, as if he deſigned to follow them thither the next day. *Diodorus*, who was a man well verſed in buſineſs, was ſent into *Syria* in another ſhip, that he might get there before him, and pave the way for his reception. *Polybius*, who was at the bottom of all this without ever appearing in it, being informed by *Menithyllus* that *Demetrius* the evening before his departure was to give a grand entertainment to his friends in a hired houſe, began to be very uneaſy, leſt he ſhould let ſlip the opportunity; for he knew that the young prince, when in company with his friends, uſed to indulge himſelf in mirth and jollity without bounds or reſerve. Being therefore at that time indiſpoſed and obliged to keep his houſe, he ſent him a letter, as night was already far ſpent, containing ſeveral ſentences out of the ancients touching the courage, ſecreſy, and ſobriety, which were neceſſary for the executing of great deſigns (E). The bearer was deſired to give it to the maſter of the houſe, and he to deliver it into the prince's own hands. *Demetrius* having peruſed it, knew from what hand it came, and with what intention it was wrote, and therefore pretending to be out of order, he immediately roſe from table, took leave of his friends, and returned home. There he imparted his deſign of leaving *Rome* that very night to ſome *Syrian* nobleman of his retinue, inviting them to accompany him, which they readily conſenting to, *Demetrius* ſet out in the dead of the night for *Oſtia*.

Demetrius *eſcapes from* Rome.

Menithyllus had gone ſome days before to acquaint the commander of the *Carthaginian* veſſel, that he had received freſh orders from the king his maſter, which would keep him ſome time longer at *Rome*; but, however, he would put on board of him the ſame number of paſſengers, at the ſame price and on the ſame conditions. Theſe he earneſtly recommended to him, telling him that they were officers of diſtinction, who were going to ſerve in the *Egyptian* army. The prince and his retinue to the number of ſixteen perſons arrived early in the morning, and by break of day the *Carthaginian* weighed anchor to the great joy of *Demetrius*, who already conſidered himſelf as ſitting on the throne of his anceſtors. Three days paſſed before he was miſſed at *Rome*, every one believing he was gone, according to his cuſtom, to divert himſelf with hunting in the neighbourhood of *Anagnia*. The ſecret was not diſcovered till the fourth day, when one of his ſervants, who had been ill uſed by his fellow-ſervant, went to *Anagnia* to complain to his maſter of the ill treatment he had met with; but not finding him there he returned to *Rome*, and diſcovered how long *Demetrius* had been abſent. Hereupon a ſtrict ſearch was made after him, but no one in the city, except *Polybius* and *Menithyllus*, being privy to his eſcape, the meſſengers, who were diſpatched into all parts, returned without having heard any tidings of him. The ſenate met the ſixth day, and being fully convinced that he had made his eſcape, thought it needleſs to ſend after him ſince he had got the ſtart of them by ſix days. They therefore reſolved to take no further notice of it for the preſent; but only to ſend three embaſſadors into *Syria* to obſerve what effect the return of *Demetrius*

(E) The ſentences, which *Polybius* made uſe of on this occaſion, were the following:

Ὁ δεῶν, τὰ τῦ μέλλοντ⊙, ὅιχεται φέρων
Ἐις ὃ φέρει νὺξ, τοῖς δὲ τολμῶσι τὶ πλέον.

Τόλμα τὶ, κινδύνευε, πρᾶτ', ἀποτύγχανε,
Ἐπίτυχε πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ σαυτὸν πρός.

To theſe he added the famous ſaying of *Epicharmus*: Νῆφε, κ̀ μέμνησε ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

a *Demetrius* would produce there, and to watch that prince's ſteps. Purſuant to this reſolution, *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been two years before conſul, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucia* were a few days after appointed to go firſt into *Greece*, to appeaſe the minds of the people there, who were diſſatisfied with the *Roman* government, and from *Greece* to croſs over into *Syria* [x].

In the mean time the fugitive prince landing in *Lycia*, wrote from thence a very polite letter to the ſenate: My deſign, ſaid he, in making my eſcape, was only to revenge the death of *Octavius*, who was inhumanly murdered contrary to the law of nations. *Lyſias* was the author of the aſſaſſination, and my aim is wholly at him. As to young *Eupator*, though he has uſurped my right, I reſpect him on account b of his age and the protection with which you honour him. Theſe promiſes had no great weight with the ſenate, no one doubting but *Demetrius*, when he once ſaw himſelf ſeated on the throne, would ſacrifice to his own ſafety the life of his young rival. But they thought it did not become *Rome* to oppoſe by force of arms the ſettling of the lawful ſovereign on the throne of *Syria*; and therefore waited without much uneaſineſs to hear of the prince's arrival and adventures there. From *Lycia Demetrius* continued his voyage, and landed at *Tripolis*, a *Syrian* city on the confines of *Phœnice*. He no ſooner appeared there but he was acknowledged and proclaimed king by all the inhabitants. In order to gain a ſtrong party, he gave out in all the places he paſſed through, that he was ſent by the *Roman* ſenate to take poſſeſſion of his c hereditary dominions, and that *Rome* was reſolved to ſupport him to the utmoſt of her power. This report was no ſooner ſpread abroad, but *Eupator*'s cauſe was looked upon as loſt, both officers and ſoldiers abandoning him in troops to join the new king. His army increaſed daily, the cities and ſtrong-holds ſtrove which ſhould firſt ſubmit to him, and the whole kingdom with great joy acknowledged him for their lawful ſovereign. He no ſooner appeared before *Antioch*, the metropolis of the kingdom, but the citizens, throwing open their gates, crowded out to him, inviting him to take poſſeſſion of the palace of his anceſtors. At length *Lyſias* and his ward *Eupator*, being ſeized by their own ſoldiers, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Thus *Joſephus*, *Juſtin*, and *Appian* relate the unhappy *Commands* Eu-
d end of young *Eupator* and his guardian [y]. But the author of the firſt book of the pator *to be put* *Maccabees* tells us, that they were taken priſoners by the ſoldiers of *Demetrius*, and *to death.*
by them put to death after the prince had declared that he would not ſee them [z]. So *Year of the* that according to this writer they were ſlain by the ſoldiery, without any orders from *flood* 2836. *Demetrius*. *Eupator* reigned, according to *Joſephus* [a] and *Euſebius* [b], two years, ac- *Before Chriſt* cording to *Porphyrius* [c] and *Sulpitius Severus* [d], one year and ſix months. The 163.
author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that both he and his guardian *Lyſias* were killed in the third year of his reign, or, as others read it, after he had reigned three years [e].

No ſooner was *Demetrius* fixed on the throne, but he delivered the *Babylonians* *Honoured by*
e from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*, two brothers, whom *Antiochus Epi-* *the* Babylo-
phanes had raiſed to great honours, upon no other merit but that of a ready compli- lonians *with*
ance with his unnatural luſt. The firſt he had made governor, and the other treaſurer, *the ſurname*
of the province of *Babylon*, and their adminiſtration was inſupportable to the inha- *of* Soter.
bitants. *Demetrius* therefore, giving ear to the juſt complaints of his ſubjects, cauſed *Timarchus*, who was the moſt guilty, to be put to death, and baniſhed the other. This deliverance was ſo acceptable to the *Babylonians*, that they gave *Demetrius* the title of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which he bore ever afterwards [f]. After this *Demetrius*, at the inſtigation of *Alcimus*, who on the death of *Menelaus* had been by *Eupator* appointed high-prieſt of the *Jews*, renewed the war with that nation, which had been f carried on for ſo many years by *Epiphanes* and *Eupator* his predeceſſors. In this war the famous *Judas Maccabæus*, after repeated victories over the numerous armies of the king of *Syria*, loſt his life, as we ſhall relate at length in the hiſtory of the *Jews*. Upon his death his brother *Jonathan* took upon him the command of the army, but the *Syrians* ſoon after withdrew their forces from *Judæa*, which, without all doubt, was owing to the letters ſent by the *Roman* ſenate to *Demetrius* in behalf of the *Jews*. For that prince was at this time very cautious not to give the *Romans* any offence, and

[x] Polyb. legat. 114. [y] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. Appian. in Syriac. p. 117. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. [z] Maccab. l. i. c. 7. [a] Joseph. ibid. c. 16. [b] Euseb. in Chron. [c] In Græc. Euseb. Scaliger. [d] Sulpitius Sever. hiſtor. Sacra. l. ii. [e] Maccab. l. ii. c. 14. v. 12. [f] Appian. in Syriac. p. 117.

and therefore ready to grant any thing they desired. His point in view was to get himself acknowledged king of *Syria* by the republic, knowing that this was the most effectual method to stifle all remaining factions at home, and keep up a good understanding with his neighbours abroad. Being therefore informed, that the *Romans* had three embassadors at the court of *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, he sent *Menochares*, one of the chief lords of his court, thither to treat with them on this subject; and finding on his return by the report he made, that the good offices of the embassadors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he sent again deputies to them, first into *Pamphylia*, and afterwards to the city of *Rhodes*, assuring them of his inviolable attachment to the interest of *Rome*. At length by thus continually pressing and soliciting them, he obtained what he desired. First the embassadors, and afterwards their republic, acknowledged the sovereignty of *Demetrius*, and gave him the title of king. To cultivate the amity of that powerful republic, he sent the next year the same *Menochares* and others on an embassy to *Rome*, with a crown of gold of great value, in acknowledgment of the kind entertainment he had received while an hostage in that city. With the present he sent the assassin, who had murdered *Octavius*, and *Isocrates*, who in his public declamations had maintained the justice of that action, and exhorted the people to treat the other embassadors in like manner. The *African* was not under the least concern, but appeared gay during the whole journey, and boasted that he would make even the *Roman* senate approve of what he had done. But the *Rhetorician* sunk into a deep melancholy from the moment he was seized, in order to be delivered up to the republic, which he had offended. He let his beard and nails grow, and could not be prevailed upon without force to take any nourishment; by which means he grew so thin before he reached *Rome*, that he looked like a skeleton. This was perhaps an artifice in the declaimer to raise compassion. But the senate would see neither of them, thinking that the punishment of these two men was too small a satisfaction for the murder of their embassador. They therefore rejected the two unhappy victims that were offered them, and kept *Syria* in fear of a more severe vengeance. As to the embassadors, the senate received them with all the usual honours, accepted of the king's present, and gave him proofs of a perfect reconciliation [c].

Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans.

Sets up a pretender to the crown of Cappadocia.

Demetrius, after the orders he had received from *Rome*, had given *Judæa* some respite, as we have hinted above; but as he was in the flower of his age, and had a martial genius, he could not live long in peace. He therefore turned his arms against *Cappadocia*, where young *Ariarathes* then reigned. He was a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, of a sweet disposition, very gracious to his subjects, and highly esteemed and beloved by them. His kingdom under so mild a government would have soon become one of the most happy and flourishing states of *Asia*, had not great disturbances been raised by a pretender to his crown, supported in his unjust pretensions by the whole power of *Syria*. His rival's name was *Holophernes*, or, as others write it, *Orofernes*, and his claim was this: *Antiochis*, the daughter of *Anticchus the Great*, was married very young to the king of *Cappadocia* named *Ariarathes*, as well as his son. The queen having lived some time without children, and on that account believing herself barren, to gain the affection of her husband and subjects, feigned herself twice to be with child, and pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterwards of another, imposed two supposititious children on the king her husband; the first of whom was called *Ariarathes*, and the other *Holophernes*. They were both brought up at the court of their supposed father, as heirs to his crown. But afterwards the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered first of one daughter, and then of another, and at last of a son, of whom she became passionately fond, declared to the king, that the two children, he had brought up as his eldest sons, were neither his children nor hers, and gave him strong proofs of the cheat she had put upon him. Hereupon the king immediately sent the two supposititious children out of the kingdom, with a sufficient sum of money to support them. The eldest, called *Ariarathes*, was sent to *Rome*, where he was carefully kept, and as he was a young man of a weak mind and slender parts, he was very little affected with his loss. But *Holophernes*, who was endowed with many great qualities, and had an enterprizing genius, was sent into *Ionia*, and commanded never more to set foot in the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. The true son, at first

[c] Polyb. legat. 122. p. 954, 955. Appian. in Syriac. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 25.

a firſt called *Mithridates*, taking thenceforth his father's name, was declared preſumptive heir to the crown. Nay, the loving father, out of an exceſs of tenderneſs, as ſoon as the young prince was capable of governing, offered to reſign the crown to him, and lead himſelf a private life. But young *Ariarathes* proteſted that he would rather die a thouſand times than rob his father of his dignity; and by this generous behaviour he merited the name of *Philopator*, which the *Greeks* afterwards gave him [h].

NOT long after *Ariarathes*, upon the death of his father, had aſcended the throne, *Demetrius*, who had juſt then taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Syria*, offered him his ſiſter *Laodice* in marriage. But ſhe being the widow of *Perſes* king of *Macedon*, b an avowed enemy to the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* himſelf not being yet acknowledged by them king of *Syria*, *Ariarathes* was afraid this match might give them offence, and therefore rejected the offer. This *Demetrius* reſented, and under pretence of ſettling *Holophernes* on the throne, as he ſaid, of his anceſtors, made war on the king of *Cappadocia*. Beſides, *Holophernes* tempted the *Syrian* with great promiſes, engaging to pay him a thouſand talents, if he placed him on the throne. *Demetrius* therefore made great preparations for carrying back of *Holophernes* to his native country; and on the other hand *Ariarathes*, entering into an alliance with *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, raiſed a conſiderable army to maintain his right. But *Demetrius* carried all before him; and driving *Ariarathes* out of *Cappadocia*, placed c *Holophernes* on the throne. The dethroned prince fled to *Rome*, where, after long debates, the affair was determined, rather according to the inclinations of the judges, than the rules of equity, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Cappadocia* [i].

Demetrius, having now no wars to carry on, gave himſelf up intirely to pleaſures and eaſe, leading a ſtrange, or rather a fantaſtic, kind of life. For he cauſed a caſtle to be built near *Antioch*, flanked it with four ſtrong towers, and there ſhutting himſelf up caſt off all care of the public, being ſeldom ſober the whole time he lived in that retirement. As no petitions were admitted, no grievances redreſſed, nor juſtice adminiſtred, the whole government was at a ſtand; which giving juſt cauſe of offence to all his ſubjects, they formed a conſpiracy for the depoſing of him. *Holo-* d *phernes*, who had been driven out of *Cappadocia* and at that time lived at *Antioch*, entered into this plot againſt his benefactor, flattering himſelf that, in caſe the conſpiracy took effect, the *Syrians* would place him on the throne in the room of the depoſed king. But the whole conſpiracy being ſoon diſcovered, *Holophernes* was ſeized, and kept under cloſe confinement at *Seleucia*, *Demetrius* not caring to put him to death, that he might again, when a proper occaſion ſhould offer, let him looſe upon *Ariarathes* [k]. *Demetrius*, on examining the conſpirators, found that *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, were at the bottom of the plot; and concluding from thence, that if any misfortune ſhould befal him, his ſon, named alſo *Demetrius*, might meet with oppoſition in his ſucceſſion to the throne, unleſs his title was approved by the *Roman* ſenate, reſolved e to deprive himſelf of his child, and ſend him to *Rome* to be brought up there. Accordingly the young prince ſet out ſoon after for that metropolis with a retinue ſuitable to his quality. But the *Romans* reviving their former reſentment againſt his father for making his eſcape, and taking poſſeſſion of a ſceptre which they had not put into his hands, received the king's ſon very coldly, and ſcarce treated him as a nobleman. Theſe proceedings greatly provoked the young prince's governors, who thereupon carried him back to *Syria*, when they had ſcarce ſhewn him at *Rome*. This ſudden eſcape of the ſon was no leſs reſented by the ſenate than that of the father had been ſome years before. While the republic was thus full of reſentment both againſt f the father and the ſon, *Heraclides*, who had been ſome time at *Rome* watching an opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances in *Syria*, thought this the moſt proper time to ſucceed in a plot againſt *Demetrius*, which had been contrived by the abovementioned kings, *Ptolemy*, *Attalus*, and *Ariarathes*, and privately carried on by *Heraclides*. Theſe princes being highly incenſed againſt the king of *Syria*, the former for an attempt he had made upon the iſland of *Cyprus*, and the two others for the war he had waged with them in behalf of *Holophernes*, employed *Heraclides* to find out ſome young man of parts and addreſs, and ſuborn him to perſonate the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and

Demetrius *gives himſelf up to drunkenneſs and debauchery.*

Alexander Balas *lays claim to the crown.*

[h] POLYB. l. iii. p. 161. & legat. 126. Appian. in Syriac. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1. Epitome LIVII, l. xlvii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxi. apud Photium cod. 244. p. 1160. ZONAR. l. ix. [i] APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 118. legat. 126. [k] JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1.

and under that title to lay claim to the crown of *Syria*. This *Heraclides*, as we have related above, had been a great favourite of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his treasurer a in the province of *Babylon*, while *Timarchus* his brother was governor of it. But on the coming of *Demetrius* to the crown, the two brothers being found guilty of malversation and other crimes, *Timarchus* had been executed, and *Heraclides* banished. The latter being obliged to quit the dominions of the king of *Syria*, took up his residence at *Rhodes*, and there having found a young man named *Balas*, of mean extraction, but every way qualified for the abovementioned design, he thoroughly instructed him to act the part that was given him [l].

Having thus formed him for the imposture, he caused him in the first place to be b acknowledged by the three kings abovementioned, who acted underhand in concert with him; and then carrying him to *Rome* with *Laodice*, the real daughter of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, whom he had gained over, introduced them both to the senate, a few days after the flight of young *Demetrius*. As *Rome* was at that time highly incensed against *Demetrius* for the sudden escape of his son, the senate received them very graciously. *Heraclides*, who presented them to the senate, made on that occasion a very artful speech, which he concluded with the following words, after having expatiated on the inviolable attachment of *Antiochus Epiphanes* to the interest of *Rome*, and the cruelties supposed to have been practised by *Demetrius*, both over his subjects and the children of *Epiphanes*: But you, conscript fathers, are already too well acquainted with *Demetrius*, and my complaints will add nothing to the opinion you entertain of c that subtile and crafty usurper. You have already openly discovered your sentiments by the reception you gave young *Demetrius*. You did not think the son of an usurper worthy of your education; nor would you form for the throne a person designed to perpetuate injustice on it. Nevertheless you did not then know, that two children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* had survived their father and their brother *Eupator*, who was cruelly assassinated. Appear then, you illustrious offspring of one of the heroes of *Asia*, I have rescued you from want and oppression, only to present you before the powerful and equitable tribunal of *Rome*. Make your demands yourselves; and be assured that the protection you will meet with, will be as favourable as your cause is just. Accordingly *Balas* spoke for himself, and addressed the senate thus: The d only favour I ask is, that you would remember king *Antiochus* my father. If his conduct was agreeable to you, you may as much depend on the submission of his son. Assist him with your protection, and he will soon give you proofs of his gratitude. If you desire to see *Syria* united in a close confederacy with *Rome*, give me only leave to return home. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced of the imposture, and therefore greatly surprized to hear that the senate had passed a decree in favour of the two pretenders. This famous decree was couched in the following terms: The senate and people of *Rome* having examined the petition of *Alexander* and *Laodice*, the children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, the friend and ally of the *Roman* people, give the son leave to recover the rights of e his father; and our will and pleasure is, that our allies assist him therein [m]. *Balas* had changed his name, and taken that of *Alexander*, as *Justin* informs us; whence he is commonly called by the ancients *Alexander Balas*; the latter was, according to *Appian*, his mother's name.

This impostor Balas *countenanced by the* Roman *senate.*

Alexander being thus countenanced by the *Roman* senate, met with no difficulty in raising troops as soon as he landed in *Syria*. *Ariarathes*, *Ptolemy*, and *Attalus*, sent him immediately powerful succours; so that he was soon in a condition to appear before *Ptolemais* in *Palestine*, and even make himself master of that important place; the reduction of which was no sooner heard of in *Syria*, but great numbers of *Syrians* out of disaffection to *Demetrius* flocked to him from all parts. This brought *Demetrius* out of his castle to provide for his own defence; he drew together all the forces f he could, took the field, and at the head of a formidable army marched out to meet the impostor. He was well apprised that *Rome* had set up this rival to his crown; and therefore to appease the republic, he sent to *Rome* an impostor, named *Andriscus*, who pretending to be the son of *Perses* was come to the court of *Syria* to solicit his establishment on the throne of his father in *Macedon*. The senate was well pleased to have this mock-king in their hands, but did not on that account discountenance in

[l] Liv. Epitome, l. lii. Polyb. legat. 142. p. 966. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Athenæus, l. 211. Sulpitius Severus, Hist. Sacr. l. ii. c. 22. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. [m] Polyb. Liv. Appian. Justin. ubi supra.

a in the leaſt the pretender to the crown of *Syria*, nor ſhew any inclination to aſſiſt *Demetrius*. This prince, finding the *Romans* bent on his ruin, had recourſe to *Jonathan*, who had ſucceeded the famous *Judas Maccabæus* in the command of the *Jewiſh* forces, and made him moſt tempting offers. He wrote a very obliging letter to him, appointing him commander in chief of all his forces in *Judæa*, and empowering him to raiſe what troops he thought fit. At the ſame time he commanded the governor of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem* to deliver up into his hands all the hoſtages of the *Jewiſh* nation, which were keep there as pledges of their fidelity to the *Syrian* intereſt. As the aſſiſtance of *Jonathan* was like to carry great weight with it, and turn the balance in favour of that ſide for which he ſhould declare, *Alexander*, hearing what *Demetrius* had done to gain ſo powerful an ally, ſent alſo his propoſals to
b him, appointing him high-prieſt of the *Jews*, honouring him with the title of the king's friend (F), and preſenting him with a purple robe and a crown of gold, as enſigns of the high dignity conferred upon him, none but princes and nobles of the firſt rank being in thoſe days allowed to wear purple. *Demetrius*, being informed of the advantagious offers of *Alexander*, reſolved to out-bid him, hoping, by that means, to ſecure to himſelf an ally of ſuch weight; he therefore ſent a ſecond meſſage to *Jonathan*, offering to confirm all the grants of his rival, and adding to them many extraordinary gifts and privileges to be enjoyed for ever by him and the whole *Jewiſh* nation, provided he would eſpouſe the cauſe, and maintain the undoubted rights of his family; but as he had, on all occaſions, betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to
c the *Jews*, and endeavoured to extirpate the whole nation, *Jonathan* looked upon all theſe offers as extorted only by the neceſſity of his affairs, and which he would certainly revoke, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf again in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown. He therefore rejected the propoſals of a prince, on whom he could not, by any means, depend, and reſolved to enter into an alliance with *Alexander*. Of him he accepted the high-prieſthood, and, with the conſent of the people, on the feaſt of tabernacles, which happened ſoon after, he put on the pontifical robes, and officiated as high-prieſt, after that office had been vacant ſeven years [n].

THE two kings having taken the field at the head of their reſpective armies, *Demetrius*, who wanted neither courage nor conduct, when his reaſon was not
d impaired by immoderate drinking, gained the victory in the firſt battle; but it was of no advantage to him, for *Alexander* being ſpeedily reinforced by the three kings who firſt ſet him up, and vigorouſly ſupported both by *Jonathan* and the *Romans*, he ſtill maintained his ground. The *Syrians* likewiſe, notwithſtanding the overthrow of *Alexander*, continued to deſert in troops from *Demetrius*, who, by his ſurly temper, had rendered himſelf odious to all his ſubjects; wherefore *Demetrius*, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, ſent his two ſons, *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, to *Cnidus*, a city of *Caria*, and there commited them, with a great treaſure, to the care of a friend of his in that place, that, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal him in this war, his children might be out of the reach of his rival, and wait in a
e place of ſafety for ſome favourable turn of fortune [o].

Jonathan *declares for* Alexander Balas.

Demetrius, having thus ſecured his children, and recruited his army the beſt he could, took the field anew, and being reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle, engaged his rival at the head of an army far ſuperior in number to his own. Both parties fought with incredible bravery, being encouraged by the example of their leaders. At firſt *Demetrius*'s left wing put the enemy's right to flight; but purſuing them too far, a fault which has occaſioned the loſs of many victories, on their return they found the right wing, in which *Demetrius* fought in perſon, quite routed, and the king himſelf killed in the flight. As long as he could prevail upon his men to keep their ground, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner;
f and when they began to give way, being bore down by the enemy's numbers, he diſplayed an extraordinary ſkill in military affairs, by retiring in good order, and keeping his men together, in hopes that his left wing might return in the mean time from the purſuit; but in the retreat his horſe having unluckily plunged into a bog,

[n] MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 21. & c. 7. ver. 14. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xv. c. 3. [o] JUSTIN. Liv. ibid. & EUTROP. l. iv.

(F) The title of *the king's friend* was highly eſteemed under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, being beſtowed upon perſons only of the firſt quality; and to wear a purple robe was a mark of great diſtinction, not only among the *Macedonians*, but other nations; whence the word *Purpuratus* in the *Latin* tongue ſignifies *a man of quality*, or *a prince*.

bog, he was abandoned by his own men, and ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy. In this ſituation, quitting his horſe, he fought a conſiderable time on foot with incredible bravery, putting all thoſe to death who dared to approach him; inſomuch, that none venturing to come within his reach, they kept a diſtance, diſcharging inceſſantly ſhowers of darts, arrows, and javelins againſt him from all quarters. He fell at length, after having received a great many wounds, and for ſome time made head alone againſt the enemy's whole army [p] (G). *Polybius* and *Porphyrius*, who were both intimately acquainted with this prince, give him a moſt extraordinary character, and tell us, that he was killed after he had reigned twelve years; but *Joſephus*, upon what authority we know not, will have him to have reigned eleven years only.

Demetrius *defeated and killed.* *Year of the flood*, 2846. *Year before Chriſt* 153.

Alexander, by this victory, having made himſelf maſter of the whole *Syrian* empire, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy into *Egypt*, to demand *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, in marriage. The king not only complied with his requeſt, but conducted her to him in perſon; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Ptolemais* with great pomp and rejoicings. *Jonathan*, the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, being invited by *Alexander* to aſſiſt at the ceremony, went thither, and was received by both kings with all poſſible marks of honour, eſpecially by *Alexander*, who cauſed him to be clad in purple, and inrolled among the firſt princes of his kingdom. He likewiſe honoured him with the chief command of all his forces in *Judæa*; and becauſe many out of envy preſented petitions againſt him, the king not only refuſed to peruſe them, but iſſued a proclamation, forbidding any one to ſpeak ill of him, or offer any complaints againſt his conduct [q].

Alexander Balas, ſeeing himſelf in the quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, thought that his only buſineſs now was, to glut himſelf with all the pleaſures which the plenty and power he had attained to could afford him; and therefore, abandoning himſelf to his natural inclination for luxury, idleneſs, and debauchery, he ſhut himſelf up in the inner parts of his palace with lewd women, ſpending his whole time with them, and leaving the intire management of affairs to a favourite called *Ammonius*, who, to uſe the expreſſion of *Juſtin*, diſcharged the office of a ſovereign in his room. As this *Ammonius* was a man of a ſuſpicious, cruel, and ſavage diſpoſition, he behaved more like a deſpotic tyrant than a miniſter, putting all thoſe to death whom he imagined capable of diſturbing his maſter in the poſſeſſion of the crown which he had uſurped. All thoſe of the blood royal, who fell into his hands, were moſt inhumanly maſſacred, and among the reſt *Laodice*, the ſiſter of *Demetrius*, and *Antigonus* one of his ſons, who had remained in *Syria*, when the other two were ſent to *Cnidus*: This conduct ſoon drew, both upon the king and his miniſter, the hatred of the whole nation; of which *Demetrius*, the eldeſt of the deceaſed king's ſons, being informed, he thought this a favourable opportunity to recover his right; and therefore having, by means of *Laſthenes* (H), hired ſome companies of *Cretans*, he left *Cnidus* where he had been educated, and ſet ſail for *Cilicia*, which he ſoon made himſelf maſter of, the inhabitants flocking from all parts to join him. This rouſed *Alexander* from his lethargy; he quitted his ſeraglio, drew together what forces he could, and having committed the government of *Antioch* to *Hierax* and *Diodotus*, who was afterwards called *Tryphon*, he took the field; but upon advice that *Apollonius* (I) gover-

[p] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 48, 49, 59. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 5. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Polyb. l. iii. p. 165. [q] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 59——66. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

(G) *Polybius*, *Juſtin*, and *Joſephus*, agree with the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* concerning the unfortunate death of *Demetrius*; and *Appian* tells us in expreſs words, that *Demetrius* loſt at the ſame time his crown and his life, tho' the *Latin* tranſlator makes this author ſay, that the dethroned prince died in baniſhment; a ſenſe which the *Greek* original will not by any means bear.

(H) The perſon with whom *Demetrius* intruſted his children, is ſuppoſed to be that *Laſthenes*, of whom mention is made in *Joſephus* and the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. He was a native of *Cnidus*, and zealouſly attached to the intereſt of *Demetrius*, whoſe children he brought up with great care. Hence *Demetrius Nicator*, the eldeſt of the two, looked upon him, even after he came to the crown, as his father, and honoured him with this title in the letter which is ſtill extant in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. And indeed *Laſthenes* could not expect leſs gratitude from a pupil who owed his crown to him. This zealous tutor did not conceal from him any of thoſe large ſums, which *Demetrius Soter*, uncertain of the event, had depoſited in his hands, but employed them all in making the neceſſary preparations for a war with the uſurper of the crown of *Syria*. But, after all, *Laſthenes* no ſooner got the power into his hands, upon his pupil's acceſſion to the crown, but he proved a moſt cruel and oppreſſive tyrant, and by his cruelties and oppreſſions eſtranged the minds of the *Syrians* from their lawful ſovereign.

a (1) governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, had declared for *Demetrius*, he began to ſuſpect the fidelity of the *Syrians*, and thereupon called in king *Ptolemy*, his father-in-law, to his aſſiſtance [r].

Apollonius's firſt attempt, after he had declared for *Demetrius*, was to reduce *Jonathan*, who, mindful of the many favours he had received at the hands of *Alexander*, perſiſted in his attachment to that prince's intereſt. *Apollonius* having aſſembled all the troops that were diſperſed in *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and the neighbouring provinces, advanced to *Jamnia*, a maritime city between *Azotus* and *Joppa*. From thence he ſent a proud meſſage to *Jonathan*, challenging him to an engagement. Hereupon *Jonathan*, marching out of *Jeruſalem* with ten thouſand men, advanced to *Joppa*, and being there joined by his brother *Simon*, who commanded a ſeparate body, beſieged and took the place in the ſight of *Apollonius* and his b army. Being maſter of *Joppa*, he fell upon *Apollonius*, and routed him with great ſlaughter. The remains of the enemy's army fled to *Azotus*, and not thinking themſelves ſafe within the walls of the city, they took ſanctuary in the temple of *Dagon*; but *Jonathan*, not thinking himſelf obliged to pay any reſpect to an idolatrous aſylum, entered *Azotus* by force, and ſetting fire to the city, reduced it to aſhes, together with the temple; all thoſe who had fled thither for ſhelter, periſhing in the flames. All the neighbouring places which had declared for *Demetrius* underwent the ſame fate; ſo that *Apollonius* loſt on this occaſion above eight thouſand men. And now *Jonathan*, being maſter of the field, turned his arms againſt *Aſcalon*; but the inhabitants, being ſtruck with terror at his approach, opened their gates to him, and received him and his army within the walls. And now, having no more enemies to contend with in thoſe parts, he led back his army to *Jeruſalem*, loaded with the c ſpoils of the conquered enemy and the riches of the plundered cities. *Alexander*, when informed of theſe ſucceſſes, teſtified his gratitude with new marks of diſtinction, ſending him a claſp of gold, ſuch as the princes only, who were of the royal family, uſed to wear, and beſtowing upon him the ſovereignty of the city of *Accaron* and its territory [f].

In the mean time *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom *Alexander* had applied for ſuccours, advanced to his relief, at the head of a mighty army. The author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* emphatically compares his troops to the ſand of the ſea-ſhore. As he

[r] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 67. Joseph. Antiq. l xiii. c. 8. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 346. [f] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 69—87. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. Diodor. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 346.

(1) As the name of *Apollonius* often occurs in the hiſtory of theſe times, it being very comon among the *Grecks* and *Syro-Macedonians*; to avoid confuſion, we ſhall give an account of the perſons who bore it, and are mentioned in the occurrences of the times which we are now writing of. The firſt we meet with of this name in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, is *Apollonius* the ſon of *Thraſeas*, who was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, under *Seleucus Philopator*, when *Heliodorus* was ſent to *Jeruſalem* to plunder the temple, and who ſupported *Simon* againſt *Onias* the high-prieſt (84). He was alſo prime miniſter to the ſame king, but on the acceſſion to the crown of his brother *Antiochus Epiphanes*, he left *Syria*, and retired to *Miletus*, finding himſelf in all likelihood excluded from the adminiſtration, and ſome way obnoxious to the new king. While he reſided at *Miletus*, a ſon of his bearing the ſame name reſided at *Rome* with *Demetrius* the ſon of *Seleucus Philopator*, then an hoſtage in that city. As this *Apollonius* was a great favourite of *Demetrius*, as ſoon as that prince recovered the crown of his anceſtors, he beſtowed on the ſon the ſame government of *Phœnice* and *Cæle-Syria*, which the father had enjoyed under *Seleucus Philopator* (85). And this we take to be the *Apollonius*, who, being continued in the ſame government by *Alexander Balas*, revolted from him, as we have related, to ſide with *Demetrius* the ſon of his old maſter (86). Another *Apollonius* is mentioned in the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* (87), and ſaid to be chief miniſter to *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but he ſeems to have been of another family being called, in the above-mentioned hiſtory, the ſon of *Meneſtheus*. He was ſent by *Epiphanes*, with the character of embaſſador, firſt to *Rome* (88), and afterwards to *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt* (89). This *Apollonius* is in all likelihood the ſame, who, in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, is ſaid to have been over the tribute, and who, on *Antiochus*'s return from his laſt expedition into *Egypt*, was ſent with a detachment of twenty-two thouſand men to deſtroy *Jeruſalem*, and build the citadel on mount *Acra*, which kept the whole *Jewiſh* nation in awe for many years. Beſides theſe, there are two others bearing the ſame name in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, one of whom, being governor of *Samaria* under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, was ſlain in battle by *Judas Maccabeus* (90), and the other, called the ſon of *Gennæus*, being likewiſe governor of ſome ſeignory in *Paleſtine*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his hatred to the *Jewiſh* nation (91).

(84) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 3. *ver.* 5. & *c.* 4. *ver.* 4. (85) *Polyb. legat.* 114. *p.* 944, 945. (86) *Maccab. l.* i. *c.* 10. *ver.* 69. (87) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *ver.* 21. (88) *Liv. l.* xlii. *c.* 6. (89) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *ver.* 21. (90) *Maccab. l.* i. *c.* 3. *ver.* 10. *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 7. & 10. (91) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 12. *ver* 2.

he entered *Paleſtine*, all the cities, through which he paſſed, received him with loud a
acclamations, As he marched by the place on which *Azotus* formerly ſtood, ſome
perſons of his retinue, diſaffected to the *Jews*, ſhewed him the ruins of that city, and
of the once magnificent temple of *Dagon*, telling him, that theſe were the ſad effects
of *Jonathan*'s fury; but notwithſtanding theſe complaints, and the ſight of many
dead bodies, which ſtill lay unburied on the road and in the adjoining fields, *Ptolemy*
gave *Jonathan*, when he came to wait on him at *Joppa*, as favourable a reception as
he could deſire. Both princes ſpent the night in that city, and leaving it the next
day, *Jonathan* accompanied the king as far as *Eleutherus* a river of *Phœnice*, and then
returned to *Jeruſalem*. *Ptolemy* purſued his march, haſtening to the defence of his
ſon-in-law and ally; but, upon his arrival at *Ptolemais*, he was, to his great ſurprize, b
informed, that *Alexander* had a deſign upon his life, and that *Ammonius*, the king of
Syria's great favourite, had taken upon him to execute this deteſtable piece of trea-
chery: Perhaps *Alexander* fearing that *Ptolemy*, coming with ſo powerful an army,
might ſeize on *Syria* for himſelf, had reſolved to prevent this danger, by cutting
him off at *Ptolemais*; for in that city the conſpirators were all aſſembled. *Ptolemy*
could not be perſuaded at firſt, that *Alexander* had any hand in the plot, aſcribing the
whole to the jealous temper of his imperious miniſter, who, without any orders from
his maſter, nay, even without his privity, had put to death many *Syrian* lords of
great diſtinction. He therefore wrote a letter to the king of *Syria*, complaining of
the attempt, and demanding the criminal to be delivered up to him; but *Alexander* c
refuſing to comply with ſo juſt a demand, *Ptolemy* concluded from thence, that he
was privy to the plot, and that *Ammonius* had only executed his maſter's orders.
Hereupon, being highly exaſperated, he reſolved to turn his arms againſt the prince
he was come to defend, and accordingly ſent embaſſadors to young *Demetrius*, offer-
ing him his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander*'s wife, in marriage, and promiſing to ſettle
him on the throne of his anceſtors. *Demetrius* willingly embraced this advantagious
offer, went immediately to wait on *Ptolemy*, and received from him his daughter,
who, too eaſily complying with her father's will, was not aſhamed to break through
her former engagements, and, abandoning her firſt, marry a ſecond husband [t].

When news of this was brought to *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that city, who had d
long groaned under the oppreſſions of the favourite miniſter, thinking this a proper
opportunity to revenge the many violences he had committed in their city, roſe up
in arms in a tumultuous manner, ſurrounded his palace, and killed him, as he was
attempting to make his eſcape from the rage of the incenſed multitude in the attire of
a woman [u]. Nor did the death of *Ammonius* put a ſtop to the ſedition; the *Anti-
chians* were uneaſy to ſee a prince on the throne, whom his wicked miniſters and
his own indolence had rendered odious to the whole nation, and therefore thought
of nothing but ſhaking off the yoke. *Ptolemy*, taking advantage of the preſent
diſpoſition of the *Antiochians*, did all that lay in his power to engage them in favour
of *Demetrius*; but they, remembring the many evils they had ſuffered under *Demetrius* e
Soter his father, were afraid the ſon might prove a no leſs cruel tyrant when once
fixed on the throne, and therefore refuſed to declare in his favour. However, their
hatred to *Alexander* ſo far got the better of their prejudices againſt *Demetrius*, that
they entered into a confederacy againſt the former, and opened their gates to *Ptolemy*,
offering to place the crown on his head; but that prince, who, as *Joſephus* tells us,
knew how to ſet bounds to his ambition, when not agreeable to the rules of the ſtricteſt
equity, rejecting their offer, and aſſembling all the inhabitants of that great metro-
polis, with a generoſity ſcarce to be paralleled, declared, that he could not, without
the moſt flagrant injuſtice, place himſelf on the throne of *Syria*, by excluding the f
lawful heir. He repreſented *Demetrius* to them as a young prince of ſuch amiable
qualities as promiſed a mild and peaceable reign; and, to calm their fears, he offered
to be their guarantee for their new ſovereign's conduct, undertaking to aſſiſt him with
his advice, and teach him the art of governing. The diſintereſted repreſentations
of *Ptolemy* had the deſired effect; *Demetrius* was proclaimed king of *Syria*, and placed
on the throne of his anceſtors [w].

In the mean time *Alexander*, who was then in *Cilicia*, having aſſembled a nume-
rous army, advanced to *Antioch*; and being met in the neighbourhood of that city
by *Ptolemy* and his new ſon-in-law, a bloody engagement enſued, in which *Alexander*
being

[t] Joseph l. xiii. c. 8. Liv. Epit. lib. l. [u] Joseph. ibid. & Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 13. [w] Mac
cab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 8——12. Joseph. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Photii. cod. 244.

a being vanquiſhed, all thoſe, who had hitherto ſtood by him, abandoning his party, came over to *Demetrius*. The unhappy *Alexander*, inſtead of gathering together the remains of his ſhattered forces, betook himſelf to a precipitous flight, and, being attended only by five hundred horſe, never halted till he got into *Arabia*. He there thought himſelf ſafe in the houſe of a chief lord of that country, whom the author of the hiſtory of *Maccabees* calls *Zabdiel*, *Joſephus Zabel*, and *Diodorus Siculus Diocles*; but the place proved fatal to him, for the treacherous *Zabdiel* ſtabbed him with his own hand, and made this baſe act matter of merit with *Ptolemy* and *Demetrius*; but the former was ſcarce able to taſte the fruits of the victory, for his horſe, terrified in the heat of the battle at the braying of an elephant, ſtarted and threw him; and, b while he was on the ground, *Alexander*'s men having ſurrounded him, wounded him mortally on the head, and would have killed him on the ſpot, had not his own guards reſcued him out of their hands. But this only prolonged his life a ſhort time; he lay ſenſeleſs four days, the fifth he ſeemed to recover, and in this interval the head of *Alexander*, which *Zabdiel* had cauſed to be ſtruck off, was brought to him as a preſent from the *Arabian*; but the joy he felt on this occaſion ſoon put an end to his life *. As for *Demetrius*, he took, without any further oppoſition, poſſeſſion of his father's dominions, ſtiling himſelf from this victory *Nicator*, that is, *the Conqueror*. *Alexander Balas* had reigned, according to *Joſephus*, five, according to the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, ſix years, reckoning from the one hundred and ſixtieth year of the c kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, to the one hundred and ſixty-ſeventh, which was the firſt of the reign of *Demetrius Nicator* (K).

THIS is the account which *Joſephus* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*, and the death of *Alexander Balas*. But the author of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* varies greatly from him, eſpecially in what relates to the character of *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, whom *Joſephus* highly commends, as we have ſeen, and the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* repreſents as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the moſt ſacred laws of nature and juſtice, to raiſe himſelf on the ruins of his own ſon-in-law. The account which the latter author gives us of this famous revolution, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Alexander Balas*, is as follows:

Ptolemy

* JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. l. lii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

(K) *Alexander Balas* is called, in the firſt book of the *Maccabees* (92), the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but as all the profane hiſtorians are unanimous in this, *viz.* that he was an impoſtor, and no ways related to the family of the *Seleucidæ*, we have, upon their authority, contradicted the writer of that book. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced, that *Alexander Balas* had no right to the crown of *Syria*, and that the whole was a cheat carried on by *Heraclides*, who had long waited in *Rome* for ſome opportunity of raiſing diſturbances againſt *Demetrius*, by whom his brother had been put to death, and himſelf baniſhed. The ſame author adds, that the people of *Rome* were much ſurprized to hear, that the ſenate had paſſed a decree in favour of the impoſtor, and even began to ſuſpect, that *Heraclides*, being well appriſed of the preſent diſpoſition of the ſenate, had ſet up this impoſtor to pleaſe them (93). *Livy* tells us, that he was meanly born, and that his deſcent was not well known (94). *Athenæus* calls him the *ſuppoſititious* ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (95). *Appian* ſays, that he intruded himſelf into the family of the *Seleucidæ* (96). *Sulpitius Severus* calls him a *Rhodian*, and adds, that he impudently paſſed himſelf upon ſome for the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (97). Some modern writers urge the following argument to prove, that he was truly the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Jonathan*, ſay they, *the virtuous high prieſt of the holy nation, preferred his alliance to that of* Demetrius; *whence it is plain, that he had a juſt title to the crown* (98). But herein they run counter to their own principles; for allowing him to have been the true ſon of *Epiphanes*, yet, as he was the ſon of the younger brother, who had himſelf uſurped the crown, he could have no right to it in the life-time of *Demetrius*, who was the ſon of the elder brother. *Epiphanes* himſelf knew, that *Demetrius* had an indiſputable right to ſucceed his father in the kingdom of *Syria*, and therefore pretended at firſt to govern the empire only as guardian to the young prince, who was then under age. Beſides, *Jonathan*, that virtuous high-prieſt of the holy nation, did not afterwards ſcruple to ſide with the ſon of *Demetrius* againſt the ſon of *Balas*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. The conduct therefore of *Jonathan* is no proof of *Alexander*'s right, nor could thoſe authors have alledged it as ſuch, but out of a ſupine and unpardonable inadvertency.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that *Alexander* having ſome time before his death, conſulted a famous oracle in *Cilicia*, was warned by the god to beware of a place which had given birth to a creature of two ſhapes. It was generally thought, that the city of *Abas*, where *Alexander* was killed, was pointed at by this anſwer; for, after his death, upon enquiry, they found, that a woman called *Herais*, the daughter of *Diophantus* a *Macedonian* and of an *Arabian* woman, after ſhe had been ſome years married to one *Samiadas*, all on a ſudden changed her ſex, and took her father's name (99).

(92) *Maccab. l.* i. *c.* 10. *ver.* 1. (93) *Polyb. legat.* 140. (94) *Liv. in Epit. l.* iii. (95) *Athenæus l.* v. *c.* 10. (96) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 31. (97) *Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacr. l.* ii. (98) *The authors of the Roman hiſtory publiſhing at Paris. l.* xlvii. (99) *Diodor. Sicul. in fine. l.* xxxii. *apud Photium, cod.* 244.

Ptolemy Philometor, being a prince of an unbounded ambition, had formed a deſign a of uniting in his perſon the crowns of *Syria* and *Egypt*. As *Alexander Balas* had married *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and was in imminent danger of being driven from the throne by *Demetrius Nicator* the ſon of *Demetrius Soter*, the king of *Egypt* laid hold of this opportunity to put his deſign in execution. Accordingly, having raiſed a numerous army, he entered *Syria*, under the ſpecious pretence of aſſiſting his friend and relation againſt the attempts of his rival. All the cities through which he paſſed opened their gates to him, *Alexander* having commanded them to pay the king of *Egypt* the honours that were due to him as the father-in-law of their ſovereign; but the treacherous *Ptolemy*, under plauſible appearances, only took advantage of the credulity of the unfortunate *Alexander*, putting *Egyptian* gari- b ſons into the cities which had received him as a friend, and by that means ſecuring the poſſeſſion of them to himſelf. Thus he advanced into *Syria*, making himſelf maſter of all the places he found in his way as far as *Seleucia*, a maritime city on the mouth of the *Orontes*. And now it was in vain for him to diſſemble any longer, the leaſt ſagacious being fully appriſed of his wicked deſign; he therefore pulled off the maſk, and ſending deputies to *Demetrius*, inviting the young prince to join him againſt their common enemy, he offered him, in order to convince him of his ſincerity, his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander Balas*'s wife, in marriage; and, the better to palliate his injuſtice, he pretended, that *Alexander* and his prime miniſter had formed a plot againſt him, and hired aſſaſſins to take away his life, without any regard to their c affinity and ancient friendſhip. *Demetrius*, not daring to withſtand the ſolicitations of the embaſſadors from ſo powerful a prince, went to wait on *Ptolemy*, who had nothing in view but his own intereſt in this alliance; for not caring to contend with two enemies at once, he made uſe of *Demetrius* to haſten the deſtruction of *Alexander*, not doubting, but when he had once got rid of him, the other would fall an eaſy victim to his ambition. After the ceremonies of the marriage were over, *Ptolemy* ſet out for *Antioch*, and there treacherouſly cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of *Syria*, without any regard to the moſt ſacred rights, and the ſolemn promiſes given to the unhappy *Demetrius*.

All theſe things were tranſacted in the heart of the kingdom, while *Alexander* d *Balas*, deceived by the falſe promiſes of his father-in-law, was reducing the cities of *Cilicia*; but the news of the unfaithfulneſs of his wife, and the treachery of *Ptolemy*, made him drop that enterprize; however, he did not ſink under this ſhocking news, but aſſembling his troops without loſs of time, he advanced, by great marches, to ſtop the progreſs of the uſurper. *Ptolemy* met him, and offered him battle, which *Alexander* accepted, having no other reſource but in his courage, which fortune did not proſper. His troops were intirely defeated, and himſelf forced to take refuge in *Arabia*, where he miſerably periſhed by the hands of *Zabdiel*, one of the lords of that country. The *Barbarian* cut off his head, and ſent it to *Ptolemy*, who did not long enjoy the fruit of his crimes, death three days after putting an end both to his e ambitious projects and his life, Upon his death *Demetrius* took poſſeſſion of the throne, and was by all the *Syrians* acknowledged for their ſovereign [y].

This is the account which the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*. The diſagreement between him and *Joſephus*, eſpecially with relation to *Ptolemy*, is very palpable; and therefore, in this oppoſition, we leave the reader to judge which of the two deſerves the preference. As for us, we cannot help thinking it highly improbable, that *Alexander Balas* ſhould hire aſſaſſins to murder *Ptolemy*, while he was actually marching to his aſſiſtance with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. What great advantage could that prince propoſe to himſelf by cutting off ſo powerful an ally, and the only true friend he then had, as f *Joſephus* himſelf is pleaſed to tell us? Some writers have endeavoured to reconcile *Joſephus* with the book of the *Maccabees*, by ſaying, that *Alexander* formed the deſign of aſſaſſinating *Ptolemy* by means of his favourite miniſter *Ammonius*, after the unjuſt proceedings of the king of *Egypt* had convinced him, that this prince had entered his dominions with a deſign to ſeize them for himſelf. But this is rather contradicting *Joſephus* than reconciling him with the other writer; for the former tells us in expreſs terms, that *Alexander* had received no provocation from *Ptolemy*, and this, in our opinion, has not the leaſt appearance of truth. But *Joſephus* is not the only author who

[y] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 1——20.

a who contradicts the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*; for *Diodorus Siculus* [z] tells us, that *Alexander Balas*, having retired after the battle to *Aba* a city of *Arabia*, put himſelf there under the protection of *Diocles*, one of the chief lords of the country, whom he had a little before intruſted with the care of his ſon *Antiochus*, who was then a child. While he was here, the officers, who had attended him in his flight, entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, ſent privately meſſengers to the conqueror, offering to rid him of an enemy, who was formidable even in his retreat. *Demetrius*, who had no other view but to ſecure to himſelf the crown of *Syria*, accepted the offer made him in the name of the conſpirators; whereupon *Alexander* was ſeized, and barbarouſly murdered by thoſe, who, to that time, had acknowledged him for their
b ſovereign. *Euſebius* [a] tells us, that *Alexander* ſurvived *Philometor* four years; and that he married the daughter of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the brother of *Philometor*; and in this he not only contradicts the book of the *Maccabees* and *Joſephus*, but all the profane hiſtorians whoſe works have reached us.

Demetrius, having now no rival to contend with, and being altogether a ſtranger to ſtate affairs, left the whole care of the government to *Laſthenes*, who had hired thoſe *Cretans* by whom he was attended into *Cilicia*, when he firſt ſet out from *Cnidus*. As *Laſthenes* was a man of a ſevere and imperious temper, he ſoon alienated the minds of the *Syrians* from their new king. The firſt wrong ſtep he took was, to command all the *Egyptians*, whom *Ptolemy* had placed in the maritime cities of
c *Phœnice* and *Syria*, to be cruelly maſſacred by the troops of *Syria* who were in the ſame gariſons. Hereupon the *Egyptian* army, which was ſtill in *Syria*, and had placed *Demetrius* on the throne, full of juſt horror for ſo barbarous an execution, abandoned him and returned home [b]. After this, *Demetrius*, at the inſtigation of his prime miniſter, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after thoſe who had been againſt him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death. Having by this means got rid, as he imagined, of all his enemies, he diſbanded the greateſt part of his army, keeping in pay only his *Cretans* and ſome other mercenaries. By this means he not only deprived himſelf of thoſe veterans who had ſerved under his father, and, being well affected to him, would have maintained him on the throne, but made
d them his greateſt enemies.

In the mean time *Jonathan*, ſeeing every thing quiet in *Judæa*, having gathered together what forces he could, and prepared the neceſſary engines of war, laid ſiege to the fortreſs which the *Syrians* ſtill held at *Jeruſalem*. Hereupon complaints being made to *Demetrius*, that prince advanced as far as *Ptolemais*, and ſummoned *Jonathan* to wait on him there, and give an account of his conduct. *Jonathan*, ordering his men to purſue the ſiege with all poſſible vigour during his abſence, ſet out for *Ptolemais*, with ſome of the prieſts and principal men of the nation, carrying with him many rich and valuable preſents. Theſe not only appeaſed the king's wrath, but proved ſuch an efficacious recommendation in behalf of *Jonathan*, that *Demetrius*,
e having diſmiſſed the informers, confirmed him in the office of high-prieſt, admitted him into the number of his friends, and, at his requeſt, annexed to *Judea* the three governments of *Apherema*, *Lydda* and *Ramatha*, which had formerly belong to *Samaria*. Moreover, the king agreed to free the whole country under his government from all duties, cuſtoms, and tributes, for three hundred talents to be paid to him by way of equivalent [c]. *Demetrius*, having thus ſettled matters with the *Jews*, returned to *Antioch*, where he gave himſelf up to all kind of exceſſes, *Laſthenes* putting him, as he was but very young, upon moſt wicked attempts. This behaviour alienated more and more the affections of his people from him, and diſpoſed the whole nation for a general revolt; which being obſerved by *Diodotus*, afterwards called *Tryphon*, he
f thought this a favourable opportunity to make a bold puſh, aiming at nothing leſs than to place the crown on his own head. *Diodotus* was born in the territory of *Apamea*, at a place called *Secoan*, and brought up in the city of *Apamea* [d]. He had been very ſanguine in the cauſe of *Alexander Balas*, who had appointed him, in conjunction with *Hierax*, governor of *Antioch*, and therefore had no ſhare in the confidence of *Demetrius Nicator*; but an obſcure and private life did not ſuit the taſte of *Diodotus*, who was a man of an unbounded ambition. He had very early formed vaſt

[z] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii l. xxxii. p. 194. [a] Euseb. in Chron. [b] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 18. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 8. [c] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 23—37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. [d] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 39. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752. Liv. l. lii, liii. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132.

vaſt ſchemes, and, if we believe *Strabo*, in the very beginning of *Nicator*'s reign, a ſeized the fortreſs of *Coraceſium* in *Cilicia*, and made it his place of arms, ſcouring from thence the ſeas with impunity, and taking all the inhabitants of the coaſts who fell into his hands, and carrying them to *Delos*, where he ſold them to the *Romans*, who, after the reduction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, piqued themſelves upon having great numbers of ſlaves. The indolence of *Demetrius Nicator*, adds the ſame author, the avarice of the governors, who had their ſhares of the profits ariſing from his piracies, and the connivance of the king of *Egypt*, a declared enemy to *Nicator*, encouraged theſe robberies and other diſturbances in the *Syrian* empire. At length *Diodotus*, being well appriſed of the diſaffection of the people to their ſovereign, began to entertain thoughts of ſeizing the crown for himſelf. With this view he went into b *Arabia*, and there laying before *Zabdiel*, who had been intruſted with the perſon and education of *Antiochus* the ſon of *Alexander*, the ſtate of affairs in *Syria*, with great difficulty prevailed upon him to put the youth into his hands, that he might take advantage of the preſent diſturbances to place him on the throne of his father. *Appian* calls this prince *Alexander*, and not *Antiochus*, contrary to the teſtimony of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* and of *Joſephus*. He was the ſon of *Alexander Balas* by *Cleopatra*, and was very young when *Diodotus* drew him from his retreat (L). The traitor's ſcheme was to make uſe of the pretenſions of *Antiochus*, till he had drove *Demetrius* from the throne, and afterwards to cut off the young prince, and place the crown on his own head.

In the mean time, *Jonathan* was carrying on the ſiege of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem* c with great vigour; but not being able to reduce it, he ſent deputies to *Demetrius*, deſiring him to withdraw the gariſon which he could not drive out. As that prince was then involved in great difficulties, on account of the ſeditions and tumults which daily broke out at *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that metropolis having an utter averſion both to his perſon and government, he promiſed to grant *Jonathan* his requeſt, upon condition he would ſend him ſome troops to keep the *Antiochians* in awe. Hereupon *Jonathan* ſent him immediately three thouſand men, by which reinforcement the king believing himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to undertake any thing, reſolved to diſarm the *Antiochians*, and accordingly ordered them all to deliver up their arms. This unexpect- d ed order cauſed a great uproar in the city; the inhabitants ran to their arms, and, to the number of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, inveſted the king's palace, with a deſign to kill him. The *Jews* haſtened to his relief, fell upon the mutiniers, killed about an hundred thouſand of them, and ſet fire to the city, which ſoon obliged the reſt to ſubmit, and ſue for pardon, which was granted them. The tumult being thus quelled, the *Jews* returned, loaded with ſpoils, to *Jeruſalem*, after having taken this dreadful revenge on the *Antiochians*, for the wrongs they had ſuffered from them in *Judæa* and *Jeruſalem*, eſpecially in the reign of their great perſecutor *Antiochus Epiphanes* [f].

Demetrius, notwithſtanding the pardon he had granted to the *Antiochians*, put many e of them to death, confiſcated their eſtates, and practiſed upon that unhappy people all ſorts of cruelties and oppreſſions; whereupon the whole kingdom conceived ſuch an hatred and animoſity againſt him, that they only wanted an opportunity to make him feel the moſt dreadful effects of their vengeance. That ungrateful and impolitic prince behaved no better towards *Jonathan*, than he did towards his own ſubjects; for, notwithſtanding the promiſes he had made to him, and the great obligations he owed him for his late aſſiſtance, he refuſed to ſtand to the treaty concluded with him at *Ptolemais*, in vertue of which he was to free the *Jewiſh* nation from all taxes and tributes for three hundred talents. This ſum had been paid; but, for all that, the king exacted the ſame taxes and tributes with the utmoſt rigour, by which means he f alienated the *Jews* from him, as he had done his own ſubjects [g].

While things were in this unſteady condition, *Tryphon* arrived in *Syria*, with *Antiochus* the ſon of *Alexander Balas*, and laid claim to the crown in his name, ſtiling himſelf

[f] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 41.—52. Joseph. Antiq. l. iii. c. 9. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 347, 348. [g] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 53. Joseph. ibid.

(L) *Antiochus* was, according to *Euſebius*, about ſeven years of age when *Tryphon* drew him from his retreat. *Livy* tells us, that he was then but two years old, wherein he contradicts himſelf, if ſome miſtake has not crept into the copy; for he elſewhere owns, that *Antiochus* reigned only two years under the guardianſhip of *Tryphon*, by whom he was, according to him, put to death in the tenth year of his age.

himſelf guardian and protector of the young king. He no ſooner appeared, but the veterans, whom *Demetrius* had disbanded, and multitudes of others, whom he had provoked with his ill conduct, flocked to him, proclaimed him king, and marching under his banners againſt *Demetrius*, obliged that prince to come to an engagement, wherein his army was intirely routed, all his elephants taken, and he himſelf forced to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Seleucia*. *Antiochus*'s party being thus maſter of the field, marched ſtreight to *Antioch*, which opened its gates to them, and there placed the young prince on the throne of the kings of *Syria*, giving him the ſurname of *Theos*, that is, *the God*[h].

Antiochus being now in poſſeſſion of *Antioch* and the throne, *Tryphon*, his guardian, made it his firſt buſineſs to gain over *Jonathan* and the *Jewiſh* nation. With this view he ſent an embaſſy to *Jonathan*, and an obliging letter, confirming him in the office of high-prieſt, renewing the grant of the three ſeignories mentioned above, to which a fourth was added, and allowing him to wear purple with a gold claſp, to drink in a gold cup, and to have place among the king's chief friends, or the firſt lords of the kingdom, with many other privileges and advantages to be enjoyed by the whole *Jewiſh* nation. In virtue of the ſame letter, which was wrote in the new king's name, *Simon* was appoined commander in chief of all the king's forces, from *the Ladder of Tyre*, a mountain ſo called on the ſea-coaſt between *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, to the borders of *Egypt*; the whole on condition, that the two brothers and the *Jewiſh* nation would declare for *Antiochus*. *Jonathan*, provoked at the ingratitude of *Demetrius*, accepted the invitation, and eſpouſed with great warmth the new king's party; whereupon a commiſſion being ſent him, empowering him to raiſe forces for the king's ſervice throughout all *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, he drew together a great army, and marching round the country as far as *Damaſcus*, ſecured all thoſe parts in the intereſt of *Antiochus*. In the mean time, the forces which *Demetrius* had, in *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, invaded *Galilee*, in order to make a diverſion, and oblige *Jonathan* to turn his arms that way; which he did accordingly, leaving *Simon* to command in *Judæa*. On his entering *Galilee*, he was very near being cut off with his whole army by a ſtratagem; but, while moſt of his men fled, being ſeized with a panic fear, a ſmall body of the moſt reſolute and couragious ſtood their ground, and made head againſt the enemy, till the reſt rallied, and, returning to the charge, renewed the fight, and gained at laſt a complete victory. On the other hand, *Simon*, laying ſiege to *Bethſura*, made himſelf maſter of that important place, which had been long in the hands of the *Syrians*[i]. The commander of the king's forces in *Galilee*, having recruited his army with great expedition, returned againſt *Jonathan*, who, upon advice of his march, went to meet him as far as *Amathis* on the borders of *Canaan*; and there the two armies encamped over-againſt each other. The *Syrian* commander formed a deſign of attacking *onathan*'s camp in the night-time, in hopes of ſurpriſing him; but finding, on his approach, the *Jews*, who had received intelligence of his deſign, ready to receive him, he was ſo diſcouraged at the diſappointment, that he returned to his camp, and having cauſed fires to be lighted there to deceive the enemy, he marched off the ſame night, and got ſo far before *Jonathan* received advice of his retreat, that he could never come up with him; wherefore, after having purſued him in vain to the banks of the *Eleutherus*, he turned his arms, firſt againſt the *Arabians* who were of *Demetrius*'s party, and afterwards entered the territory of *Damaſcus*, putting all thoſe to the ſword who refuſed to ſide with *Antiochus*; by which means he intirely ſuppreſſed the party of *Demetrius* in thoſe parts, while his brother did the ſame in the country of the *Philiſtines*, after having made himſelf maſter of *Joppa*, and placed a ſtrong gariſon in it[k].

THE partiſans of *Demetrius* being thus every-where deſtroyed or driven out of the country, *Tryphon* thought it high time to put in execution the deſign, he had formed from the beginning, of cutting off *Antiochus*, and ſeizing the crown of *Syria* for himſelf; but foreſeeing that *Jonathan* would, to the utmoſt of his power, oppoſe ſuch a black and treacherous attempt, he reſolved, in the firſt place, to rid himſelf of ſo formidable an enemy, and with this deſign entered *Judæa*, at the head of a powerful army. *Jonathan* met him with forty thouſand men at *Bethſan*, a city of the

[h] MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 54.——56. LIV. Epit. l. lii. JOSEPH. ibid. APPIAN. in Syriac. [i] MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 57——62. JOSEPH. ibid. [k] MACCAB. l. i. ubi ſupra. & c. 12. ver. 1——24. JOSEPH. ibid.

the tribe of *Manaſſeth* (M). At the ſight of ſo numerous an army, *Tryphon* was intimidated, and had recourſe to artifice inſtead of force. No declaration of war had been made, and therefore the *Syrian*, under a falſe appearance of friendſhip, eaſily circumvented the high-prieſt. He told him, That he was come thither only to conſult with him about their common intereſt, and to put *Ptolemais* into his hands, as a reward for the ſervices he had done young *Antiochus*. Credulity is too often the fault of good men. *Jonathan* believed him, and ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon to diſmiſs his army, keeping only three thouſand men with him, and of theſe he afterwards ſent two thouſand into *Galilee*, ſo that he entered *Ptolemais* with a guard only of a thouſand men, expecting, according to the traitor's oath, to be put in poſſeſſion of the place; but he was no ſooner got within the walls, than the gates were ſhut upon him, and he ſeized, after all his followers had been put to the ſword. Troops were likewiſe immediately detached after the two thouſand men, who were upon their march towards *Galilee*; but they, having received advice of what had happened to *Jonathan* and his men at *Ptolemais*, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, being reſolved to ſell their lives at a dear rate; which the enemy perceiving, ſuffered them to proceed on their march without moleſtation; ſo that they arrived ſafe at *Jeruſalem*, where they found all the inhabitants in tears for what had happened to *Jonathan*. However, they did not deſpond, but chooſing *Simon* for their general inſtead of *Jonathan*, applied themſelves, with all poſſible ſpeed, to the finiſhing of the fortifications begun by *Jonathan* at *Jeruſalem*. On the other hand, the *Syrian* army, leaving *Ptolemais*, advanced towards the land of *Judah*, and encamped near *Addus*, which is called by *Joſephus Addida*, and ſtood on a mountain that commanded the plains of *Judah*, and was not far from *Jeruſalem*. *Simon*, at the head of a powerful army, marched out againſt *Tryphon*, and poſted himſelf near the *Syrian* camp. *Tryphon*, not daring to give him battle, had recourſe to his uſual treachery; he ſent a deputation to the camp of the *Iſraelites*, informing *Simon* that his brother was alive, that he had detained him priſoner only on account of the money which he owed to the king of *Syria*, and that he would ſet him at liberty, if the *Jews* ſent him an hundred talents of ſilver and *Jonathan*'s two ſons as hoſtages. The embaſſadors inſiſted upon the delivering up of the hoſtages as a neceſſary precaution, leſt *Jonathan*, who was highly provoked, ſaid they, againſt *Tryphon*, ſhould revolt from *Antiochus*, and join *Demetrius*. *Simon* ſaw plainly, that his propoſal was no more than a feint, and that ſome treachery was concealed under theſe artful ſpeeches; however, as he apprehended, that, upon his refuſal, *Tryphon* would put *Jonathan* to death, and the people blame him as the author of it, he reſolved to comply with the requeſt, and accordingly ſent the hundred talents and the two hoſtages. And then the traitor, having received all he demanded, pulled off the mask, and declared himſelf an enemy to the *Jewiſh* nation. He returned into *Syria*, carrying *Jonathan* and his two ſons along with him, and having there reinforced his army, he re-entered *Judæa*, with a deſign utterly to deſtroy the whole nation; but *Simon* kept ſo cloſe to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he was forced to retire with diſgrace. On his retreat, he put *Jonathan* to death in the neighbourhood of *Baſcama* (N); but whether by

(M) The city called *Bethſan* by the *Jews*, *Methora* by *Zonaras*, and *Bazan* by *Cedrenus*, ſtood on the confines of *Galilee*, and is the ſame that is mentioned in the firſt chapter of *Joſhua*. The *Canaanites* kept poſſeſſion of this city, which was the moſt conſiderable in the *Decapolis*, after the *Iſraelites* had conquered *Paleſtine*. It ſtood in the middle of a great plain, near the mountains of *Gilboa*, about a mile on this ſide of the *Jordan*, and 120 furlongs, according to *Joſephus*, from the lake of *Genneſareth*, and 600 furlongs from *Jeruſalem*. The *Greeks* gave it the name of *Scythopolis*; and ſo it is called in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* (100), becauſe anciently inhabited by the *Scythians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, had, in the reigns of *Pſammitichus* king of *Egypt*, and *Cyaxares* king of *Media*, extended their conqueſts as far as *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. *Pliny* tells us, upon the credit of an ancient tradition, that *Bethſa* was, in former times, called *Nyſa*, from *Bacchus*'s nurſe, whom the *Scythians* buried near that place. It is now known among the eaſtern nations by the name of *Elbyzan*. It was on the walls of this city, if *Joſephus* is to be credited (101), that the *Philiſtians* hung up the dead bodies of *Saul* and *Jonathan*. Some *Jewiſh* authors ſay, that it was ſubject to the *Iſraelites* before the *Babyloniſh* captivity, they having at length driven out the *Canaanites*; but that the *Aſſyrians* afterwards made themſelves maſters of it, and held it long after the return of the *Jews*.

(N) The author of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* tells us, that the ſnow which fell prevented *Tryphon* from entering into the country of *Gilead*, and that he ſtopped at *Baſcama*; whence it is plain, that this city was not, according to that author, in the land of *Gilead*, where *Joſephus* and ſome modern geographers place it.

(100) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 12.

(101) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* vi.

a by poiſon or the ſword, no hiſtorian is exact enough to tell us [l]. *Tryphon*, after the death of *Jonathan*, believing he had no body to fear, cauſed *Antiochus* to be privately murdered. That young prince was troubled with the ſtone, and his guardian cauſing him to be cut for it, ordered the ſurgeons to diſpatch him in the opperation [m]. Upon his death the treacherous *Tryphon* declared himſelf king of *Syria* in his ſtead, and accordingly took poſſeſſion of the crown, no one daring to oppoſe him.

THE firſt ſtep he took, after he had aſcended the throne, was to try whether he could prevail upon the *Romans* to acknowledge him king, ſince, without their protection, his affairs, as he was well appriſed, could never proſper. He therefore ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to notify to the republic his acceſſion to the crown of *Syria*,
b and to preſent the *Roman* ſenate with the ſtatue of a victory of maſſy gold, weighing a thouſand of thoſe pieces of gold which were called *aurei*. He hoped, that, in regard of ſo valuable a preſent, and the good omen of victory which the ſtatue carried with it, the ſenate would not ſcruple to acknowledge his title; but the *Romans*, cunningly eluding his expectation, received the preſent, and ordered the name of young *Antiochus*, whom *Tryphon* had lately murdered, to be engraved on it, as if it had been ſent by him [n]. About this time *Sarpedon*, one of *Demetrius*'s commanders, attempted to recover *Phœnice*; but his army was defeated by the forces which *Tryphon* had in thoſe parts. As the victorious army of the uſurper was returning from the purſuit, and quietly marching along the ſea-ſide between *Ptole-*
c *mais* and *Tyre*, a wave ſwelling all on a ſudden to an incredible height, and breaking with great violence on the ſhore, overwhelmed a great many of them, and then, running back with the ſame rapidity, left the dead bodies on the ſtrand, and a vaſt quantity of fiſh mingled with them; whereupon *Sarpedon*'s men returning with all ſpeed, found, that thoſe who had eſcaped the diſaſter, had retired to the neighbouring cities, eſpecially to *Ptolemais*, whither *Sarpedon* advanced, and, under the very walls of the city, offered up the fiſh, which he found mingled with the dead bodies on the ſhore, to *Neptune the deliverer*, by way of thankſgiving for the diſaſter which had befallen the enemy [o].

Demetrius in the mean time lay idle at *Laodicea*, abandoning himſelf to all manner
d of lewdneſs and debauchery, without ſo much as ſeeming to be ſenſible of his misfortunes. However, as *Tryphon* had given the *Jewiſh* nation juſt reaſon to renounce his friendſhip, *Simon* ſent embaſſadors to *Demetrius*, with a crown of gold, to treat with him about an alliance, and to offer him all the forces of *Judæa* againſt the uſurper. The embaſſadors were kindly received by the king, who, as he had no other reſource in the melancholy ſituation of his affairs, willingly granted them all they demanded, *viz.* a confirmation of the high-prieſthood and ſovereignty to *Simon*, an exemption from all taxes and tributes, and a general amneſty for all paſt acts of hoſtility, upon condition that the *Jews* joined him againſt *Tryphon* [p].

NOT long after *Demetrius* had concluded this alliance with *Simon* and the *Jewiſh*
e nation, he was encouraged to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by other embaſſadors ſent to him out of the eaſt, and inviting him thither. The *Parthians* having over-run and reduced moſt of the eaſtern provinces, from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*, ſuch of the inhabitants of thoſe countries as were originally *Macedonians*, not being able to bear that uſurpation, nor the pride and inſolence of their new maſters, earneſtly intreated *Demetrius*, by repeated embaſſies, to come into thoſe parts, promiſing him a general revolt from the *Parthians*, and a ſufficient number of troops to expel thoſe uſurpers, and recover all the provinces of the eaſt. *Demetrius*, ſeduced with theſe promiſes, embarqued in this enterprize, and paſſed the *Euphrates*, leaving *Tryphon* in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of *Syria*. He imagined, that, after
f he ſhould have made himſelf maſter of the eaſt, with ſuch an encreaſe of power, he ſhould be in a better condition to ſuppreſs that rebel on his return. As ſoon as he appeared in the eaſt, the *Elymæans*, *Perſians*, and *Bactrians* declared in his favour; ſo that, by their aſſiſtance, he defeated the *Parthians* in ſeveral engagements; but at laſt, being deceived by falſe appearances of a treaty of peace, he inadvertently put himſelf into the power of a *Parthian* commander, who ſeized on his perſon, and cut his

[l] MACCAB. l. i. c. 12. ver. 39—53. & c. 13. ver. 1—11. & 20—24. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. [m] MACCAB. l. i. c. 13. ver. 31, 32. LIV. l. lv. STRABO. l. xvi. p. 752. JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 1. [n] DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 31. [o] STRABO. l. xvi. p. 758. ATHEN. l. viii. c. 2. ex Poſſidonio Stoico. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii p. 355. MACCAB. l. i. c. 13. ver. 34—42. & c. 14. ver 38—41. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

his whole army in pieces. The king who reigned in *Parthia* at this time, was a *Mithridates* the ſon of *Priapatius*, a valiant and wiſe prince. As ſoon as *Demetrius* was delivered up to him, he carried the captive prince round the provinces which had revolted, expoſing him every-where to public view, that the people, by ſeeing the perſon, whom they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to ſo low and ſhameful a condition, might be the eaſier brought to ſubmit to their former yoke. After this he treated him as a king, ſent him into *Hyrcania* to reſide there, with a maintenance ſuitable to his dignity, and even gave him his daughter *Rhodogune* in marriage; however, he kept him ſtill in captivity, tho' with all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. *Juſtin* adds, that *Mithridates* engaged to carry him back into *Syria*, at the head of a powerful army, and to drive out the b uſurper; but the death of the *Parthian* king fruſtrated all theſe expectations [q]. *Syncellus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, that *Demetrius* was kept in irons by *Mithridates* and his ſucceſſor *Phrahates*, and that he was from thence ſurnamed *Siderites*.

Cleopatra wife to *Demetrius*, upon advice of her huſband's captivity, ſhut herſelf up with her two children in *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, whither many of *Tryphon*'s ſoldiers flocked daily to her; for as he was naturally of a cruel and inhuman temper, he ſoon made the *Syrians* feel all the weight of a tyrannical goverment, which they not being able to bear, abandoned him, and went over to *Cleopatra*; but ſtill her party alone was not ſtrong enough to ſupport her, and therefore, fearing leſt the c people of *Seleucia* ſhould chuſe rather to give her up to *Tryphon*, than bear a ſiege out of affection to her perſon, ſhe invited *Antiochus Sidetes* (O), her huſband's younger brother, to join his intereſt with her's, promiſing, on this condition, to marry him and procure him the crown; for being abandoned by *Demetrius*, who had married the *Parthian* king's daughter, ſhe reſolved to ſeek a new intereſt, by diſpoſing of herſelf in marriage to ſome-body elſe; and not ſeeing how ſhe could do this more to her advantage than by marrying the next heir to the crown, ſhe fixed upon him, and took him in the room of his brother [r]. This *Antiochus* was the ſecond ſon of *Demetrius Soter*, and had been ſent to *Cnidos* with his brother *Demetrius*, to be kept there as in a place of ſafety, during the war between their father and *Alexander* d *Balas*. He ſeems to have continued in thoſe parts, even after his brother's acceſſion to the crown; for he is ſaid to have been at *Rhodes* when *Demetrius* was taken priſoner; and there in all likelihood the meſſenger ſent by *Cleopatra* found him: For he, having accepted the offer, and thereupon aſſumed the title of king of *Syria*, wrote immediately a letter to *Simon*, dated from the *iſles of the ſea*, that is, from *Rhodes*, as is commonly underſtood, ſince he had been there a little before [s]. In this letter he complained of *Tryphon*'s unjuſt uſurpation, and acquainted *Simon*, that he was preparing to come into *Syria*, to take vengeance on that treacherous aſſaſſin and uſurper, and recover his father's kingdom; and therefore, to gain him over to his intereſt, he confirmed to him all the privileges and immunities which other kings e had granted to the *Jewiſh* nation, exempted *Jeruſalem* from the juriſdiction of the kings of *Syria*, and, to many other valuable privileges, added that of coining money, the only regal prerogative which the heads of the *Jewiſh* nation ſeemed to want (P) [t]. The wiſe high-prieſt therefore did not think it adviſeable to reject ſuch advantagious offers, whereby he was inveſted in the rights of royalty, and made a free,

[q] Maccab. l. i. c. 14. 1, 2, 3. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. & l. xxxviii. c. 9. [r] Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. Justin. ibid. Joseph. ubi ſupra. c. 12. [s] Maccab. l. i. c. 15. ver. 1. Justin. Appian. ibid. [t] Maccab. l. i. c. 4. ver. 2——9.

(O) He was called *Sidetes* or *Sedetes*, from the *Syriac* word *Zidah*, which ſignifies *to hunt*, he being much given to that manly diverſion (103). *Syncellus* thinks he had this appellation from the city of *Sidon*, whence he firſt marched againſt *Tryphon*. *Joſephus* beſtows upon him the ſurname of *Pius*, (104). *Juſtin* calls him after his father's name, *Soter* (105), and *Euſebius* gives him no other name but that of *Sidetes*, a name, ſays that writer, which he well deſerved from his paſſion for hunting.

(P) Till the reign of *Antiochus*, the *Syrian* kings had conſtantly refuſed the *Jews* the privilege of coining money; but *Simon*, it ſeems, did not wait for the new king's grant, the kings of *Syria* not being then in a condition to diſpute with him that prerogative. He had three years before ſtruck medals with his own name, and the year in which the *Jews* had been reſtored to their full liberty, by the reduction of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem*. This event was repreſented on the reverſe by the figure of a palm-tree, the ſymbol of *Judæa*.

(103) *Plut. in Prob.* (104) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xii, & *l.* xiii. *c.* 16. (105) *Juſtin. in Prolog. l.* xxxix.

a free, independent and ſovereign arbiter of the religion, revenues, and government of his country; but prepared to aſſiſt *Sidetes* in mounting the throne of his anceſtors, and driving out the uſurper.

THE young prince therefore, depending on the friendſhip of the *Jews*, in the beginning of the following year, left *Rhodes*, and landed in *Syria*, with an army of mercenaries, whom he had hired in *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, and the iſlands, and having married *Cleoptra*, joined what forces ſhe had to his own, took the field, and marched againſt *Tryphon*. At the ſight of a prince of the blood of the *Seleucidæ*, moſt of the uſurper's forces, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and going over to *Antiochus*, augmented his army to the number of an hundred and twenty thouſand b foot and eight thouſand horſe. *Tryphon*, not being in a condition to keep the field againſt ſo great a force, had no reſource but in flight; he therefore retired to the city of *Dora* in the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*, where he was cloſe beſieged by *Antiochus*, who employed all his ſea and land-forces againſt the place. During this ſiege the high-prieſt *Simon* ſignalized his zeal for the new king, ſending him two thouſand choſen men, with conſiderable preſents in gold, ſilver, arms, and engines of war. But proſperity had changed the heart of *Antiochus*; he ſent back to *Simon* his preſents and troops, and with them *Athenobius*, one of his friends, to demand the reſtitution of *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem*, with ſeveral other c places then held by *Simon*, which he claimed as belonging to the crown of *Syria*, or elſe five hundred talents in lieu of them, and five hundred more for the damages that were done by the *Jews* within the borders of his dominions. To this meſſage *Simon* anſwered, That for *Gazara* and *Joppa* he was willing to pay the king an hundred talents; but, as to the other places, they originally belonged to *Judæa*, and had been unjuſtly taken from the *Jewiſh* nation; wherefore, ſince he had now re-taken them, he was reſolved not to part with them. *Athenobius* was highly offended at this anſwer, and on his return to the king's camp, inſpired him with the ſame rage and hatred to the *Jews* which he had conceived. Hereupon *Cendebæus*, one of the chief commanders of the *Syrian* troops, was immediately detached with one part of the army againſt *Simon*, while the king in perſon, with the other, purſued the ſiege of *Dora*. When the city was reduced to the laſt extremity, *Tryphon* found means to make his eſcape from thence to *Orthoſia*, another maritime town of *Phœnice*, and from *Orthoſia* to *Apamea*, his native city. *Frontinus* tells us, that all the way he ſcattered money on the road, in order to keep the purſuers employed, and by that means retarded the troops of *Antiochus*, and got ſafe into *Apamea*; but the city being taken by aſſault, as *Joſephus* informs us, *Tryphon* was killed in the third year of the captivity of *Demetrius*. *Appian* tells us, that he was taken after a moſt gallant reſiſtance, and put to death by *Antiochus*. *Strabo* ſays, that he ſhut himſelf up in a ſtrong caſtle, where he was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that, out of deſpair, he laid violent hands on himſelf; and laſtly, *Syncellus* writes, that the city of *Orthoſia* being ſet on fire, he leaped into the flames, and there periſhed. Thus *Tryphon* ended his days, after he had raiſed great diſturbances in *Syria*, dethroned one of her kings, put his ward to death, poſſeſſed himſelf of the crown, and moſt grievouſly oppreſſed both his friends and enemies (Q). His death having put an end to the inteſtine broils, *Antiochus* aſcended his father's throne without any further oppoſition, and enjoyed it nine years. Having now no rival to contend with, for his brother was ſtill a captive in *Parthia*, he, in the firſt place, reduced all the cities of *Syria*, which, taking advantage of the late troubles, had ſhaken off the yoke, and made themſelves independent. He then turned his arms againſt *Judæa*, and was attended in this expedition with far better ſucceſs than *Cendebæus* one of his generals had been; for he laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem* itſelf, and reduced it to ſuch ſtraits, that *John Hyrcanus*, who

[a] MACCAB. l. i. c. 15. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. STRABO. l. xiv. p. 668.

(Q) There are ſtill ſome medals to be ſeen, repreſenting *Tryphon* with a diadem on his head, and on the reverſe a helmet, the ſymbol of war, which he had declared againſt his lawful ſovereign. On theſe medals he is honoured with the title of *king Tryphon*, and *Tryphon the powerful king*. His former name, which was *Diodotus*, he changed, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, for that of *Tryphon*. *Joſephus* ſays, that he reigned only three years; but others will have him to have reigned ſix years complete; that is from the beginning of the ſecond year of *Simon*'s high-prieſthood, to the end of the ſeventh, when the uſurper died. According to this computation, he died in the one hundred and ſeventy-ſixth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the æra of the *Seleucidæ*.

who had ſucceeded his father *Simon* in the office of high-prieſt, was obliged to capi- a
tulate and deliver up the city. But as to the wars which he had made upon the *Jews*,
firſt by *Cendebæus*, and afterwards in perſon, we ſhall relate them at length in the
hiſtory of that people. As the *Jews* were at that time under the protection of the
Romans, ſince the treaties made by them with *Simon* ſtill ſubſiſted under his ſon and
ſucceſſor in the high-prieſthood, *Sidetes* fearing the reſentment of that powerful
republic, on account of the devaſtations he had committed in *Judæa*, ſent embaſſa-
dors to *Scipio Africanus*, who was then in *Spain*, with magnificent preſents. hoping,
by this means, to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate, and obtain the protection of
Rome, without which he did not think himſelf well ſettled on the throne. *Scipio*,
who had known *Antiochus* in *Aſia*, received his embaſſadors in a very polite and b
obliging manner, aſſured them of the eſteem and affection he had for their maſter,
and accepted of the valuable jewels which they had brought ſo far; but immediately
diſtributed them among his ſoldiers, generouſly rewarding the valour of thoſe who
had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſiege of *Numantia*, which he was then carrying
on [w].

Antiochus having, as he thought, gained himſelf a powerful protector among the
Romans, and concluded a peace with the *Jews*, prepared to march with a powerful
army into the eaſt, againſt *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*, under pretence of delivering
his brother *Demetrius Nicator*, who had been detained ſeveral years a priſoner in
Hyrcania. The captive prince had all the honours paid him that were due to a c
crowned head. He had married *Rhodogune* the ſiſter of *Phrahates*, as we have related
above, and ſeemed to live very happily with that princeſs, being plentifully ſupplied
by his brother-in-law with all the pleaſures and diverſions he could wiſh for; but all
this did not make him amends for the loſs of a throne. In the midſt of all his pomp
and ſhew, he ſtill conſidered himſelf as a captive and a dethroned king, and had
ſeveral times attempted to make his eſcape, but without ſucceſs, having been purſued,
taken, and, for ſome time, more cloſely confined. Under the plauſible pretence of
delivering him, but, in reality, with a deſign to recover ſome provinces lately
uſurped by the *Parthians*, *Antiochus* marched with a numerous army againſt *Phrahates*.
He is ſaid to have had in that expedition above fourſcore thouſand men well armed d
and diſciplined; but the train of luxury, as *Juſtin* ſtiles it, conſiſting of ſutlers,
cooks, confectioners, actors' ſingers, lewd women, *&c.* whoſe only buſineſs was to
promote luxury and effeminacy, was four times as numerous as the army; for they
are ſaid by *Athenæus* to have amounted to three hundred thouſand perſons and
upwards; however, fortune favoured *Antiochus* in his firſt enterprizes. Upon the
report of his march, the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians* flocked to him from all parts,
acknowledging him for their lawful ſovereign. As they had been accuſtomed to
live under the government of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander the Great*, they could not
brook a foreign yoke. *Antiochus*, depending upon the affection of thoſe who came
daily to join him, advanced into *Babylonia* and *Media*, and being met by *Indates* the c
Parthian general, on the banks of the *Lycus*, intirely defeated him, as he did after-
wards *Phrahates* himſelf in three ſucceſſive battles; by which means he recovered all
the provinces which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, except *Parthia*
alone, where *Phrahates* was reduced within the narrow bounds of the ancient *Parthian*
kingdom. *John*, the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, followed *Antiochus* in this expedition,
and is ſaid by *Euſebius* and *Sulpitius Severus* to have penetrated as far as *Hyrcania*,
and to have taken the ſurname of *Hyrcanus* from the victories he gained over that
people. Be that as it will, he certainly had a great ſhare in all victories gained
by *Antiochus*, and, at the end of the campaign, returned to *Jeruſalem*, loaded with
glory and rich ſpoils [x].

The reſt of the army wintered in the eaſt, and, on account of the prodigious
number of the ſoldiers and their attendants, amounting in all to four hundred thouſand
perſons, were obliged to ſeparate, and quarter at ſuch a diſtance from each other,
that they could not, in caſe of any ſudden attack, join in one body for their mutual
defence. The inhabitants, whom they had moſt tyrannically oppreſſed in all the
places where they were quartered, taking advantage of their being thus ſeparated,
conſpired with the *Parthians* to rid themſelves of their troubleſome gueſts, and
maſſacre them all in one day in their ſeveral quarters, before they could come to the
aſſiſtance

[w] Liv. Epit. l. lvii. [x] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2 & 10. & l. xlii. c. 1. Liv. l. lix. Athenæus l. x. c. 12. & l. xii. c. 19 Appian. in Syriac. p. 132, Joseph. l. xiii. c. 16. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1 Oros. l. v. c. 10.

a aſſiſtance of one another; and this they executed accordingly. *Antiochus*, who had kept a body of troops about his perſon, marched to aſſiſt the quarters neareſt him; but was overpowered by numbers, and killed, with all thoſe who attended him. The reſt of the army underwent the ſame fate, and the ſlaughter was ſo general, that out of ſuch a prodigious number of perſons, ſcarce one had the good fortune to return into *Syria*, and carry thither the ſad news of this dreadful overthrow [y]. This is the account which *Juſtin*, *Joſephus*, *Euſebius*, and *Oroſius* give of this prince's death. *Euſebius* adds, that *Phrahates* killed him with his own hand; but *Appian* tells us, that *Antiochus* having loſt a battle, killed himſelf in a fit of deſpair; and *Ælian*, that the unfortunate prince, after the loſs of a battle, threw himſelf headlong from the top of a b high place, that he might not fall alive into the enemy's hands [z]. Some modern writers are of a opinion, that this was the *Antiochus*, of whom mention is made in the epiſtle of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* to their countrymen in *Egypt*, as we read in the beginning of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*. Upon the authority of that hiſtory, they tell us, that *Antiochus* having a mind to plunder the temple of *Nanea*, a goddeſs worſhipped by the *Parthians* (R), declared, that he would marry her, and entering the temple, demanded the treaſures of the goddeſs to be delivered up to him by way of dowry. This ſacrilegious proceeding provoked the prieſts, who, to revenge the affront offered to their deity, killed *Antiochus* with ſtones thrown from the roof of the temple, cut his body in pieces, and threw them out of the temple, which he had profaned. This is c what we read of one of the *Antiochus's* of *Syria* in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* [a]. And indeed neither the time, nor the circumſtances of his death, allow us to apply what is ſaid there to any other; but whether the authority of that writer ought to be preferred in this particular to that of the profane hiſtorians, is what we leave to the deciſion of our readers. We have already obſerved, that there is a great diſagreement among hiſtorians with relation to the death of this prince; which is a ſtrong proof, that herein they were deſtitute of authentic records. *Juſtin* and *Joſephus*, who tell us that he was killed in battle, add, that *Phrahates* would have the pleaſure of ſeeing the dead body of his conquered enemy, which he afterwards cauſed to be put in a ſilver coffin, and ſent into *Syria*, to be there interred among his anceſtors [b]. *Athenæus*, upon the d credit of *Poſidonius* of *Apamea*, an ancient hiſtorian, writes, that *Phrahates*, in beholding the dead body of his enemy, reproached him with his raſhneſs and debaucheries in the following words: *Your wine*, O Antiochus, *and your too great confidence have brought you to this untimely end; you thought you could have ſwallowed the kingdom of* Arſaces *in your great cups* [c]. Among the many captives that fell into the hands of the *Parthians*, were ſome young princeſſes of the blood of the *Seleucidæ*. One of theſe being carried to *Phrahates*, that prince was ſo taken with her charms, that he married her. This princeſs was not the daughter of *Antiochus*, as a modern writer tells us, but of *Demetrius Nicator*, and had attended her uncle *Antiochus* in this expedition, as we read in *Juſtin* [d]. The death of *Antiochus* was univerſally lamented all over the *Syrian* empire, he being a prince endowed with ſome excellent qualities. He was a great e lover of juſtice, always ready to forgive, and greatly inclined to mercy. *Diodorus Siculus* [e] and *Joſephus* himſelf [f] tell us, it was wholly owing to the generoſity and good-nature of *Antiochus* that the *Jewiſh* nation was not intirely cut off and utterly deſtroyed; for after he had reduced the city of *Jeruſalem* to the laſt extremity, he granted the inhabitants a peace upon very reaſonable terms, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, and inclination of the whole army; for they all preſſed him to lay hold of that opportunity, and extirpate the whole nation. They urged againſt them, that they had been driven out of *Egypt*, as an impious people, hated by the gods and abhorred by all mankind; that they looked upon the reſt of human race f as enemies, and therefore would have no communication with them, nor eat, drink, or

[y] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 10. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 374. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Appian. ibid. Athen. l. x. p. 439. [z] Appian. Justin. Joseph. ibid. Ælian. de animal. l. x. c. 34. [a] Maccab. l. i. c. 1. [b] Justin. Joseph. Appian. ibid. [c] Athen. l. i. c. 12. [d] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 10. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxiv. apud Phot. cod. 244. p. 1150. [f] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

(R) Moſt of the interpreters of the ſcripture are of opinion, that the goddeſs, which the *Medes* and *Perſians* called in their language *Nanea*, was the ſame with the *Diana* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. Of this *Luther* and *Melanchthon* were ſo fully convinced, that, in the verſion of the bible which they publiſhed, they put *Diana* inſtead of *Nanea*.

or freely converſe with any except thoſe of their own ſect; that they did not adore the ſame gods, but had laws, cuſtoms, and a religion quite different from that of all other nations; on which conſiderations they well deſerved to be treated with the utmoſt contempt, to be hated and abhorred by all nations, and utterly extirpated as declared enemies to all mankind. But notwithſtanding theſe ill-natured inſinuations, *Antiochus* being touched with a generous compaſſion for the unhappy city, granted the inhabitants more favourable terms than they could ever have expected; nay, he would not even inſiſt upon rebuilding the fortreſs at *Jeruſalem*, finding *Hyrcanus* unwilling to comply with this article, though he might at that time have impoſed upon him and the whole nation what conditions he pleaſed. During the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, he gave another remarkable inſtance not only of good-nature, but even of piety. For *John Hyrcanus* having ſent a herald to him, as the feaſt of the tabernacles approached, begging a truce during the feſtival, he not only complied with his requeſt, but moreover ſent victims and other things neceſſary for the ſacrifices that were to be offered at that ſolemnity [g]. *Plutarch* relates of this prince, that having one day loſt his way in the purſuit of a wild beaſt, he was obliged to paſs a night without any of his attendants, who had taken another rout, in a ſmall cottage, where he met with a poor, but hearty entertainment. At ſupper he ſhewed himſelf very free any eaſy, and as he was deſirous to know the real ſentiments of his ſubjects with reſpect to his conduct, he dextrouſly touched upon that topic; when the maſter of the houſe, not ſuſpecting who he was, told him, that the king, as was commonly believed, meant well, but his immoderate love for the chace made him lay the weight of affairs on others, and repoſe too great a confidence in his miniſters, whoſe actions did not always anſwer the goodneſs of his intentions. This the prince took in good part, and next morning, when the lords of his court arrived at the cottage, he thanked his landlord in their preſence for his kindneſs, but more eſpecially for having told him the truth, which none of theſe, ſaid he, has honeſty enough to do, though I have taken them into my ſervice for that purpoſe. A prince, ſays *Plutarch* in this place, muſt not expect to hear a word of truth at court, or to know what his ſubjects think of him, while he is ſurrounded by courtiers, whoſe chief buſineſs it is to deceive, and perſuade their ſovereign that his ſubjects are well pleaſed with his conduct, that he in like manner may be ſatisfied with theirs [h]. But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

Phrahates upon his being defeated in three ſucceſſive battles by *Antiochus*, had at laſt ſet his brother *Demetrius* at liberty, and ſent him with a body of troops into *Syria* with a deſign to raiſe diſturbances there, and by that means oblige *Antiochus* to abandon *Parthia*, and haſten home to the defence of his own kingdom. But upon the news of the maſſacre, he detached a party of horſe after him with orders to bring him back. *Demetrius* had been apprehenſive of ſome order of this nature, and therefore had marched with ſuch expedition, that he was got over the *Euphrates* into *Syria*, before the party ſent after him could reach the frontiers of that country. In this manner he recovered his kingdom, and made great rejoicings on that occaſion, while all *Syria* was in tears for the loſs of the army in the eaſt, there being ſcarce a family in the whole country, which had not a ſhare in that common calamity [i]. The *Parthian* king, being fluſhed with the late ſucceſs and victory over *Antiochus*, reſolved to carry the war into *Syria*, and revenge the invaſion the *Syrians* had made into his dominions. But while he was making the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, the *Scythians*, whom he had diſobliged, forced him to keep at home, and employ the forces he had raiſed againſt *Syria*, in the defence of his own dominions, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the *Parthians*. Upon the death of *Antiochus*, *Hyrcanus* revolted from the *Macedonians*, and made himſelf abſolute and wholly independent, neither he, nor any of his deſcendants, paying thenceforth to the kings of *Syria* any tribute or homage.

In the mean time, a civil war breaking out in *Egypt* between *Ptolemy Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* his divorced queen, the latter being greatly diſtreſſed by the loſs of a battle, ſent embaſſadors to *Demetrius*, who had married her eldeſt daughter by *Ptolemy Philometor*, to implore his aſſiſtance, and promiſe him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward. *Demetrius* without heſitation accepted the propoſal, marched into *Egypt* with all his forces, and there laid ſiege to *Peluſium*. As *Demetrius* had made himſelf very odious to all his ſubjects, by his tyrannical government and vicious manners, the inhabitants

[g] Diodor. Sicul. & Joseph. ibid. [h] Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 184. [i] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1.

a inhabitants of *Antioch*, *Apamea*, and other cities, taking advantage of his abſence, raiſed a rebellion againſt him. This forced *Demetrius* to abandon the ſiege, and return by long marches to his own dominions; ſo that *Cleopatra*, being deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, was forced to leave *Egypt*. Upon her flight *Phyſcon*, having without much trouble ſettled his affairs at home, reſolved to revenge the late invaſion of *Demetrius*, his declared enemy. The *Syrians* were quite tired out with the tyranny of a prince, whom a nine years captivity had rendered ſtill more wild and inſupportable. *Phyſcon* therefore, taking advantage of this general averſion, ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called *Alexander Zebina*. He was the ſon of a pawn-broker of *Alexandria*; but pretending to be the ſon of *Alexander Balas*, under that title laid claim to
b the crown of *Syria*, *Phyſcon* furniſhing him with an army to take poſſeſſion of it (S). On his arrival in *Syria* multitudes flocked to him, without examining the juſtice of his pretenſions, or caring whom they had for king, provided they got rid of *Demetrius*, whoſe tyranny they could no longer bear [k]. That prince, though deſerted by moſt of his ſubjects, ſtill ſupported himſelf with a ſmall army. At length the two rivals came to a battle in the neighbourhood of *Damaſcus* in *Cœle-Syria*, in which *Demetrius* was intirely defeated, and moſt of his army cut in pieces. The fugitive king made the beſt of his way with a ſmall number of faithful ſervants to *Ptolemais*, where his wife *Cleopatra* then was. But ſhe ſtill retaining her former reſentment againſt him for his marrying *Rhodaguna*, ordered the gates to be ſhut againſt him. Whereupon the unhappy prince having now no reſource in his misfortunes, but the city of *Tyre*, where was a temple which his brother *Antiochus* had made a place of refuge, he imbarqued at *Ptolemais*, and ſailed thither, thinking that under the
c protection of a place ſanctified by religion, he might ſafely wait for a turn of fortune. But he was ſcarce landed, when the traitor, to whom he had committed the government of that city, cauſed him to be put to death, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign after his return from *Parthia* (T) [l]. Upon his death *Cleopatra* retained a ſmall part of the kingdom, and *Zebina* reigned over all the reſt; and for the better ſecuring himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the crown, he entered into a ſtrict alliance with *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*, who, as an able ſtateſman, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, greatly increaſed the power of the nation, which he governed [m] (U).

Seleucus,

[k] JUSTIN. ibid. [l] JUSTIN. ibid. [m] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

(S) *Joſephus* tells us (106), that the *Syrians*, not being any longer able to bear the tyrannical oppreſſions of *Demetrius*, deſired *Ptolemy Phyſcon* to give them another king of the race of the *Seleucidæ*; and that *Phyſcon* laying hold of this opportunity to be revenged on *Demetrius*, ſent *Zebina* into *Syria* at the head of a formidable army. This *Zebina* was, according to *Juſtin*, the ſon of one *Portarchus*, a pawn-broker of *Alexandria*; but to conceal the meanneſs of his extraction, he gave out that *Antiochus Sidetes* had adopted him, and that in virtue of this adoption he had an unqueſtionable right to the crown. This fable was with great care and induſtry ſpread by *Ptolemy*, and credited by the populace, who only wanted a pretence to authorize their revolt. While all things ſeemed to favour the new king, the body of *Antiochus* incloſed in a ſilver coffin was brought to *Antioch* by order of *Phrahates*; and the grief *Zebina* expreſſed, with the artful tears he ſhed at the ſight of the dead body, confirmed the people in their belief of his pretended adoption. This is the account which *Juſtin* gives us of this impoſtor. But *Porphyrius* ſays, that he was ſent into *Syria* by *Phyſcon* as the ſon of *Alexander Balas*, and that he was from him called *Alexander*, though the *Syrians* gave him the ſurname of *Zebina*, becauſe he was generally believed to be one of *Ptolemy*'s ſlaves, that word in the *Syriac* tongue ſignifying *bought* or *redeemed* (107).

(T) There is a great diſagreement among authors as to the manner of his death. *Porphyrius* ſays, that he was killed at *Tyre*, while he was going on board a ſhip with a deſign to ſeek for ſhelter ſomewhere elſe; *Joſephus*, that he was taken priſoner by his rival, and that the hardſhips he ſuffered in his captivity put an end to his life; *Livy* and *Appian*, that he was killed by the expreſs command of his wife *Cleopatra*. That he was killed at *Tyre* is certain, and that the *Tyrians* were acceſſary to his death, is very probable; for from this very year they began a new epoch, as appears from *Euſebius* (108); whence ſome have concluded, that for killing *Demetrius* they obtained either of *Cleopatra* or *Zebina* their freedom and liberty to live according to their own laws. In the ſeveral antient inſcriptions mentioned by *Grotius* (109), the city of *Tyre* is honoured with the epithets of *religious*, *ſacred*, and *independent*. Since therefore the epoch of their liberty and independency began in the very year that *Demetrius Nicator* was killed in or near their city, ſome writers have, not without good grounds, conjectured, that their liberty was owing to the hand they had in the death of *Demetrius* (110).

(U) We cannot help obſerving in this place, that in the troubles of *Syria* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſts, though men of unqueſtionable piety, and ſtrict juſtice, never failed to ſide with ſuch princes as offered the moſt advantagious terms for them and their nation, without ever examining whether thoſe who offered them, had any title to the crown or no. It was not hereditary right they minded, but the good of their country; the latter had great weight in their councils, the former none at all; in their opinion, if we may be allowed to judge of their ſentiments from their conduct, that prince alone had

(106) *Joſeph. l.* xiii. *c.* 17. (107) *In Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p.* 227. (108) *Euſeb. in Chron.* (109) *Grotius, p.* 1105. (110) *Vide Usher ad Ann. Mundi* 3878.

Seleucus, the eldeſt ſon of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, being now in the twen- a
tieth year of his age, took upon him the title of king, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome
of his friends, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged in the provinces, which lay next
to that part of *Syria*, that was held by his mother. This raiſed no ſmall jealouſy
in the breaſt of that ambitious woman, who was for reigning alone; and beſides
feared leſt *Seleucus* ſhould in time revenge his father's death, which was generally a-
ſcribed to her. To free herſelf therefore from this double uneaſineſs, having invited
her ſon to a conference, ſhe killed him with her own hand by plunging a dart into his
breaſt, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king, one year [n].

NOTWITHSTANDING this barbarous and horrid murder, which raiſed an univerſal
indignation all over *Syria*, three of *Zebina*'s captains, *viz. Antipater*, *Clonius*, and b
Æropus, revolted from him to *Cleopatra*; and having ſeized on *Laodicea*, reſolved to
annoy from thence, and by degrees reduce, the neighbouring country. But *Zebina*,
who was of a mild temper, and unwilling to uſe ſeverity or violence, till all other
means had proved unſucceſsful, invited them to return to their duty, promiſing not
only to pardon them, but to reſtore them to their former rank. Upon his parole
they put themſelves into his hands, and he not only generouſly forgave them, but
even repoſed the ſame confidence in them he had done before, without once reproach-
ing them with their deſertion. All authors agree, that this prince was endowed with
many excellent and truly princely qualities. He received all who approached him,
in a moſt affable and engaging manner, was ſlow to puniſh, and always ready to c
pardon, even his moſt inveterate enemies. In ſhort, the good-nature he ſhewed on all
occaſions, and the great deſire he had to pleaſe all, gained him the affections of the *Syri-*
ans to ſuch a degree, that even thoſe who abhorred the impoſture, by which he had
got poſſeſſion of the crown, could not help wiſhing he might long enjoy it [o].

IN the mean time *Cleopatra*, thinking it neceſſary for her intereſt to have one, at
leaſt, with the name of king to give countenance to the authority, by which ſhe
governed, recalled her other ſon, by name *Antiochus*, from *Athens*, whither ſhe had
ſent him for the benefit of his education. He no ſooner arrived, then ſhe declared
him king of *Syria*, but allowed him no more than the bare title; all the authority
ſhe kept for herſelf, the prince, as he was then quite unexperienced, and under d
twenty years of age, ſuffering her for ſome time to rule without controul. To diſtin-
guiſh this from other *Syrian* princes of the ſame name, he is generally called *Grypus*,
a ſurname taken from his aquiline noſe. *Joſephus* and *Porphyrius* ſtile him *Philometor*,
but on his medals he bears the name of *Epiphanes* [p].

AS *Zebina* had been put in poſſeſſion of the greater part of *Syria* by troops ſent him
out of *Egypt*, *Phyſcon* inſiſted upon the doing him homage for his new dominions, and
paying an annual tribute to the crown of *Egypt*, as an acknowledgment of his depen-
dence; which *Zebina* refuſing to comply with, *Phyſcon*, coming to an agreement
with

[n] LIV. Epiſt. l. lx. OROSIUS, l. v. c. 2. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. JUSTIN. ibid. PORPHYR.
ibid. p. 227. [o] DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 377. [p] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20.
in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 277.

had right to govern, who governed well. For in what other manner can we account for the conduct of *Jonathan*, *Simon*, and *John*, *Hyrcanus*? *Jonathan* ſupported to the utmoſt of his power *Alexander Balas*, a notorious impoſtor and uſurper, againſt *Demetrius Soter*, who was undoubtedly veſted with all the right which birth can give to a crown. But *Balas* was like to govern better, and therefore in the opinion of the virtuous high-prieſt had a better title to govern. If *Jonathan* believed the claim of *Demetrius* better grounded, he was guilty of the greateſt injuſtice and diſhoneſty in aſſiſting his rival to drive him from the throne, and in putting many thouſands to the ſword for no other reaſon, but becauſe they refuſed to abandon that prince, and join his competitor. On the other hand, if *Balas* had, in the opinion of *Jonathan*, a more juſt title to the crown, as he muſt have had in whatever it was grounded, we muſt own there is ſome right which takes place of hereditary right. Nay, the whole conduct of *Jonathan*, of his brother *Simon*, and of *John Hyrcanus*, ſon to the latter, plainly ſhews, that theſe three great luminaries of the *Jewiſh* church and nation acknowledged no ſuch right; but were altogether ſtrangers to a certain doctrine, which generally obtains abroad, and has not been without its patrons even among us. For *Jonathan* not only eſpouſed with great warmth the cauſe of *Balas* againſt *Demetrius Soter*, but with the ſame zeal ſupported *Antiochus Theus*, the ſon of *Balas*, in oppoſition to *Demetrius Nicator*, the ſon of *Demetrius Soter*. *Simon*, who ſucceeded his brother in the office of high-prieſt, was no leſs ſanguine in the cauſe of *Demetrius Nicator* againſt *Antiochus Theus*, than his brother had been in that of *Antiochus Theus* againſt *Demetrius Nicator*. Laſtly, *John Hyrcanus*, when raiſed, upon his father's death, to the high-prieſthood, did not ſcruple to enter into an offenſive and defenſive league with *Alexander Zebina*, another uſurper and impoſtor, againſt *Antiochus Grypus* the ſon of *Demetrius Nicator*, and conſequently by birth the lawful heir to the crown. Is it not manifeſt from hence beyond diſpute, that the heads of the *Jewiſh* nation either acted with the utmoſt injuſtice, or were quite unacquainted with what we call hereditary right?

with *Cleopatra* his niece, gave his daughter *Tryphæna* in marriage to her ſon *Grypus*, and ſent a conſiderable army into *Syria* to drive from the throne the perſon he had a few years before placed on it. One battle determined the diſpute: *Zebina*'s army was defeated, and he forced to ſave himſelf by flight in *Antioch*. There, as he was in great want of money, he allowed his ſoldiers to ſeize on the rich furniture of the temple of *Jupiter*, having no other means to pay them their arrears; the ſtatue of victory, which was of maſſy gold, he took for himſelf, ſaying that *Jupiter* had promiſed him victory. Hereupon the citizens, taking up arms in defence of their temples, fell upon him unexpectedly, and drove him with great ſlaughter of his men out of the city. In the mean time the united forces of *Grypus* and *Phyſcon* coming up, his army diſperſed, not being in a condition to venture a ſecond engagement. *Zebina* himſelf embarqued on a ſmall veſſel, which he found ready to ſet ſail for *Greece*; but being taken in his paſſage by a pirate, he was delivered up to *Grypus*, and by him put to death in the fourth year of his reign [q]. *Joſephus* ſays, that he was killed in a battle [r]; and *Porphyrius*, that upon the loſs of his army he put an end to his life by poiſon, in the fourth year of the hundred and ſixty-fourth *olympiad* [s].

Grypus, being thus delivered from a troubleſome rival, began to take on him the authority, as well as the name, of king. *Cleopatra* could not brook this diminution of her power and grandeur; and therefore reſolved to cut off *Antiochus*, as ſhe had before done *Seleucus*, and call to the crown another ſon ſhe had by *Antiochus Sidetes*; under whom, he being an infant, ſhe hoped to rule, without controul, for many years, and thereby fix herſelf ſo on the throne, that her ſon ſhould be intirely dependent on her. With this view the wicked woman, having prepared a poiſonous potion, offered it to *Grypus* one day as he returned hot and weary from ſome exerciſe. But that prince, having been forewarned of her deſign, pretending reſpect to his mother, deſired her to drink firſt; which ſhe refuſing to do, he called in ſome of the chief lords of his court, and in their preſence told her, that ſhe had been charged with a deſign of poiſoning him, and that the only means ſhe had to clear herſelf from all ſuſpicion of ſo black a crime, was to drink herſelf what ſhe had offered to him. The unhappy woman, having no other evaſion or reſource, was forced to yield. The poiſon had its full operation on her, and in a few minutes put an end to the life of a moſt wicked and ambitious woman, who had been, by her unheard-of crimes, for many years the ſcourge of *Syria*. She had been the wife of three kings of *Syria*, *viz.* of *Demetrius Nicator*, *Alexander Balas*, and *Antiochus Sidetes*, and the mother of four, *viz.* of *Antiochus* by *Alexander Balas*, of *Seleucus* and *Antiochus Grypus* by *Demetrius Nicator*, and of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed the *Cyzicenian*, by *Antiochus Sidetes*. She had been acceſſary to the death of two of her husbands; and as to her children, ſhe had murdered one with her own hand, and would have in like manner diſpatched another, had he not made her wicked deſign fall upon her own head [t].

Upon her death *Antiochus Grypus* enjoyed the kingdom of *Syria* eight years without the leaſt diſturbance; at the end of which a new competitor appeared, and contended with him for the ſovereignty of *Syria*. This was *Antiochus Cyzicenus* his half-brother. For he was the ſon of *Cleopatra* by *Antiochus Sidetes*, and born while *Demetrius* her former huſband was priſoner among the *Parthians*. When *Demetrius* returned, and recovered his dominions, after the death of *Sidetes*, *Cleopatra*, fearing leſt her ſon *Antiochus* ſhould fall a ſacrifice to his jealouſy, ſent him to *Cyzicus*, a city lying on the *Propontis* in *Myſia Minor*, where he was brought up under the care and tuition of *Craterus*, a faithful eunuch, and from thence called *Cyzicenus*, or the *Cyzicenian*. *Grypus*, to whom he gave umbrage, ordered him to be poiſoned; but *Antiochus*, being informed of his deſign, took up arms in his own defence, and at the ſame time laid claim to the crown of *Syria* [u]. Hereupon *Grypus*, who was then preparing to invade *Judæa*, dropped that enterprize, and raiſed what troops he could to ſuppreſs in the firſt place his new rival. *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Phyſcon*, the late king of *Egypt*, had married her brother *Lathurus*; but that prince, though paſſionately fond of her, being obliged by his mother to divorce her and marry his younger ſiſter *Selene*; the divorced queen, being at her own diſpoſal, married *Cyzicenus*, and having raiſed an army in the iſland of *Cyprus*, or, as ſome will have it, gained

[q] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 378. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 2. [r] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. [s] In Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 227. [t] Justin. ibid. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. [u] Just. l. xxxviii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. Porphyr. ibid. p. 227. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 17.

gained over the army, which *Grypus* had there, brought it instead of a dowry to her a new husband. By this means the forces of the two competitors being very near equal, they came to a battle, in which *Cyzicenus*, having the misfortune to be routed, was forced to quit the field, and shut himself up in *Antioch*, which had declared for him. The *Antiochians* seemed disposed to stand by him to the last, and therefore leaving his wife there, as in a place of safety, he privately escaped from thence with a design to raise new forces in other parts, and return with them against *Grypus*. But before he could levy the necessary troops, *Grypus* made himself master of *Antioch*, where he found *Cleopatra* wife to *Cyzicenus*. *Tryphæna*, her sister and wife to *Grypus*, no sooner heard that she was taken, but she earnestly pressed her husband to deliver the captive up to her, that she might have the satisfaction of putting her to death; to such a degree was she inraged against her, though her own sister both by father and mother, for having married her husband's enemy, and furnished him with an army to invade *Syria*. As *Cleopatra* had taken sanctuary in one of the temples of *Antioch*, *Grypus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with his wife's request; nay, he did all that lay in his power to inspire her with more religious and humane sentiments. He urged against her revengeful temper the sanctity of the asylum, where her sister had taken refuge; and told her, that the death of her sister would be of no advantage to them, or prejudice to *Cyzicenus*; that in all the wars, whether domestic or foreign, which he or his ancestors had ever been engaged in, no sort of cruelty had been practised after victory upon women, especially on so near relations; that *Cleopatra* was her sister, and likewise nearly related to himself; and therefore he desired her to speak no more to him on that subject, since he could by no means consent to her being used with any severity, or even touched, while she was in a place of refuge. But *Tryphæna*, instead of yielding to his reasons, became more inraged, imagining that he was not prompted to take the part of that unhappy princess by motives of compassion, but of love; and therefore adding jealousy to revenge, one day in a violent fit of this double passion, she sent a party of soldiers into the temple with orders to kill the unhappy *Cleopatra* in the sacred place. At the sight of the assassins she fled to the altar, and there the soldiers, not being able to tear her from the statue of the God, which she embraced, cut off her arms, and then with a thousand wounds put an end to her life, while she was imploring the god, whose temple they profaned, and uttering with her last breath curses upon the authors of so barbarous a murder [w]. And truly her death did not remain long unrevenged; for *Cyzicenus*, having drawn together another army, came to a second battle with his brother, put his army to the rout, and in the pursuit took the cruel *Tryphæna*, whom he immediately sacrificed to the manes of his murdered wife, by a death which her cruelty well deserved. By this overthrow *Grypus* being driven out of *Syria* retired to *Aspendus*, a city of *Pamphylia*, whence he had the surname of *Aspendius* [x]. But the next year he returned with a great army, recovered *Syria*, and to put an end to the intestine broils, which weakened both parties, consented to a division of the empire, in virtue of which *Cyzicenus* reigned at *Damascus* over *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, and *Grypus* at *Antioch* over all the other provinces [y]. In this peaceful interval both brothers abandoned themselves to a most idle, indolent, and debauched manner of life, wallowing in all sorts of pleasures, and spending the greatest part of their time with lewd women. *Cyzicenus*'s chief delight was to converse with stage-players, rope-dancers, pantomimes, and above all with jugglers, applying himself with great care and assiduity to the practice of their tricks, and intirely neglecting the government of his kingdom and welfare of his subjects. [z].

While the two brothers were thus exhausting their strength in war, or abandoning themselves to the sloth and luxury of peace, *John Hyrcanus*, prince of the *Jews*, increased his power and wealth to such a degree, that he became one of the most powerful princes of his age, being master of all *Judæa*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, and besides of many frontier places in the neighbouring countries. *Cyzicenus* indeed, at the request of the inhabitants of *Samaria*, which city *Hyrcanus* had besieged, attempted to put a stop to his conquests, but was intirely defeated by *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, the two sons of *Hyrcanus*. *Samaria* after this overthrow, and the delivering up of *Scythopolis*, which *Epicrates* the *Syrian* general basely betrayed to *Hyrcanus* for a sum

[w] Just. l. xxxix. c. 3. [x] Justin. ibid. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 62. [y] Porphyr. ibid. [z] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii. l. xxxv. p. 385.

ſum of money, being deſtitute of all hopes of relief, was obliged to ſurrender after having ſuſtained a year's ſiege [a]. Thus was the *Syrian* empire curtailed by degrees, and ſoon brought within very narrow bounds by the inteſtine troubles and diviſions which reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, and occaſioned at laſt the loſs of the empire, as we ſhall ſee anon.

THE peace between the two brothers, *Antiochus Grypus* and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, was not of long continuance; neither of them being ſatisfied with their ſhare of the empire, they began a new war; of which ſeveral cities taking advantage, ſhook off the *Syrian* yoke, and made themſelves free and independent; theſe were *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ptolemais*, and *Gaza*; in others tyrants ſtarted up, uſurping a ſovereign power, while the two kings were waſting their ſtrength againſt each other; thus *Theodorus* cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged the ſovereign lord of *Gadara* and *Amathus*; *Zoilus* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Dora* and *Straton*'s tower; and others of other places [b].

DURING theſe diſtractions *Grypus* was aſſaſſinated by *Heracleon* one of his own ſubjects in the forty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned, according to *Joſephus*, twenty-nine, according to *Porphyrius* twenty-ſix, years [c]. He left behind him five ſons, viz. *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* and *Philip*, twins, *Demetrius Euchæres*, and *Antiochus Dionyſius*. *Seleucus* the eldeſt ſucceded his father, and the reſt all reigned, or attempted to reign in their turns. On the death of *Grypus*, *Antiochus Cyzicenus* ſeized *Antioch*, and uſed his utmoſt efforts to make himſelf maſter of the whole empire. But *Seleucus*, having drawn together a conſiderable army, marched againſt his uncle, and gained a complete victory over him. *Joſephus* tells us, that *Cyzicenus* was taken in the purſuit, and put to death by *Seleucus* [d]; *Trogus* writes, that he was killed in the engagement [e], and *Porphyrius*, that he killed himſelf to avoid falling into the enemy's hands [f], after he had reigned eighteen years. Upon his death *Seleucus* made himſelf maſter of *Antioch* and the whole *Syrian* empire; but did not hold it long. *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Euſebes* from his piety, the ſon of *Cyzicenus*, having made his eſcape out of *Antioch* by the aſſiſtance of a courtezan, when that city was taken by *Seleucus*, fled to *Aradus*, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of *Syria*. From thence he marched at the head of a great army, made up of the ſoldiers who had ſerved under his father, engaged *Seleucus*, and, having cut great part of his troops in pieces, obliged that prince to ſhut himſelf up in *Mopſueſtia*, a city of *Cilicia*, and abandon all the reſt to the mercy of the conqueror [g]. The *Mopſueſtians* at firſt eſpouſed the cauſe of the fugitive prince with great zeal; but ſoon after being provoked by the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded them, they turned their affection into hatred, roſe up in arms, and inveſting the palace, in which he reſided, ſet fire to it, the king and all his attendants periſhing in the flames [h]. *Porphyrius* ſays, he ſaved himſelf from the violence of the flames by voluntary death [i], after a ſhort reign of ſeven months. *Antiochus* and *Philip*, the twin ſons of *Grypus*, to revenge the death of their brother *Seleucus*, led all the troops they could raiſe againſt *Mopſueſtia*; and having taken the city by aſſault, raſed it to the ground, after having put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But on their return being charged by *Euſebes* on the banks of the *Orontes*, and their forces defeated, *Antiochus* was drowned in attempting to ſwim over that river on horſeback. But *Philip* having made a judicious retreat, and kept his forces together, was thereby enabled to diſpute the empire with *Euſebes*. As both maintained on foot great armies, the country was haraſſed in a miſerable manner, and the inhabitants reduced almoſt to beggary [k].

Euſebes, to eſtabliſh himſelf the better on the throne, had married *Selene* the widow of *Grypus*, that politic princeſs having, on the death of her huſband, taken poſſeſſion of ſome provinces of the *Syrian* empire, and provided herſelf with good troops. *Euſebes* therefore, to join her intereſt with his own, married her; which giving offence to *Lathurus* king of *Egypt*, whoſe wife ſhe had been, till his mother, obliging him to divorce her, gave her in marriage to *Grypus*; that prince ſent to *Cnidus* for *Demetrius Euchæres*, the fourth ſon of *Grypus*, who had been brought up in that city, and made him king of *Damaſcus*. As *Euſebes* and *Philip* were engaged in war againſt each other, neither of them was at liberty to oppoſe the new king. For though *Euſebes* had well retrieved his affairs, and conſiderably increaſed his power by his marriage,

[a] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. [b] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 20. JUSTIN l. xxxix. APPIAN. in Syriac. [c] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. PORPHYR. ibid. [d] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. [e] TROGUS. l. xl. in Prolog. [f] PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. p. 227. [g] JOSEPH. TROG. ibid. & APPIAN. p. 133. [h] JOSEPH. TROG. & EUSEB. ibid. [i] PORPHYR. ibid. [k] PORPHYR. & JOSEPH. ibid.

riage, yet *Philip* made his party good againſt him, and at length having drawn him a to a battle, gained a complete victory over him, and obliged him to quit *Syria*, and take refuge among the *Parthians*. By this means the whole *Syrian* empire was divided between *Philip* and *Demetrius* [l]. Theſe two brothers might have long continued in peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom, none of the neighbouring princes daring to attack them ſo long as they were united. But the ambition of *Demetrius* ſoon put an end to that good intelligence; he fell on that part of *Syria* which *Philip* poſſeſſed, and having driven him out of *Antioch*, and taken that city, purſued him as far as *Beræa*, now *Aleppo*, which he cloſely beſieged, in hopes of getting his brother into his power. But *Straton*, who was lord of the place, and greatly attached to the intereſt of *Philip*, called to his aſſiſtance *Zizus*, an *Arabian* king, and *Mithridates*, b a *Parthian* commander; who falling upon *Demetrius* with their united forces, put his army to flight, and having taken him priſoner, ſent him as a preſent to the king of *Parthia*, where he fell into a lingering diſtemper, of which he died. After this victory *Philip* ſent home without ranſom all the *Antiochians*, who had been taken either in the battle, or in the purſuit; which was ſo pleaſing to the inhabitants of that great metropolis, that they welcomed the conqueror on his return with loud acclamations, and conducted him in triumph into the city [m].

Philip had ſcarce got rid of *Euchæres*, when *Euſebes* appeared anew in *Syria*, ſupported in all likelihood by the *Parthian* king, in whoſe dominions he had taken refuge, as we have related above: for he over-ran with great rapidity the *Syrian* c provinces bordering on *Parthia*, which he could not have done without the aid of ſome powerful prince, and in thoſe quarters none but the king of *Parthia* could lend him any aſſiſtance. *Philip* haſtened to ſuppreſs him; but while he was engaged in the north of *Syria* againſt one rival, another unexpectedly ſtarted up in the ſouth. This was *Antiochus Dionyſius* his brother, the youngeſt of the five ſons of *Grypus*, who, taking advantage of *Philip*'s abſence, ſeized on *Cœle-Syria*, and choſe *Damaſcus* for the capital of his new kingdom [n]. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he engaged very imprudently in a war with *Aretas* king of *Arabia Petræa*, leaving his dominions at the the mercy of his brother *Philip*, who in his abſence made himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus* by the treachery of *Mileſius*, who commanded in the caſtle. d But that prince not rewarding the traitor as he expected, the firſt time *Philip* went abroad, *Mileſius* on his return ſhut the gates againſt him, and kept the place for *Dionyſius*, and delivered it up to him on his return out of *Arabia*. Hereupon *Philip* retired, and on his retreat *Antiochus* returned into *Arabia* to renew the war there. In this ſecond expedition he took his rout through *Judæa*, which giving umbrage to *Alexander Jannæus*, prince of the *Jews*, he endeavoured to ſtop his march by drawing lines beween *Joppa* and *Antipatris*, that being the only way he could march his army. Theſe lines were twenty miles in length, and fortified with a wall and wooden towers at proper diſtances. But all this was to no effect; for *Antiochus*, having ſet fire to the towers, and obliged the *Jews* to retire, broke through the lines, and purſued his march without farther moleſtatation into *Arabia*, where he was ſurprized in a diſadvantagious poſt by *Aretas*, and cut off with the greateſt part of his army. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter had no better fate; for having retired after the battle to the village of *Cana*, they all periſhed there for want of proviſions. Upon the death of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, a city in that neighbourhood, attempted to make himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus*. But the inhabitants, bearing an utter averſion to him, choſe rather to call in *Aretas*, by whom their king and their army had been lately cut off, than to ſubject themſelves to *Ptolemy*. Accordingly having no other reſource, for they hated *Philip* more than *Ptolemy* himſelf, they ſent for *Aretas*, and made him their king. This prince was no ſooner f ſettled in the ſovereignty, but he undertook an expedition againſt the *Jews*, and defeated *Alexander Jannæus* in a pitched battle near *Addida*. But ſoon after this victory a peace concluded between the contending parties, put a ſtop to all further hoſtilities [o].

The *Syrians* being quite exhauſted, and tired out with the continual wars carried on in their country by the ambitious and turbulent princes of the race of *Seleucus*, and ſeeing no end of the devaſtations, ſlaughters, and other calamities which attended their

[l] Joseph. l. xiii. c. 21. Porphyr. ibid. [m] Joseph. ibid. & de bello Judaic. l. i. c. 3.
[n] Justin. l. xl. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. & Mithridatic. Joseph Antiquit. ibid. [o] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. & de Bell. Judiac. l. i. c. 1.

a their inteſtine diviſions, reſolved at laſt to exclude them all, and ſubmit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the miſeries of a civil war, and reſtore tranquillity to their country. They firſt caſt their eyes on *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*; but it was feared his quarrels with *Rome* might bring a new war upon *Syria*. Some propoſed *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; but this propoſal was rejected, by reaſon the *Egyptians* had always been declared enemies to the *Syrians*. They therefore pitched on *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, and ſent embaſſadors to acquaint him with the reſolution they had taken. *Tigranes* agreed to it, came into *Syria*, took poſſeſſion of that kingdom, and reigned there eighteen years in great tranquillity; the firſt fourteen of which he governed it by *Megdates* his lieutenant, till he was obliged to b recall him, with the troops he had under his command, to make head againſt the *Romans* [p], as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Armenia*. *Tigranes* no ſooner entered *Syria*, but *Euſebes*, abandoning his dominions, fled into *Cilicia*, where he paſſed the reſt of his life in obſcurity [q]. What became of *Philip* is not known. *Porphyrius* indeed mentions both theſe princes as living near thirty years after *Tigranes* had taken poſſeſſion of *Syria* [r]; but herein that writer was certainly miſtaken, as we ſhall ſhew in a more proper place. *Selene*, the wife of *Euſebes*, retained *Ptolemais* with part of *Phœnice* and *Cœle-Syria*, and reigned there many years without moleſtation, which enabled her to give her two ſons an education ſuitable to their birth. Theſe were *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Aſiaticus*, becauſe brought up in *Aſia*, and *Seleucus Cybioſactes* [s]. While *Selene* reigned at *Ptolemais*, ſome diſturbances happening in *Egypt*, c on account of the averſion which the people had conceived againſt *Alexander* their king, that princeſs put in her claim to the crown, as being ſiſter to *Lathurus*; and ſent her two ſons to *Rome* to ſolicit the ſenate in her behalf. The *Romans* kept them there two years, giving them all the time hopes of ſucceſs in their negotiation; but with no other view than to oblige *Alexander* by this means to buy at a dearer rate the favour and protection of the ſenators. And accordingly, when he had ſpent all the treaſures he was maſter of in bribing the ſenate, he was at laſt confirmed in the kingdom, and the young princes ordered to return home [t]. *Antiochus* the eldeſt reſolved to paſs through *Sicily*, being deſirous to ſee the curioſities of that celebrated d iſland, and eſpecially the city of *Syracuſe*. While he ſtaid there, he met with an inſult, which ſhews how much *Rome* was corrupted in the times we are writing of, and what rapines and depredations were committed in the ſight of the world by the magiſtrates ſent by the republic to govern the unhappy provinces. The misfortune of young *Antiochus* is related at length, and ſet out in its proper light by *Cicero* [u]. *Verres*, ſays he, who was at that time prætor in *Sicily*, hearing that *Antiochus* was at *Syracuſe*, and being at the the ſame time informed that he had along with him a great deal of gold and ſilver plate, many valuable jewels, and rich moveables, was tranſported with joy, as if ſome rich inheritance had unexpectedly fallen to him. Upon the prince's arrival he ſent him a preſent of wine, oil, flour, *&c.* for the uſe of his e numerous retinue, and ſome days after invited him to an entertainment; on which occaſion the prætor diſplayed all his coſtly furniture, his palace being magnificently adorned, and the tables ſet off with veſſels of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip; for of theſe *Verres* had great ſtore. The banquet was truly noble, and worthy of ſo great a gueſt, the prætor having ſpared no expences on ſuch an extraordinary occaſion. The prince was greatly taken with the elegancy and politeneſs of the *Roman* governor, and highly pleaſed to ſee himſelf honoured by an officer of the republic in ſo eminent a manner. To ſhew his acceptance, he invited *Verres* to an entertainment in his turn, expoſing to public view an incredible number of gold and ſilver veſſels, cups richly ſet with jewels, moveables of all ſorts of an ineſtimable value, and amongſt f other things a wine-veſſel cut out of one precious ſtone, and of ſuch a ſize, that nothing like it had ever been ſeen. *Verres*, greatly ſurprized at ſuch a pompous and magnificent appearance, took each of the veſſels into his hand, viewed, praiſed, and admired them, the king expreſſing great joy that the prætor of the *Roman* people ſhould be ſo well pleaſed with his entertainment. *Verres* returning home, ſent next morning two of his domeſtics to the prince, deſiring he would let him have for a day or two ſome of the fineſt veſſels he had ſeen at his houſe, under pretence of ſhewing them to his workmen. *Antiochus*, without the leaſt difficulty or diſtruſt, complied with his requeſt;

[p] Justin. l. xl c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 118, 119. [q] Justin. l. xl. c. 2. Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 243. [r] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. [s] Cic. in Verr. Act. 4. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. [t] Cic. ibid. [u] Cic. ibid.

requeſt; and then the prætor ſent again, begging he would truſt him only for a few a
hours with the large veſſel made of a ſingle precious ſtone, that he might examine it
more exactly, and ſatisfy his curioſity more at leiſure. The prince at his requeſt ſent
that alſo. *Verres*, whoſe avarice had no bounds, ſeeing young *Antiochus* ſo pliant
and complaiſant, did not ſtop here. The two princes had carried with them to
Rome a branched candleſtick of maſſy gold, no leſs valuable for the exquiſiteneſs of
the workmanſhip, than for the many rich jewels and precious ſtones, with which it
was adorned. With this they intended to preſent *Jupiter Capitolinus*; but his tem-
ple, which had been burnt in the civil wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*, being then
rebuilding, and not finiſhed when they left *Rome*, they carried the preſent back with
them without allowing any one to ſee it, that it might the more ſurprize the city, b
when it ſhould firſt appear in the temple of *Jupiter*; for they deſigned to ſend embaſ-
ſadors with this magnificent preſent, as ſoon as they heard that the ſtatue of the god
was ſet up in his new temple. *Verres*, by ſome means or other being informed of all
this, earneſtly begged the prince to ſend him it, expreſſing a great deſire to ſee it,
and promiſing to conceal it even from thoſe of his own family. *Antiochus* was very
unwilling to comply with the prætor's requeſt, not out of any jealouſy or diſtruſt,
but becauſe he did not care it ſhould be ſeen by any, till it appeared in the capitol.
However, not to diſoblige *Verres*, he commanded his ſervants to carry it to his
houſe, well covered and with all poſſible ſecrecy. The prætor, when he firſt beheld
it, could not help crying out in the greateſt ſurprize, This is truly a preſent worthy c
of a prince, worthy of a king of *Syria*, worthy of the capitol. For in that inimi-
table performance, ſays *Tully*, art ſeemed to vie with the precious materials, and the
ſpectators were not more charmed with the number of the jewels, than with the variety
of the workmanſhip, Beſides, it was of ſuch an extraordinary ſize, continues the
ſame author, as plainly diſcovered that it was not intended for the palace of a man,
but for a ſtately temple of ſome god. The officers of *Antiochus*, having given the
prætor full time to conſider it, were preparing to carry it back, when he deſired them
to leave it with him, that he might examine it more at his leiſure, which they did
accordingly. The prince was not at firſt alarmed, nor entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion
of *Verres*; but having for three ſucceſſive days ſent to demand it, and the prætor d
always promiſing to return it the next day, he began to be uneaſy, and at laſt applied
to him in perſon. *Verres* received the prince with great marks of eſteem and affe-
ction, and was not even aſhamed to beg of him the preſent, which, as he had known
from *Antiochus* himſelf, was deſigned for the great *Jupiter* and the *Roman* people.
Antiochus, ſtruck with amazement at this unexpected demand, could not for ſome
time return any anſwer; but at length recovering from the ſurprize he was in, he told
Verres with great politeneſs, that he was ſorry he could not gratify him, ſince he was
bound by a vow he had made, to conſecrate the candleſtic to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.
Verres did not acquieſce to this anſwer, but with an unparallelld impudence replied,
that *Jupiter* would be as well pleaſed with ſuch another, which might be finiſhed be- e
fore the temple could be in a condition to receive ſo valuable an ornament. But the
prince begged *Verres* anew to excuſe him, alledging the judgment, which the many
nations that had been concerned in the workmanſhip of that gift, and knew for
whom it was deſigned, would paſs upon ſuch an action; they would look upon
us both, ſaid he, as guilty of ſacrilege, and conſider us in the ſame light, as if we
had plundered the temple of *Jupiter*. Hereupon *Verres* began to abuſe and threaten
him even with death, ſince he had him in his power, if he did not immediately make
over to him both the golden candleſtick and the other precious veſſels which he had
ſent to his houſe. But his menaces being of no more weight with *Antiochus* than his
intreaties, the rapacious prætor commanded him to depart the iſland before ſun-ſet. f
Hereupon the prince, withdrawing to the market-place, acquainted, with tears in his
eyes, the multitude that flocked to hear him, with the unjuſt and ſcandalous treatment
he had met with from the prætor; he declared, calling the gods to witneſs, that
Verres had robbed him of a golden candleſtick of an ineſtimable value, which was
deſigned for the capitol, as a laſting monument in that auguſt temple of his alliance
and amity with the *Roman* people; he proteſted, that he was not concerned for the
loſs of many gold and ſilver veſſels, ſet with precious ſtones, and of other valuable
effects, which the avaricious prætor detained with the moſt flagrant injuſtice; but to
ſee himſelf thus by violence deprived of a preſent which he had deſigned for the
great *Jupiter* of the capitol, was a misfortune and an affront, which he could not
well

a well brook, *&c.* In the cloſe of his ſpeech calling upon the *Roman* citizens, who were there preſent, and *Jupiter* himſelf, to witneſs the ſincerity of his heart and the piety of his intentions, he offered and conſecrated anew the preſent which the prætor had in his cuſtody, to the great *Jupiter* of the *Romans* [w]. Thus was a prince with the moſt crying injuſtice abuſed, a gueſt plundered, and an ally and friend of the *Roman* people with the higheſt indignity expelled the province by the chief magiſtrate ſent thither by the republic to adminiſter juſtice. The ſcandalous behaviour of *Verres* was publickly known, not only in *Sicily* and all over *Aſia*, but even at *Rome*; and nevertheleſs the injured prince could never receive the leaſt ſatisfaction for the affront, or reparation for the loſs he had ſuffered, *Verres* having gained by rich preſents many b powerful protectors at *Rome*, who were not aſhamed to patronize ſo notorious a robber, and ſcreen him againſt the juſt proſecution of their plundered ally. But to return to our ſubject:

Selene finding on the return of her two ſons from *Rome*, that her ſolicitations for the kingdom of *Egyyt* had proved unſucceſsful, attempted to inlarge her dominions in *Syria*, and prevailed upon many cities to revolt from *Tigranes*, and ſide with her. This brought the king of *Armenia* upon her with all his forces; he entered *Syria* at the head of five hundred thouſand men, and having obliged *Selene* to ſhut herſelf up in *Ptolemais*, laid ſiege to that place, reduced it, and having got the princeſs into his power, cauſed her to be put to death at *Seleucia* in *Meſopotamia*, whither he had c carried her on his return into *Armenia* [x]. She was the daughter of *Ptolemy Phyſcon* king of *Egypt*, and had been at firſt married to *Ptolemy Lathurus* her brother, but taken from him by her mother, and given to *Antiochus Grypus*; upon whoſe death ſhe married *Antiochus Euſebes* the ſon of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, and had by him her two ſons, *Antiochus Aſiaticus* and *Seleucus Cybioſactes*. *Appian* tells us, that ſhe married *Cyzicenus* himſelf, and after his death *Euſebes* his ſon, and looks upon all the misfortunes, which afterwards befel *Euſebes*, as a juſt judgment of heaven upon him for this inceſt [y]. But we find no ſuch marriage mentioned by any other hiſtorian, whereas all the ancients ſpeak of her marriage with the other three princes. Upon the death of *Selene*, *Tigranes* governed *Syria* without any diſturbance, till he was obliged to recal d *Megdates* with all the troops he had in that country to aſſiſt him againſt *Lucullus*, who had given him a dreadful overthrow before *Tigranocerta*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Armenia*. *Syria* being by the retreat of *Megdates* left naked, *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, to whom, as the next heir of the *Seleucian* family, that kingdom belonged, took poſſeſſion of ſome provinces of it, and there quietly reigned four years without the leaſt moleſtation either from *Lucullus* or *Tigranes*. But theſe four years are comprehended in the eighteen aſſigned to *Tigranes*; for that prince retained ſome part of *Syria* while *Antiochus* reigned in the other, till the whole was reduced to a *Roman* province. And hence it is, that ſome authors have not ranked *Antiochus Aſiaticus* among the kings of *Syria*. However, he ruled over part of that kingdom till *Pompey* having e conquered *Tigranes* impoſed on him the hard condition of returning into *Armenia*, and confining his ambition to the ancient inheritance of his forefathers. As *Syria* was then without a governor, and no body had more right to rule there than *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, that prince appeared before *Pompey*, repreſented to him the misfortunes of his family, urged the juſtice of his claim, and intreated the *Roman* not to exclude him from a crown, which his anceſtors had long wore with great glory. But as the *Romans* in the age we are writing of had the bare appearance and outſide of virtue, and did not ſcruple committing the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice to promote the intereſt of their republic, *Pompey* gave *Antiochus* this haughty and diſobliging anſwer: Don't imagine you ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of a kingdom, which you have f abandoned. The *Syrians* deſpiſe you, and will not ſuffer you to reign over them. Why did you not wreſt the ſceptre out of the hands of *Tigranes?* You have lived eighteen years in dread of the enemy, whom I have conquered. What pretence then have you to deprive us conquerors of the right we have acquired by our victory? The kingdom of *Syria* belonged to *Tigranes*, and now that he is conquered, all his rights devolve upon us. The *Syrian* empire therefore now appertains to *Rome*, and our republic can defend it better than you from the incurſions of the *Jews* and *Arabians* [z]. Thus *Pompey* made uſe of his victories to oppreſs an unfortunate prince, rob

[w] Cic. in Verr. act. 6. n. 61—67. [x] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Plut. in Lucullo. Strab. l. xvi. p. 743. [y] Appian. in Syriac. [z] Appian. in Syriac. & Mithridat. Dion. Cass. l. xxv. Justin. l. xl. c. 2. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

rob him of his inheritance, and by the moſt notorious piece of injuſtice reduce *Syria* to a *Roman* province. *Antiochus*, thus ſtript of his dominions, ſpent the reſt of his life in obſcurity. Some writers tell us, that *Pompey* gave him *Commagena*; but theſe confound *Antiochus Aſiaticus* with *Antiochus Commagenus*, as is manifeſted from *Strabo*, *Appian*, *Dion Caſſius*, *Juſtin*, &c. As for *Seleucus Cybioſactes*, or, as others write it, *Cybiotates*, he outlived his brother; for *Dion Caſſius* [a], *Strabo* [b], and *Porphyrius* [c] tell us, that the *Alexandrians*, having placed on the throne of *Egypt Berenice*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Auletes*, ſent an ambaſſy into *Syria*, inviting *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, who by his mother *Selene* was the next male-heir to that crown, to come into *Egypt*, and marrying *Berenice* to reign in conjunction with her. But the embaſſadors finding that he was dead, and thereupon returning home, the *Alexandrians* ſent another embaſſy to *Seleucus* his brother with the ſame propoſal; which he readily accepting reigned in *Egypt*, till *Berenice* growing weary of him cauſed him to be put to death (W). In him

[a] Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. [b] Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. [c] Porphyr. ibid.

(W) *Porphyry*, as quoted by *Euſebius*, tells us, that *Philip* the ſon of *Grypus* was invited by this ſecond embaſſy into *Egypt*. But as no mention has been made of him in hiſtory ſince his ſeizing on *Damaſcus*, which happened ſix and twenty years before the time we are now writing of, he was in all likelihood dead, when the *Egyptian* embaſſadors arrived in *Syria*. Beſides, if he had been now alive, he would have been too far advanced in years for the propoſed marriage, it being now forty years ſince he ſucceded his father in the kingdom of *Syria*. The perſon therefore, whom this ſecond embaſſy called out of *Syria* into *Egypt* after the death of *Aſiaticus*, muſt have been his younger brother; for he was invited thither as the next heir to the crown, and this the brother of *Aſiaticus* alone could be. Frequent mention is made by the writers of thoſe times of this younger brother of *Aſiaticus*; but none of them acquaint us with his name. However, what *Strabo* relates of *Seleucus Cybroſactes* or *Cybioſactes* evidently ſhews, that he was the perſon we are ſpeaking of. For that writer tells us (111), that *Seleucus Cybioſactes* was invited into *Egypt* to marry *Berenice*, and that he was of the *Seleucian* family; both which things put it beyond doubt, that this *Seleucus* was the younger brother of *Aſiaticus*, ſince upon the death of the latter, his younger brother was the only ſurviving perſon of the *Seleucian* family; and therefore in him ended, as we have related, the illuſtrious race of *Seleucus Nicator*.

That nothing may be wanting which can give us any light into the hiſtory of *Syria*, before we diſmiſs this ſubject, we ſhall give our readers a ſuccinct account of the *Syrian* coins, which have been tranſmitted to us, and repreſent the princes, who have reigned in *Syria*, according to the order of their ſucceſſion to the crown. And to begin with thoſe of *Seleucus Nicator*, founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire; two different coins of that prince have reached us, whereof the firſt repreſents him with a lion's ſkin on his head, and the ſecond with the ſame ſkin and the wing of ſome bird covering his ear. The *Macedonian* kings, eſpecially *Amyntas*, *Philip*, and *Alexander the Great*, are commonly repreſented with the ſkin of a lion on their heads, imitating therein *Hercules*, from whom they pretended to derive their pedigree. The captains of *Alexander*, when they uſurped the ſovereign power in their reſpective governments, aſſumed, in their coins, the ſame enſigns and ornaments which that conqueror had uſed, as if they had been his lawful heirs and ſucceſſors. The wing, which we ſee in the ſecond medal, is a ſymbol of diſpatch, quickneſs, and expedition, without which no great exploits can be atchieved. On the reverſe of the firſt medal *Jupiter* is repreſented ſitting, and holding in his right hand a victory, and in his left a ſpear reverſed, to ſhew, that after victory clemency is to be uſed towards the conquered, and not arms or ſeverity. The reverſe of the ſecond medal exhibits a butting ox, and no doubt alludes to what *Appian* relates of *Seleucus Nicator*, viz. that he once ſeized by the horns, and ſtopt in his full career, a wild ox, which *Alexander* was about to ſacrifice, after he had broken the ropes by which he was held by many perſons, and made his eſcape. Both medals bear this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, that is, *of king* Seleucus, as does alſo a third of the ſame prince, repreſenting the head of *Jupiter* crowned with laurel, and on the reverſe a chariot drawn by four elephents, and drove by *Pallas* darting with her right hand a javelin, and holding a ſhield in her left. *Jupiter* is frequently expreſſed on the *Macedonian* and *Syrian* coins, as being the pretended father of *Alexander*, from whom the kings of *Syria* derived all their power. *Pallas* was the tutelary goddeſs of *Macedon*; and as to the elephants, *Seleucus* far excelled all the princes of his age in the number he conſtantly kept of thoſe warlike animals; for he brought four hundred and eighty with him againſt *Antigonus*, and had received five hundred from *Sandrocottus* king of *India* before he engaged in that war.

Antiochus Soter, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Seleucus Nicator*, is repreſented with a diadem on his head and a wing above his ear; on the reverſe is *Apollo* holding in his right hand an arrow, and bow in his left with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; that is, *of king* Antiochus. *Seleucus Nicator* pretended to be the ſon of *Apollo*, as we have related in the hiſtory of that prince's reign, and hence it is that we meet with the figure of *Apollo* in moſt of the *Syrian* coins.

The medals of *Antiochus Theus* repreſent that prince with the diadem on his head, and on the reverſe *Apollo* with what the medalliſts call his attributes, *viz.* a bow and an arrow, as in the former coin. Perhaps the medals bearing the figure of *Apollo* were ſtruck by the inhabitants of *Antioch*, who paid a particular worſhip to that god in the neighbouring city or village of *Daphne*.

Seleucus Callinicus, brother to *Antiochus Theus*, is repreſented in the ſame manner, *viz.* with the diadem or royal fillet; on the reverſe is *Apollo* holding in his right hand an arrow, and leaning with his left arm upon his tripos with a laurel crown upon it. We have two other medals of this prince with *Apollo* on the reverſe of one, and a horſe on that of the other: *Apollo* holds an arrow in his right hand, and with his left leans upon his bow; the kings of *Syria* took great delight in horſes, and their cavalry, generally ſpeaking, behaved with great gallantry. Beſides, a horſe is a ſymbol of war, and denotes a warlike

(111) *Strab. l.* xvii. *p.* 796.

him ended the whole race of *Seleucus*; no one of that illuſtrious family being left to ſurvive the loſs of the empire, which they had held, according to *Appian*, two hundred and ſeventy years, according to *Euſebius*, from the hundred and ſeventeenth *olympiad*, the third after the death of *Alexander*, to the third year of the hundred and twenty-fourth, that is, two hundred and fifty-one years [d].

SECT.

[d] EUSEB. in Chron.

warlike people. Over the horſe is a ſtar, which was, as we are told by the antiquaries, the arms of the city of *Aradus*, where this medal perhaps was ſtruck. The medals of *Seleucus Ceraunus* are in every reſpect like thoſe of *Seleucus Callinicus*.

The medals of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, exhibit the head of that prince with the uſual enſigns of royalty, and on the reverſe the figure of a galley, by which ſymbol the *Syrians* repreſented the city of *Tyre*. *Antiochus* made himſelf maſter of that ſtrong and important place at the ſame time that *Ptolemais* was delivered up to him, with forty ſhips that were in the harbour, by *Theodotus* commander in chief of the forces of *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*. The letters which are to be ſeen over the galley are arithmetical characters, and anſwer our numbers 117; whence we learn that this medal was ſtruck in the 117th year of the *Seleucian* æra, which was according to ſome, the 28th, according to others, the 30th year of *Antiochus*'s reign. *Vaillant* ſeems to look upon thoſe medals of *Antiochus the Great* as ſpurious. which bear this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, *of king Antiochus the Great*, ſince the *Syrian* kings appear to have been averſe from aſſuming on their coins ſuch pompous titles.

Seleucus Philopator, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Antiochus*, is repreſented with the ſame ſymbols as his father. The letters ϹΑΡ denote the 136th year of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*, which was the 11th of his reign.

Antiochus Epiphanes, ſo famous in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, is repreſented with the uſual enſigns of royalty; on the reverſe of ſome of his medals we ſee *Apollo* taking with his right hand an arrow out of his quiver, and holding a bow in his left; in others the image of *Jupiter*, armed with a thunderbolt and a ſpear; on all his medals is the following inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, that is, *of king* Antiochus *the appearing god*, or, *of king* Antiochus, *who appears to be a god*. This impious and haughty title was firſt given him, according to *Joſephus* (112), by the *Samaritans*, who wrote a letter to him with this direction.

The medals of *Antiochus Eupator*, the ſon of *Epiphanes*, have on the reverſe a *Jupiter*, ſitting, and holding a winged victory in his right, and a ſpear in his left, with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, that is, *of king* Antiochus Eupator. The youthful look of this prince proves that he was very young when he aſcended the throne, as we have ſhewn in the hiſtory of his reign.

We have no fewer than eight medals of *Demetrius Soter*, the ſon of *Seleucus Philopator*, all bearing the head of that prince, but different ſymbols on the reverſes. On the firſt is a *Jupiter*, ſitting with a victory in his right hand, and a ſpear in his left, with this inſcription; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΣΩΤΕΡΟΣ, that is, *of king* Demetrius Theus Philopator Soter: We have ſpoke of the ſurname of *Soter* in the hiſtory of his reign; but the other appellations are not mentioned by any hiſtorian. On the ſecond is repreſented a victory ſtretching out her right hand, and holding in her left the branch of a palm-tree. The figure of victory on the coins of this prince allude, in all likelihood, to the advantages he gained over *Eupator* and his governor *Lyſias*. On the third is expreſſed a *Mercury*, with the branch of a palm-tree in his right hand, and his caduce in the left. Theſe three coins bear the ſame inſcription, and without them we ſhould never have known that *Demetrius* aſſumed the appellations of *Theus* and *Philopator*; the firſt he probably took in imitation of his uncle *Antiochus*; and the other of his father *Seleucus*. *Mercury* is a ſymbol of peace, and, in all likelihood, alludes here to the tranquillity which reigned ſome time all over *Syria*, after *Demetrius* had conquered and put to death *Eupator* and his governor *Lyſias*. The reverſe of the fourth medal exhibits a galley, the ſymbol of the city of *Tyre*, with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ L. ΔΝΡ. ΤΥΡΙΩΝ, that is, *of king* Demetrius *in the year* (of the *Seleucian* æra) 154, *By the* Tyrians. On the fifth we ſee an *Apollo* ſitting in the apparel of a woman, and holding in his right hand an arrow, and a cornucopia in his left, with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and the letters ΗΝΡ, that is, of king *Demetrius Soter*, in the year of the *Seleucidæ* 158. The ſixth medal bears on the reverſe a galley, with the characters ΘΝΡ and ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ, that is, *in the year* 153. *By the* Sidonians. As *Demetrius* ſent his ſon to *Rome* this year, *Vaillant* conjectures that the *Sidonians* conveyed him thither with their gallies, and on that occaſion ſtruck this medal. Perhaps a galley was the ſymbol of *Sidon* as well as of *Tyre*, the firſt galley, if *Clemens Alexandrinus* is to be credited, having been built inthat city. On the reverſe of the ſeventh medal is a cornucopia with the name of *Demetrius Soter*, and the characters ΑΞΡ, denoting the 161ſt year of the *Seleucidæ*, that is, the year in which *Demetrius* defeated *Alexander Balas*; for that uſurper firſt appeared, according to the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, in the 160th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and was defeated by *Demetrius*, as we read in the profane hiſtorians, the year following. The eighth and laſt medal of this prince has on the reverſe an *Apollo* with an arrow in his right, and a cornucopia in his left, with the name of *Demetrius Soter*, and the letters ΒΞΡ, that is, in the 162d year of the *Seleucian* æra. We read in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, that *Demetrius* began his reign in the 151ſt year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and from this medal it appears that he was ſtill alive in the 162d of the ſame æra; hence we have preferred the authority of *Polybius* (113), who was contemporary with this prince, and writes that he reigned twelve years, to the teſtimony of *Torniellus Bucholcerus*, *Funccius*, *Vigneſius*, and *Gordon*, of whom the three firſt will have him to have reigned only ten years, and the two latter but nine. *Euſebius* (114), *Sulpitius Severus* (115), and *Joſephus* (116), agree with *Polybius*.

The medals of *Alexander Balas* have on one ſide the head of that prince with the diadem, and on the other either *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Pallas*, or *Neptune*. *Jupiter* is repreſented ſitting with a victory in his hand; *Apollo* with an arrow in one hand, and a bow in

(112) *Joſeph. l.* xii. (113) *Polyb. l.* iii. *in fine.* (114) *Euſeb. in Chron.* (115) *Sulpitius Sever. Hiſt. ſacr. l.* ii. (116) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 5.

in the other; *Pallas* with an helmet on her head, a victory in her right hand, and her left leaning on her shield; *Neptune* holding in his right a dolphin, and his trident in the left. Most of the medals of this prince bear this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, ΒΞΡ, that is, *of king Alexander Theopator Euergetes* in the year 162. He assumed the surname of *Theopator*, as pretending to be the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, surnamed *Theos* or *God*. One of the medals of this prince represents his head, together with that of his queen *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Philometor*. On the queen's head is a bushel after the manner of *Isis* and *Serapis*, two *Egyptian* deities. This bushel with the cornucopia hard by it, is a symbol of the happiness which the people promised themselves from the marriage of the king of *Syria* with the daughter of the king of *Egypt*. The dates which these medals bear, are 162, 163, 164, 165, 166. The following year, that is in 167, *Demetrius Nicator*, acording to the history of the *Maccabees*, began his reign; so that our chronology agrees exactly with that of the medals, and of the history of the *Maccabees*, it being manifest from both that *Balas* was killed in the sixth year of his reign. *Eusebius* was therefore certainly mistaken, when he allowed him in his chronology ten years and seven months.

Some of the medals of *Demetrius Nicator*, the son of *Demetrius Soter*, bear on the reverse an eagle, some an anchor, the arms of the *Seleucian* family, others a galley, and some the figure of a woman, commonly believed to be *Astarte*, the goddess of the *Sidonians*; the medals with that figure having been struck by the *Sidonians*, as some conjecture from the legend in *Phœnician* characters. The inscription on the medals of this prince is, *of king Demetrius*, and on one, *of king Demetrius Theus Philadelphus Nicator*. The surname of *Theus* he took in imitation of his father; that of *Philadelphus* was given him for the great affection he had, or rather pretended to have, for his brother *Antiochus*; the appellation of *Nicator* was bestowed upon him by his subjects for having conquered *Alexander Balas*, who was not of the *Seleucian* family. The medals of this prince are dated 167, 168.

Antiochus Theus, the son of *Balas* by *Cleopatra*, is not ranked by some writers among the kings of *Syria*; but on the ancient coins he is represented like the others with the diadem, and honoured with the titles of king *Antiochus, Theus, Epiphanes, Nicephorus*; the surnames of *Theus* and *Epiphanes* he took in imitation of *Antiochus*, the fifth of that name, whose grandson he pretended to be; that of *Nicephorus* or *the victorious* was given him after his victory over *Demetrius*. Some writers exclude him from the number of the *Syrian* kings, because during the short time he lived, *Demetrius*, his rival, kept possession of the greatest part of the empire. The medals represent him very young, and he indeed was not above five years old when he ascended the throne, and was put to death by *Tryphon*'s orders after he had reigned two years. *Funccius* and *Vignerius* will have him to have reigned three years complete, *Gordon, Mercator*, and *Temporarius* four, and *Josephus* writes, that he was put to death in the sixth year of his reign.

Tryphon, having on the death of his pupil usurped the crown, caused some medals to be struck, wherein he stiled himself *king Tryphon*, and *Tryphon the powerful king*; some of these medals have reached our times, and bear on the reverse an helmet, the symbol of war, to which is fastened a large horn, among the ancients a mark of power; near the helmet is a star, the arms of the city of *Aradus*, which shews that the medal was struck there; for the cities, where such medals were coined, are generally expressed either by the initial letters of their names, or by some other mark. Thus a cornucopia stands for *Antioch*, a galley for *Tyre*, the branch of an olive-tree for *Laodicea*, a mitre for *Tripolis*, &c.

The medals of *Antiochus Sidetes*, the brother of *Demetrius Nicator*, express the head of that prince with the usual diadem, and on the reverse an eagle with the branch of a palm-tree and the following legend; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΟΡ. ΙΕΡ. ΑΣΥ. that is, *of king* Antiochus, *in* 174 *at* Tyre *a sacred asylum*. We have mentioned in our history the famous asylum that was at *Tyre*. *Eusebius* tells us, that the privilege of an asylum was granted to the *Tyrians* in the 187th year of the *Seleucian* æra: but this medal, which was struck in the 174th year of that æra, plainly shews that he was therein greatly mistaken. *Sidetes* bears on all his medals the name of *Euergetes*; that of *Sidetes*, or *the hunter*, by which he is generally distinguished in history from the other *Antiochuses*, not seeming to him worthy of being transmitted to posterity. *Patinus* in his account of the medals of the *Syrian* kings is greatly at a loss about those of *Antiochus Euergetes*; *to which of the many* Antiochuses says he, *these medals belong, I leave others to guess*; *for my part, I find no mention made by the ancients of any such king as* Antiochus Euergetes. *Patinus* it seems, had never read *Eusebius*; for *Porphyry*, as quoted by that writer, tells us in express terms, that *Antiochus* the brother of *Demetrius Nicator* was known by the name of *Antiochus Euergetes* (118). The medals of this prince bear different dates, *viz.* 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182. *Buchaierus* and *Famiorarius* had not seen these medals, when they wrote that *Sidetes* reigned only seven years.

Demetrius Nicator, being set at liberty by the *Parthian* king, returned into *Syria*, and reascended the throne upon the death of his brother *Sidetes*, who was cut off with his army by the *Parthians*. All the medals that were struck after the return of *Nicator* represent him with a long beard after the *Parthian* manner, and are dated the 184th, 185th, 186th years of the *Seleucian* æra.

Alexander Zebina is represented on the medals with the diadem, as the other kings of *Syria*, tho' by few of the ancients placed in that number. Most of the coins of this prince were struck at *Damascus* and bear the following dates, 184. 185, 186; some of them have on the reverse an eagle, some a *Bacchus* with his attributes, some a *Jupiter*, and some a *Pallas* armed with a shield and spear. They all bear the same inscription, *viz. of king Alexander*, without any of those pompous titles which the other princes assumed.

Seleucus, the eldest son of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, was scarce seated on the throne, when he was killed by his own mother; hence we have not reckoned him among the *Syrian* kings; neither do we find any mention made of him on ancient coins. His brother *Antiochus*, surnamed *Grypus*, the second son of *Demetrius Nicator* and *Cleopatra*, succeeded him, as we have related. On the medals of this prince, struck in the beginning of his reign, that is, in the 187th, and 190th years of the *Seleucidæ*, we find the heads of *Antiochus* and *Cleopatra* joined together with this inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΘΕΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, *of queen* Cleopatra Thea, *and of king* Antiochus. That ambitious woman assumed the title of goddess or *Thea*, and even placed her own name before that of the king her son. The medals that were coined after the 190th year of the æra we are speaking of, are stamped with the head of *Antiochus* alone, and this inscription, of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the name, or rather nick-name of *Grypus*, which is common among authors, is not to be met with on the medals of this prince. The medals of the

(118) *Euseb. in Chron.*

Septentrio

Occidens

Oriens

Meridies

MARE MEDITERRANEVM

Sinus Syrticus

Syrtis Major

CYRENAICA sive PENTAPOLIS

Apotinmatæ

MARMA

Nasamones

Macæ

Cinyphi

CINYPS REGIO fluvius

Psylli

Marmaridæ

RICA

Oasitæ Nomi

LIBYA DESERTA

Macæ

Tropicus Cancri

Blemmyes

Garamantes

AEGYPTVS seu CYRENAICA

REGIO NVBARVM

AETHIOPIAE

LIMES

Colobi

AETHIOPIA SVPRA AEGYPTVM

Meroe

Insula

Elei seu

Rhizophagi

Ichthyophagi

Troglodytæ

ARABICVS SINVS

ARABIAE FELICIS PARS

ARABIA PETRÆA

PANISTINAE PARS

Idyrmachidæ

Marcotis

HEPTANOMIS

Ammoniacus

Homos

Oasis magna

Oasis parua

Catabathmus magnus

Catabathmus paruus

Nigrum mare

Rubrum mare

Catadupæ

Fons Solis

Fons Matris

Mons Lunæ

Mons Atlas

Nilus

Rhinocolura

Pelusium

Sirbonis palus

Mons Casius

Mons Horeb

Mons Sinai

Bubastus

Memphis

Heliopolis

Babylon

Arsinoe

Hermopolis

Lycopolis

Hypselis

Panopolis

Ptolemais Hermii

Thebæ quæ Diospolis

Apollinis parua Civitas

Elethyia

Ombi

Berne

Berenice

Philoteras minor

Philoteras

Bazium

Primus magna

Primus parua

Nigrita

Napata Ptol.

Meroe

Insula

Astaborus flu.

Bacchi ins.

Diodori ins.

Panis ins.

Aduli

Polyb. Ins.

Ptolemæus Philadelphus

Diosporum portus

Berenices major

Berenices minor

Castellum canis

Primus parua Ptol.

Primus magna Ptol.

Pyramides

Labyrinthus

Lacus Mœris

Lacus Mareotis

Lacus Sirbonis

Lacus Asphaltites

Lacus Mareotis

Lacus Mœris

the other princes, *viz.* of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, *Antiochus Eusebes*, *Demetrius Euchærus*, *Antiochus Dionysius*, and *Antiochus Asiaticus*, contain nothing remarkable, which we have not already taken notice of; and therefore, not to trouble the reader with tedius repetitions, we shall here put an end to this note and history, referring those, who desire to have a more particular account of the *Syrian* coins, to *Foy-Vaillant*'s elaborate history of the kings of *Syria*; whence we have borrowed what we have said relating to this subject.

SECT. V.

The History of Egypt *from the foundation of that monarchy, by* Ptolemy Soter, *to its being made a* Roman *province.*

a BEFORE we proceed to the history of *Egypt* under the *Macedonians*, it will be necessary to exhibit a series of their kings with the years of their respective reigns according to various systems, there being a great disagreement among authors in their chronological accounts of these princes.

Ptolemy's *Canon of the* Macedonian *kings who reigned in* Egypt.

	Years.		Years.
Ptolemy Lagus	20	*Ptolemy Philometor*	35
b *Ptolemy Philadelphus*	38	*Ptolemy Euergetes* II.	29
Ptolemy Euergetes	25	*Ptolemy Soter*	36
Ptolemy Philopater	17	*Ptolemy Dionysius*	29
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	*Cleopatra*	22

A TABLE *of the* Macedonian *kings who reigned in* Egypt, *with the years of their reigns according to* Eusebius.

c *Ptolemy Lagus*	40	*Ptolemy Alexander*	10
Ptolemy Philadelphus	38	*Ptolemy Lathurus* restored	8
Ptolemy Euergetes	26	*Cleopatra* alone 6 months.	
Ptolemy Philopator	17	*Ptolemy Alexander* II.	15
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	*Ptolemy Auletes*	30
Ptolemy Philometor	35	*Ptolemy Dionysius* and *Cleopatra*	4
Ptolemy Euergetes or *Physcon*	29	*Cleopatra* alone	22
Ptolemy Lathurus before his banishment	17		

d wanting some months.

There is no small disagreement among the ecclesiastic writers with respect to the years of these princes reigns, as appears from the following table.

A TABLE

A Table *of the* Ptolemies *of* Egypt, *with the years of their reigns, according to* Clemens *of* Alexandria [a], Epiphanius [b], *and* Nicephorus.

	Acc. to Clem.	Acc. to Eph.	Acc. to Niceph.
Ptolemy Lagus	40	40	40
Ptolemy Philadelphus	27	38	38
Ptolemy Euergetes	25	24	25
Ptolemy Philopator	17	21	17
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	22	26
Philometor	35	34	35
Ptolemy Physcon	29	29	17 and six months.
Ptolemy Lathurus	36	35	18
Ptolemy Dionysius	29	31	30
Cleopatra	22	32	22

We shall now proceed to the history of these princes reigns, where we shall have occasion to examine which of the various tables we have exhibited deserves the preference.

Ptolemy Soter *his extraction.* *Ptolemy*, the first of the *Macedonian* race who reigned in *Egypt* after *Alexander the Great*, was, according to *Arrian* [c], a native of *Eordæa*, a small place in the province of *Mygdonia* in *Macedon*, and called *Lagides*, or the son of *Lagus*, but commonly believed to be the son of king *Philip*; that prince, as *Curtius* [d] and *Pausanias* [e] inform us, having given *Arsinoe*, the daughter of *Meleager* and mother of *Ptolemy*, in marriage, while she was big with child by him, to *Lagus* a *Macedonian* of a mean descent. *Lagus*, unwilling to father another man's child, as soon as his wife was brought to bed, exposed the new-born infant, according to the barbarous custom of those times, to be devoured by wild beasts, or to perish with famine. But an eagle, says *Suidas* [f], touched with that compassion, which found no room in the breast of *Lagus*, performed with wonderful care and assiduity all the duties of a fond parent, sheltering the helpless infant with his wings against the inclemency of the weather, and nourishing it with the blood of his prey instead of milk. *Lagus* being greatly affected with this miraculous adventure, which, no doubt, was invented and divulged for that end, and looking upon it as an infallible prognostic of some exraordinary rise and good fortune, acknowledged the child for his son, and as such brought him up with great care. *Theophylus Antiochenus*, disagreeing with the above-mentioned authors, tells us, that *Ptolemy* was of the royal family of *Macedon*, not by the father, but by his mother *Arsinoe*, who was nearly related to *Philip* the father of *Alexander* [g]. *Lagus*, according to this writer, must have been a man of rank, since he matched into the royal family, and not an obscure or ignoble *Macedonian*, as *Curtius* and *Pausanias* call him [h]. *Theocritus*, in speaking of *Ptolemy*'s family, says [i], that *Alexander the Great* and he were of the same race, being both descended from *Hercules* and *Hyllus*; but does not tell us, whether by the father's side, or the mother's. On the other hand, *Justin*, without taking any notice of his pedigree, writes, that he served first under *Philip*, and afterwards under *Alexander*, in the capacity of a common soldier, and was raised by the latter for his gallant behaviour to a chief command in the army [k]. It appears also from what we read in *Plutarch* [l], that *Ptolemy* was commonly believed to be of a mean descent. For that writer, in speaking of his great moderation and the mildness of his temper, tells us, that one day, after he had heard for a long time an empty and trifling grammarian bragging of his great skill in antiquity, he at length interrupted him with this question, well suited to the erudition of a shallow pedant: *Since you are so well versed in the learning of the ancients, pray tell me, grammarian, off-hand, who was the father of* Peleus. The grammarian answered without hesitation, *Pray, tell me first, O king, if you can, who was the father of* Lagus. This reproachful reflection on the meanness of *Ptolemy*'s extraction raised no small indignation in the courtiers; but

[a] Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat l. i. [b] Epiphan. de Mensur. & ponder. [c] Arrian. l. i. [d] Quint. Curt. l. iv. [e] Pausan in Atticis. [f] Suidas in voce Lagus. [g] Theophyl. Antioch. l. ii. [h] Curt. & Pausan. ibid. [i] Theocritus Idyll. 17. [k] Justin. l. xiii. [l] Plutarch. de ira cohibenda.

a but *Ptolemy*, applauding the humour, and pleased with the freedom of the grammarian, told them, that if it was beneath the dignity of a king to bear a joke, it did not by any means become him to joke upon others; that he had been the aggressor, and therefore had no more right to resent the answer of the grammarian, with whom he had put himself thereby on a level, then the grammarian had to be offended at his question. As for *Ptolemy* himself, he seems to have preferred the name of *Lagides*, or the son of *Lagus*, to all other appellations, since he transmitted it with his own to all his descendants, who from him are called *Ptolemæi Lagides*, or the *Ptolemies* descended from *Lagus*. Nay *Epiphanius* tells us [m], that in honour of his father he instituted a military order, calling it from his name *Lageion*. This, if true, proves the institution of military orders to be of a more ancient date than is commonly
b believed. But whatever was *Ptolemy*'s descent, all the ancients, who write of those times, give him a most extraordinary, character. He was one of *Alexander*'s chief favourites, that conqueror reposing in him the greatest trust, and relying intirely on his wisdom, conduct, and courage, in the execution of his most important projects; for he attended him in all his expeditions, and in most of them distinguished himself in a very eminent manner. He was no less dear to to the soldiers than to the king, being at the same time the prince's favourite, and the darling of the army. At the siege of *Harmatelia* among the *Brachmans* he had the misfortue to be wounded with a poisoned arrow, and must have died of his wound, had not providence intervened in a very extraordinay manner, after all human remedies had proved unsuccessful. For while *Alexander* was one night bemoaning with himself the loss which he had reason to
c apprehend of so great a commander, he fell asleep, and had scarce shut his eyes, when a vast dragon, if *Diodorus* is to be credited [n], appeared to him in a dream, carrying a plant in his mouth, acquainted him with the nature and virtue of that vegetable, shewed him the place where it grew, and instructed him in what manner he should apply it to *Ptolemy*'s wound. The vision no sooner disappeared, but *Alexander* awaking, went to the place which the dragon had pointed out to him, found the plant, and having applied it to the wound, as he had been directed, cured it in a short time, and restored *Ptolemy* in perfect health to the army, who looked upon his death as the greatest misfortune that could befal them. *Strabo*, who speaks of this
d adventure as happening in the country of the *Orites*, says, that *Alexander* learnt the remedy of the natives, and that either he or his flatterers gave out that it had been revealed to him by the gods[o].

Greatly favoured by Alexander, *and loved by the army*

After the death of *Alexander* he was appointed governor of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*; and these provinces he held to his death, and transmitted them with many new acquisitions as an hereditary kingdom to his descendants. But as we have already given a particular account of his wars with *Perdiccas*, *Antigonus*, and *Demetrius* [p], we shall not trespass on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, but only take notice in this place of some particulars relating
c to the reign of this prince, which we have not mentioned elsewhere. He is commonly distinguished from the other *Ptolemeis* his successors by the surname of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which was first given him by the *Rhodians* on the following occasion: *Antigonus* having formed a design of seizing on the island of *Cyprus*, which was then held by *Ptolemy*, demanded of the *Rhodians* a squadron of their best ships for the carrying on of that enterprize; but as those islanders drew great advantages from their trade with *Egypt*, they could by no means be prevailed upon to enter into any measures prejudicial to the interest of *Ptolemy*. This gave no small offence to *Antigonus*, who, to be revenged on the *Rhodians*, sent his son *Demetrius*, with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army, to reduce their island. But *Demetrius*, after having spent a whole year in the
f siege of *Rhodes*, the metropolis of the island, without being able to master it, was obliged to conclude a peace with the *Rhodians* upon honourable terms, and leave them in full possession of their liberties. As they had been enabled by the timely succours sent them by *Ptolemy* to sustain so long a siege, and by his friendly offices happily delivered from it, as soon as the enemy withdrew, to testify their gratitude to their deliverer, they consecrated a grove to him, surrounded it with a stately portico, which from him they called the *Ptolemæum*; and, after having consulted the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, to give the action an air of solemnity, decreed, according to

Appointed governor of Egypt.

Whence called Soter.

[m] Epiphanius de mensur. & ponder. [n] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. p. 617. [o] Strab. l. 14.
[p] See P. 417, 421, 422, 433, 435, 436, of this volume.

to the impious flattery of those times, that divine honours should be paid him in that a
place, and the name of *Soter* or *Saviour* given him for having delivered them from the
calamities of so dangerous a war [q].

People: Alexandria.

Ptolemy, upon his first being appointed governor of *Egypt*, chose the city of *Alexandria* for the usual place of his residence, as did likewise the other kings, who succeeded him; by which means that city became one of the most wealthy and populous of the world. *Ptolemy* granted great privileges to all who settled there, whether *Greeks*, *Jews*, or *Egyptians*, which drew such crowds of new inhabitants out of *Judæa*, that their quarter was one of the largest in the place. For the use of these, as they came by degrees to forget their own language, was made that *Greek* version of the sacred books, which has since been called the *Septuagint*, as we shall see in a more b
proper place. All the ancients speak of *Alexandria* as the next in beauty, wealth, extent, &c. to *Rome*, some calling it *the second metropolis of the world*, others *the city of cities*, *the queen of the east*, *a second* Rome, &c. [r].

Assumes the title of king. Year of the flood, 2695. *Before Christ* 304.

Tho' *Ptolemy* had, from the time he was first vested with the government of *Egypt*, exercised the regal authority, yet he did not assume the title of king till he saw himself firmly settled in his new kingdom, which happened after the retreat of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who had attempted, without success, to invade *Egypt*, that is, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander*. From this time *Ptolemy* in his chronological canon begins to reckon the years of his reign, having hitherto computed by those of *Philip* and *Alexander Ægus*, though the latter had been killed five years before. But this c
fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and his being thereby firmly established on the throne, gave the chronologer a new epoch to reckon by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of our *November*. From this time *Soter* reigned twenty years, agreeable to *Ptolemy*'s canon; and these with the nineteen ascribed by that writer to *Philip* and *Alexander Ægus*, make up the thirty-nine, which authors commonly allow

Makes his son Philadelphus *his partner in the empire.*

Ptolemy Soter to have reigned alone. For in the thirtieth year of his reign, being fourscore and upwards, he placed *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of his sons by *Berenice*, on the throne, declaring him his partner in the empire and successor to the crown after his death. He had several sons by his other wives, and among these *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, or *the Thunderer*; who being the son of *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Antipater*, d
and the eldest of the male issue, looked upon the crown as his birth-right after his father's demise. But *Berenice*, who came into *Egypt* merely as a companion to *Eurydice*, when she first married *Ptolemy*, so charmed that prince with her beauty, that he likewise married her, and in all affairs of importance was intirely governed by her advice. The crafty princess, taking advantage of the ascendant she had gained over her husband, prevailed upon him to settle the crown upon her issue, and exclude *Ceraunus*, to whom, according to the order of succession, it belonged. To prevent therefore the wars which might ensue after his death between the two brothers, he resolved to place the crown on the head of *Philadelphus* in his life-time, and reign in partnership with him. Hereupon *Ceraunus*, quitting the court, retired to *Lysimachus*, e
whose son *Agathocles* had married *Lysandra* the sister of *Ceraunus* both by father and mother. After the death of *Agathocles* he fled to the court of *Seleucus*, who received him in the most obliging manner, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude [s].

In this year, which was the first of the hundred and twenty-fourth *olympiad*, the fortieth of *Ptolemy Soter*'s reign, and the first of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, was finished the famous watch-tower in the island of *Pharos* over-against *Alexandria*, which had been begun by *Ptolemy Soter* some years before. It was commonly called the tower of *Pharos*, and was counted by the ancients among the wonders of the world. It was a large square structure of white marble, on the top of which fires were kept f
constantly burning for the direction of sailors. It cost eight hundred talents, which, if they were *Attic* talents, amounts to one hundred sixty-five thousand pounds sterling and upwards; if *Alexandrian*, to twice that sum. The architect, employed by *Ptolemy* in this wonderful structure, was *Sostrates* of *Cnidus*, who by the following crafty device attempted to usurp the whole glory of it to himself. He was ordered to engrave on it the following inscription; *King* Ptolemy *to the gods the saviours for the benefit of sailors*; but instead of *Ptolemy*'s name he cut out his own in the solid marble, and then filling up

[q] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Plut. in Demet. Pausan. in Atticis. [r] Vide Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Strab. l. xvii. Marcellin. l. xxii. Hegesipp. l. iv. c. 27. [s] Pausan. in Atticis. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2. Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. Appian. in Syriac. 128.

a up the hollow of the letters with mortar, wrote on it the abovementioned inſcription. In proceſs of time the mortar with *Ptolemy*'s name being wore off, the following inſcription appeared; Soſtratus *the* Cnidian, *the ſon of* Dexiphanes, *to the gods the ſaviours for the benefit of ſailors*. This, as it was engraved on the ſolid marble, laſted as long as the tower itſelf [t] (A). This wonderful work has been demoliſhed ſome ages ſince; and now in its place ſtands a caſtle, as our modern travellers inform us [u], called *Farillon*, where a gariſon is kept to defend the harbour, *Pharos* was originally an iſland about ſeven furlongs diſtant from the continent, to which it was afterwards joined by a cauſey, like that of *Tyre*, and commonly called the *Heptaſtadium*, or the ſeven furlong cauſey, it being ſeven furlongs in length. This was the work of *De-*
b *xiphanes*, the father of *Soſtratus*, who compleated it at the ſame time, that his ſon put the laſt hand to the tower. As they were both celebrated architects, *Ptolemy* employed them in theſe and many other works, which he undertook for the adorning and ſtrengthening of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of his kingdom [w]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſcribes the *Heptaſtadium* to queen *Cleopatra* [x]; but as he contradicts therein *Cæſar* in his commentaries, and all the ancients who ſpeak of that great work, his authority is of no weight with us.

The image of Serapis *conveyed to* Alexandria. *Year of the flood* 2016. *Year before Chriſt* 283.

THE ſame year that the tower of *Pharos* and the heptaſtadium were finiſhed, the image of *Serapis* was brought out of *Pontus* to *Alexandria*, after *Ptolemy* had for three years together ſolicited in vain *Scydrothemis* king of *Pontus* to ſend him it. Of this
c deity we have the following account from *Tacitus* [y], *Plutarch* [z], and *Clement* of *Alexandria* [a]. While *Ptolemy*, the firſt of that name, was employed in fortifying *Alexandria* with walls, and adorning it with temples and other ſtately buildings, there appeared to him in his ſleep a young man of extraordinary beauty, and of a ſtature more than human, admoniſhing him to diſpatch into *Pontus* ſome of his moſt truſty friends to bring from thence his ſtatue, and aſſuring him that the city and kingdom, which entertained it, ſhould prove happy, glorious, and powerful; the young man, having thus ſpoke, diſappeared, mounting up into heaven in a huge blaze of fire. *Ptolemy*, ſtruck with the augury and miraculous apparition, diſcovered his viſion to the *Egyptian* prieſts, whoſe profeſſion it was to be ſkilled in things of this nature. But
d as they appeared to be quite ignorant of *Pontus* and all foreign countries, he had recourſe to one *Timotheus* an *Athenian*, of the race of the *Eumolpides*, who at that time had the adminiſtration of ſacred things in *Alexandria*. From him he learnt that in *Pontus* ſtood a city called *Sinope*, and not far from it a temple greatly reſorted to by the natives, and conſecrated to the *Infernal Jupiter*, near whoſe ſtatue ſtood that of a woman commonly believed to be *Proſerpine*. But *Ptolemy* in the mean time applying his mind to other things, intirely neglected the heavenly admonition, till the ſame viſion, appearing to him anew in a more terrible manner, threatened him and his kingdom with certain deſtruction, if he neglected to put in execution the orders that had

[t] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 12. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 791. MEMNON. excerpt. c. 9. & 13. APPIAN. in Syriac p. 128. [u] THEVENOT. part 1. l. ii. c. 1. [w] STRAB l. xvii. p. 792. PLIN. l. v. c. 31. & l. xiii c. 11. CÆSAR. comment. de bell. civil. l. iii. POMPON. MEL. l. ii. c. 7. [x] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxii. c. 16. [y] TACIT. hiſtor. l. iv. c. 83, 84. [z] PLUTARCH. de Iſide & Oſiride. [a] CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. in Protreptic.

(A) *Nicolas Lloyd* tells us out of a manuſcript copy of the *Greek* ſcholiaſt on *Lucian*, whoſe very words he quotes, that this tower was a ſquare ſtructure of a furlong, or ſix hundred foot on each ſide, and ſo high that it was ſeen at the diſtance of an hundred miles (1). *Eben Adris*, an *Arabic* writer, in his book, which the *Latin* tranſlator ſtiles *Geographia Nubienſis*, ſays, that this tower was three hundred cubits, or four hundred and fifty foot high. But both theſe accounts are altogether incredible, and generally looked upon as mere hyperboles. The firſt indeed is contradicted by *Joſephus* (2), who, in ſpeaking of the tower of *Phaſelus* at *Jeruſalem*, deſcribes it as a ſquare building of forty cubits, or ſixty foot on each ſide, and ninety cubits, or an hundred and thirty-five foot high, and adds, that it was like the tower of *Pharos* near *Alexandria*; *but as to its circumference much larger. Joſephus* had often ſeen both theſe towers, ſay ſome writers, and could not be miſtaken herein. Some writers lay great ſtreſs on the teſtimony of *Joſephus* in this place; but in our opinion he depreſſes that wonderful work as much as the others raiſe it; for if the tower of *Pharos* was much leſs than that of *Phaſelus* at *Jeruſalem*, how came the former, and not the latter, to be ſo much celebrated by all the ancients, and even ranked among the ſeven wonders of the world? We are therefore apt to believe, that ſome miſtake has crept into the copy of *Joſephus*; perhaps inſtead of μειων we ſhould read μειζων. However that be, the two former accounts are in our opinion very improbable, ſince allowing it four hundred and fifty foot in height, and ſix hundred in breadth on each ſide, it would have been a far more wonderful work than the great pyramid, which we can hardly believe.

(1) *Vide Nic. Lloyd in Lexic. Geographic. ad vocem Pharus.* p. 914. (2) *Joſeph. de Bell. Judaic. l.* vi.

had been given him. Hereupon *Ptolemy* immediately dispatched embassadors with a rich presents to *Scydrothemis*, who then reigned in *Sinope*, to try whether they could prevail upon him to part with the image. They were ordered to take *Delphos* in their way, and there to consult the oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, which they did accordingly, and received an answer from the god void of ambiguity, viz. *that they should proceed, and carry home with them the image of his father, but leave behind that of his sister.* Upon their arrival at *Sinope* they acquainted *Scydrothemis* with their errand, and at the same time presented to him rich gifts in their masters name. The king accepted the presents, and was inclined to comply with their request, but deterred from following his inclination by the menaces of the people opposing the removal of the statue. In this negotiation three years were spent, *Ptolemy* sparing no intreaties b nor charges, but sending continually new embassadors, loaded with fresh presents both for the king and his favourites. However, *Scydrothemis* continued still irresolute and wavering, till he was warned by a dreadful spectre, which appeared to him in the dead of the night, no longer to retard what the deity had determined. Hereupon having assembled the people, he acquainted them with the injunctions of the god, with his own vision, and with that of *Ptolemy*, and assured them, that, unless they readily complied with the orders of heaven, many dreadful calamities would soon fall upon them. His speech made no impression on the minds of the populace; they envied *Egypt* such a blessing, and surrounding the temple in a tumultuous manner, threatened to put any one to death who should offer to remove their god. Here- c upon the god, as some authors write, of his own motion and without help, conveyed himself into the embassadors ship, which lay close to the shore; and the vessel, traversing an immense tract of sea, arrived the third day after safe at *Alexandria*. Other writers tell us, that the inhabitants of *Sinope* being reduced to great straits by a famine, which made a dreadful havock in the city, consented at last to part with their god for a supply of corn, which *Ptolemy* sent them. The statue of *Serapis*, being thus brought to *Alexandria*, was set up in one of the suburbs of that city called *Rhacotis*, where a temple was afterwards erected in his honour, suitable to the greatness of that stately metropolis, and called from the god worshipped there *Serapeum* (B). This structure, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, surpassed in beauty d and magnificence all other edifices in the world, except the capitol at *Rome* [b].

Within

[b] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 16.

(B) *Julius Firmicus* (3), *Ruffinus* (4), and other ecclesiastic writers are of opinion, that the patriarch *Joseph* was worshipped in *Egypt* under this name. But they can give no other reason for this strange conceit, than that *Serapis* was generally represented with a bushel on his head, which, they think, denotes the bushel, with which *Joseph* measured out his corn to the *Egyptians* in the time of the famine; whereas it may as well represent the bushel, with which *Ptolemy* measured out to the inhabitants of *Sinope* the corn which he sent them for their god. This opinion, ridiculous and ill-grounded as it is, has been embraced by *Vossius*, *Ouzellus*, *Spencer*, and many other modern writers of no mean character(5). These will have *Serapis* to be an ancient *Egyptian* god, the same with *Apis*, and derive his name from *Apis* and the *Greek* word σορὸς, signifying a *coffin*; so that according to them *Serapis* is the same as *Apis* ἐν Σορῷ, or *Apis in his coffin*. Their meaning is, that the sacred bull, worshipped by the *Egyptians*, when alive, was called *Apis*, when dead, *Serapis*, or *Apis in Soro*, for from these words *Apis* and *Soro*, they derive the name of *Serapis*, which according to them was at first *Soroapis*, and by corruption came to be *Serapis*. For this etymology they quote *Nymphiodorus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Eusebius*, and *Ruffinus*, but seem not to be aware of a very obvious objection against this derivation; which is, that the ancient *Egyptians* were unacquainted with the *Greek* tongue, that language having been introduced into *Egypt* by the *Ptolemies*; and therefore had *Serapis* been an ancient *Egyptian* deity, his name could not have had a *Greek* etymology. But not to dwell on an argument which sufficiently confutes itself, being intirely founded on a forced, unnatural, and false etymology, it is certain, if the ancients are to be credited, that *Serapis* was not originally an *Egyptian* deity, nor worshipped by the inhabitants of that country in ancient times, as he must have been, had the patriarch *Joseph* been worshipped under that name. For *Polybius* tells us)6), that *Serapis* was first worshipped as a god on the coast of the *Propontis* on the *Thracian* side over-against *Hierus*, and that there *Jason* sacrificed to him when he went on the *Argonautic* expedition. From thence, in all likelihood, the worship of that deity was introduced among the inhabitants of *Sinope*, and from *Sinope* brought into *Egypt* in the maner we have related. For till the reign of *Ptolemy* the first no mention is made by any writer of *Serapis* as an *Egyptian* god. *Herodotus*, who is so diffuse and particular in his account of the *Egyptian* gods, takes no notice of this; which is a plain proof, that in his time no such deity was known in *Egypt*. Several authors have wrote after him of the gods, religious ceremonies, and different manners of worship in use among the *Egyptians*, who were of all people the most superstitious, and yet none of them ever once mention the name of *Serapis*, till they come to the time of the *Ptolemeis*. *Macrobius* tells us (7)

(3) *Julius Firmic. in lib. de error. prophanar. Religion.* (4) *Ruffin. histor. l.* ii. c. 23. (5) *Vide Voss. de theolog. gent. l.* i. *c.* 91. *& Spencer. de legib. Ritual. Hebr. dissert.* v. *c.* 3. (6) *Polyb. l.* iv. *p.* 307. (7) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* i. *c.* 20.

The celebrated library and academy of Alexandria.

a WITHIN the verge of this temple was a library, which in after-ages became very famous for the number and value of the books it contained, *Ptolemy Soter*, being a learned prince, as appears from his history of the life of *Alexander*, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but has not reached our times, to encourage and improve the liberal arts in his dominions, founded an *Academy* at *Alexandria*, or a society of learned men, who devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, and all other sciences. For the use of these he made a collection of choice books, which by degrees grew under his successors to a prodigious bulk, and was reckoned the finest library in the world. His son *Ptolemy Philadelphus* left in it at his death an hundred thousand volumes; and the succeeding princes of that race inlarged it still more, till at length the books lodged b in it amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes [c]. The method they followed in collecting them was this: They seized all the books that were by the *Greeks* or other foreigners brought into *Egypt*, and sent them to the academy or museum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose; the transcripts were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals laid up in the library. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, for instance, borrowed of the *Athenians* the works of *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and *Æschylus*, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; the originals he retained for his library, presenting the *Athenians* with fifteen talents for the exchange [d], that is, with three thousand pounds sterling and upwards. As the museum was at first in c that quarter of the city, which was called *Bruchion*, near the royal palace, the library was placed there likewise; but when it was filled with books to the number of four hundred thousand volumes, another library within the *Serapeum* was erected by way of supplement to it, and on that account called the daughter of the former. The books lodged in this were in process of time increased to the number of three hundred thousand volumes; and these two put together made up the number of seven hundred thousand volumes, of which the royal libraries of the *Ptolemies* were said to consist [e]. In the war which *Julius Cæsar* waged with the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, the library in *Bruchion* was unfortunately burnt, and the four hundred thousand volumes, with which it was stocked, reduced to ashes. But the library in *Sera-* d *peum* still remained, and there it was, without all doubt, that *Cleopatra* deposited the two hundred thousand volumes of the *Pergamean* library, which *Marc Antony* presented her with. These, and others added to them from time to time, rendered the new library of *Alexandria* more numerous and considerable than the former [f]; and tho' it was plundered and ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the *Roman* empire, yet it was again and again repaired, and filled with the same number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and use in those parts, till it was at length burnt by the *Saracens*, on their making themselves masters of *Alexandria* in the 642d year of the christian æra. The manner in which this was effected is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. We e have the following account of it from *Abul-Pharagius*, in his history of the tenth dynasty (C). *John*, surnamed *the grammarian*, a famous *Peripatetic* philosopher, being at

[c] STRB. l. xvii. p. 791. EUSEB. in chron. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. TERTULL. in apologetic. c 18. PLUT. in Epicurum. [d] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. GELLIUS, l. 6. c. 17. ISIDOR. Origin. l. vi. c. 3. GALEN. in comment. 2. in tertium libr. Hippocrat. de Morb. vulgar. [e] STRAB. ibid. EPIPHAN. de ponder. & mensur. TERTULL. ibid. c. 18. [f] PLUS. in Jul. Cæsar. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. c. 16. DION. CASSIUS. l. xlii. p. 202. LIV. apud Senecam de tranquill. OROS. l. vi. c. 15.

(7), that when the statue of *Serapis* was first set up at *Alexandria*, *Nicocreon*, who then reigned in *Cyprus*, sent to enquire what god he was, which he would not have done, had he been a deity anciently worshipped by the *Egyptians*; for *Nicocreon* was, as the above-mentioned author informs us, a prince of great learning, and well versed in the *Egyptian* mythology. *Origen*, who was himself an *Egyptian*, speaks of *Serapis* as a god brought into *Egypt* not long before his time (8). From all we have said, it is manifest, that *Serapis* was not originally an *Egyptian* deity, and consequently could not be the patriarch *Joseph*.

(C) The author here quoted was a native of *Malatia*, a city in *Armenia* near the springs of the *Euphrates*, and flourished in the thirteenth century. He wrote an abridgment of the history of the world, from *Adam* to his own times. which he divided into ten parts or dynasties; *viz.* 1st, The history of the ancient patriarchs from *Adam* to *Moses*; 2. Of *Joshua* and the other judges of *Israel*; 3. Of their kings; 4. Of the *Chaldean* kings; 5. Of the magi or *Persians*; 6. Of the *Greek* kings; 7 Of the *Romans*, ; 8. Of the *Greek* emperors of *Constantinople*; 9. Of the *Arabian* commanders, and here he is more diffuse than in all the rest put together; 10. Of the *Moguls*. He is more to be depended upon in his history of the *Saracens* and *Tartars* than in his accounts of other nations, The learned *Edward Pocock* translated this work into *Latin*, and published his translation in 1663; he had obliged the

(8) *Origen. contra Celsum, l.* v.

at *Alexandria*, when that city was taken by the *Saracens*, and in great favour with *Amiri-Ebnol-As* their general, he begged of him the royal library. *Amiri* replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the *khalif* or emperor on that head, since, without knowing his pleasure, he dared not dispose of one single book. He accordingly wrote to *Omar*, who was then khalif, acquainting him with the request of his friend; and the emperor's answer was, that those books, if they contained the same doctrine with the *Coran*, could be of no use, because the *Coran* comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained what was contrary to that book, they ought not to be suffered; and therefore he ordered, that, whatever their contents were, they should be all destroyed. Pursuant to this order, they were distributed among the public baths, where, for the space of six months, they served to supply the fires of those public places, whereof there was an incredible number at *Alexandria*. We may, from hence, form a just idea of the prodigious multitude of books lodged in that celebrated library. Thus this inestimable treasure of knowledge, which had been founded by a *Macedonian* prince, a great encourager of learning, was utterly destroyed by an enthusiastic tyrant, who, by his religion, founded in ignorance and made up of inconsistent fables, was inspired with a brutish and irreconcileable hatred to all truth, learning, and politeness. The museum, in the quarter called *Bruchion*, stood after the library adjoining to it was consumed, and lasted till that whole part of the city was destroyed by the emperor *Aurelian* in his war with the *Alexandrians*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that, till the reign of *Aurelian*, it continued to be the habitation of excellent men, meaning the members of that society, which had been founded by *Ptolemy Soter*, for the improvement of of all useful sciences [g]. *Strabo*, in his description of this museum, says [h], that it was a large structure, adjoining to the palace and fronting the harbour; that it was surrounded with a portico, where the philosophers walked and conversed together; that the members of the society were under the government of a president, whose station was so honourable, that, under the *Ptolemies*, he was always nominated by those princes, and in the *Roman* times by the emperors; and finally, that within the museum was a very large hall, where they all met at their meals; for they were supplied very plentifully with all sorts of provisions, the museum having been endowed, when first founded, with large revenues. Hence *Timon* the *Phliasian*, who was contemporary with *Ptolemy Soter* the founder of it, used to call it the *talaron* or *the coop*, denoting thereby, that the philosophers were fed in the museum, and fattened like birds in a coop [i]. The museum, as the reader must have observed from the account which the ancients give of it, was an institution of the same nature with the colleges of the present times; and as to these, the kingdoms where they flourish, and above all our own, are indebted for the great men they have given to the world, so *Alexandria* owed to its museum the many eminent writers it produced. Among these we may reckon *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Anatolius*, and *Athanasius*, who had their education in that city.

The celebrated *Demetrius Phalereus* was the first president of this seat of learning, and as the library was a part of it, he had, in all likelihood, the books likewise under his care. We do not hereby mean what *Aristeas* seems to insinuate, *viz* that *Demetrius* was librarian to *Ptolemy Soter*; for this was too mean an employment for a man of his rank. He had been prince of *Athens*, and governed that state with absolute authority for the space of ten years, was a great law-giver, an eminent philosopher, and the most able politician in the age he lived in. The emperor *Antoninus* ranks him with the greatest princes of those times, and even puts him upon the level with *Philip* of *Macedon*, and his son *Alexander the Great* [k]. To say therefore that he was library-keeper to *Ptolemy*, would be degrading, beyond measure, a person of his merit and reputation. Besides, we find another in this employment under *Soter*, and likewise under his son *Philadelphus*, viz. *Zenodotus* of *Ephesus*, who, being

[g] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. c. 16. p. 343 22. [h] Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. [i] Athen. l. i. p. [k] Antonin. l. ix. c. 24. de seipso.

the public in 1650 with an abridgment of the history of the tenth dynasty, under the following title, *Specimen historiæ Arabum; sive Gregorii Abul-Faragii Malationsis de origine & moribus Arabum succincta narratio*. The epitomizer's learned observations are worthy perusing. We cannot imagine what induced *Abraham Ecchellensis* to give our author the name of *Gregorius Bar Hebræus Syrus* (9).

(9) *Vide Pocock, Simon, Bayle's Dict. Critiq.*

being by profession a grammarian, was very proper to take care of a library, such persons being generally chosen in those times for this employment; however, it was not below *Demetrius* to assist *Ptolemy* in what he had so much at heart, that is, in founding a museum, and making a collection of choice books for the use of the learned men who were to live in it; nay, *Plutarch* tells us, that *Demetrius* was the first who proposed to the king the founding both of the museum and library; and that the king readily embraced the proposal, as being suggested by a man, who was equally eminent for his learning and other extraordinary qualifications [l]. The same author adds, that *Demetrius* at first advised the king to collect only such books as treated of civil policy and government, telling him, that he would find in them better advice and counsels than any of his friends dared to give him. And indeed this is almost the only means of conveying truth to princes, and shewing them, under borrowed names, their duties as well as their faults. When the king had once approved of this excellent advice, and taken proper measures for the procuring of all such books as answered his first design, it is very natural to suppose, that he was thereby led to collect all other sorts of books, and fill with them the library we have mentioned. *Demetrius* was charged with the care of collecting these books, which was no-ways an employment unworthy of so great a man, since the king himself placed therein all his pleasure and diversion; a diversion suitable to the taste of a prince, who was himself a man of eminent learning, and an encourager of it in others (D).

Towards the close of this year died *Ptolemy Soter*, in the eighty-fourth year of his age and forty-first of his reign, counting the two years he held the empire in partnership with his son. Those writers, who will have him to have reigned only thirty-nine years, follow therein *Justin*, who tells us, that he resigned his crown to his son, and divesting, himself of all power and authority, attended on the new king as one of his guards, saying, that he thought it a more glorious thing to be the father of a king, than to have a kingdom [m]. These authors, as they do not reckon the two years he lived after his resignation, allow him to have reigned only thirty-nine years. *Lucian* [n] and *Macrobius* [o] tell us, that in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, he admitted his son to sit on the throne with him, and that the father and son reigned jointly two years. According to these he reigned in all but forty years. The learned *Usher*, whom we have followed, observes out of *Dionysius* the astronomer, that *Ptolemy Philadelpus* was admitted to reign with his father thirty-nine years after the death of *Alexander*; and that the son, in the second year of their common reign, as *Dionysius* stiles it, by the death of his father, became the sole master of the *Egyptian* empire: Whence it is plain, that *Ptolemy*, according to *Dionysius*, who formed a new æra, beginning with the reign of *Philadelphus*, died in the forty-first year after the death of *Alexander*, and consequently of his own reign [p]. He was the best prince of his race, and left behind him an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, which none of his successors cared to follow. He retained on the throne the same simplicity of manners, and aversion to all pomp and ostentation, which he had shewn while in a private station. His subjects had at all hours a free access to him, and were sure to find, in recurring to him, a speedy redress of all their grievances. He did not think it below the majesty of a king to converse familiarly with the meanest of his subjects, calling them his true friends, since they often told him truths, which his courtiers endeavoured to disguise, without any regard to his or their own repu-

Ptolemy Soter *dies.*

[l] Plut. apophthegm. regum. [m] Justin. l. xvi. c. 2 [n] Lucian. in Macrob. [o] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. [p] Vide Claud. Ptolem. in magna syntax.

(D) *Livy*, in speaking of this library, stiles it a noble monument of the wealth of the *Egyptian* kings, and of their commendable attention in propagating knowledge among their subjects; but *Seneca*, with all the sourness of a *Cynic*, finds fault with *Livy* for commending it, and even blames the kings who were concerned in that great work. *Let* Livy, says he, *and other writers bestow their elogiums on that great collection of books, and on the princes who promoted it; for my part, I look upon it as a lasting monument of the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who amassed such a prodigious number of volumes, not for their use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. Let every one purchase such books only as he intends to peruse; for others serve to feed our vanity, without improving our knowledge* (10). But, with *Seneca*'s leave, are not public libraries of great use? and who but princes can bear the charges that attend them? Public libraries, says *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, are common treasures, and those who found them, whether princes or private men, deserve the greatest commendations, since they deliver, as far as in them lies, their country from one of the greatest evils, ignorance (11).

(10) *Seneca de tranquil. anim. c.* 9. (11) *Clem. Alexand. in Stromat* 6.

reputation. He frequently made public entertainments, on which occaſion he thought it no diſparagement, as *Plutarch* informs us [q], to borrow his friends plate, having no more of his own than what was neceſſary for his common uſe. When one of his favourites repreſented to him, that a ſovereign ought to be better provided, his anſwer was, That the true grandeur of a king conſiſted in enriching others, and not himſelf. In the general diviſion of *Alexander*'s empire, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*, were allotted to *Ptolemy*, as we have ſaid elſewhere; but that prince held, at the time of his death, the following countries, which we find enumerated by *Theocritus* [r], viz. *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Lybia*, *Æthiopia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and ſome of the *Cyclades*. By *Syria* is to be underſtood here *Cœle-Syria*; for all the reſt of that country was then in the poſſeſſion of *Seleucus Nicator*. b

His iſſue. *Ptolemy* had four wives, *viz.* 1 *Artonis*, the daughter of *Artabazus*, who brought him no children. 2. *Thaïs*, who had been formerly one of *Alexander*'s concubines, by whom *Ptolemy* had *Leontiſcus*, or, as *Juſtin* calls him, *Lenticus*, *Lagus*, and *Irene*. *Irene* married, as *Athenæus* informs us [s], *Solon* king of *Cyprus*. 3. *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Antipater*, who bore him two ſons, *viz.* *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Ceraunus*, and another, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us, and as many daughters, *viz.* *Ptolemais* and *Lyſandra*. *Ceraunus*, being excluded by his father from the ſucceſſion, fled to the court of *Seleucus Nicator*, who received him in a very friendly manner, and entertained him and his numerous retinue at a vaſt charge; but the wicked wretch, having no ſenſe of gratitude for the many favours conferred on him by *Seleucus*, conſpired againſt his benefactor, and treacherouſly murdered him, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria* [t]. On the death of *Seleucus* he ſeized the kingdom of *Macedon*, which that prince had won a few months before from *Lyſimachus*, who had been killed in the battle of *Cerupedion* in *Phrygia*; but as *Ceraunus* did not expect to enjoy the dominions of *Lyſimachus* in peace, ſo long as his children and *Arſinoe* his queen were alive, he reſolved to put them to death, and thereby free himſelf from the apprehenſions they gave him. That princeſs was half-ſiſter to *Ceraunus*, being the daughter of *Ptolemy Soter* by *Berenice*; but nevertheleſs, as ſhe was well acquainted with the cruel, ambitious, and treacherous temper of her brother, ſhe had, on the death of *Seleucus*, conveyed both herſelf and her children out of his reach. Hereupon *Ceraunus*, feigning a paſſion for his ſiſter, offered to marry her, ſuch inceſtuous marriages being allowed in *Egypt*, and to adopt the two ſons ſhe had by *Lyſimachus*. *Arſinoe* rejected at firſt the propoſal, fearing it might prove fatal both to herſelf and children; but *Ceraunus*, to remove all ſuſpicion, repaired to a temple, which the *Macedonians* held in the greateſt veneration, and there, in the preſence of one of her intimate friends, called the tutelary gods of the country to witneſs the ſincerity of his intentions, and at the ſame time embracing their ſtatues, proteſted with the moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations, that he had nothing in view but the welfare of his ſiſter and her children. Theſe proteſtations, made before the altars, and ratified with the awful ſeal of religion, prevailed upon *Arſinoe* to conſent to the marriage, which was accordingly celebrated with the greateſt magnificence, and all poſſible marks of an unaffected joy and tenderneſs. *Ceraunus* placed the diadem on his ſiſter's head, and declared her queen in the preſence of the whole army. *Arſinoe*, overjoyed to ſee herſelf ſo glorioufly reſtored to the high ſtation, from which ſhe had fallen by the death of *Lyſimachus* her firſt husband, invited *Ceraunus* to reſide with her in her own city of *Caſſandria*, repairing thither herſelf the firſt, to make the neceſſary preparations for his reception. *Ceraunus* made the moſt pompous and ſolemn entry that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts, the public and private houſes being very magnificently adorned, and the ſtreets thronged with incredible multitudes of people in their beſt apparel, who flocked from all parts to congratulate their new king on his acceſſion to the crown. The two ſons of *Arſinoe*, viz. *Lyſimachus* and *Philip*, the one ſixteen years of age and the other thirteen, marched out of the city with crowns on their heads to meet their father-in-law, who received and embraced them with all the ſeeming tenderneſs that could be ſhewn by the fondeſt of fathers. They conducted him into the city, among the loud acclamations of the multitude, and, together with their mother *Arſinoe*, put him in poſſeſſion of the citadel; and then the perjured traitor, having nothing to fear,

Ptolemy Ceraunus *aſſaſſinates* Seleucus Nicator, *and ſeizes the kingdom of* Macedon. c d

Marries his ſiſter Arſinoe. e f

[q] Plut. apophthog. p. 181. [r] Theocrit. Idyll. 17. [s] Athen. l. xiii. c. 13. Vide p. 521.

a fear, caused the two young princes to be murdered in the very bosom of their mother, to whom they had fled for refuge; and stripping her of all she possessed, caused her to be dragged out of the city, and then banished her into *Samothrace*, allowing her only two women to attend her [u]; but providence did not suffer such enormous crimes to go long unpunished; for the very next year he was taken prisoner by the *Gauls*, who had invaded *Macedon*, and on his being known, tore in pieces, a death which his wickedness and treachery well deserved [w]; for it is plain from what we have related of him, that he was a man of a most wicked and perfidious temper, and his behaviour sufficiently justifies his father *Ptolemy Soter* for having excluded him from the crown, that prince having, without all doubt, been well acquainted with his brutal disposition. *Murders her children by* Lysimachus. *His death.*

b THE brother of *Ceraunus* by *Eurydice* was put to death by *Philadelphus*, for stirring up the inhabitants of *Cyprus* to rebellion [x]; and his two sisters, *Ptolemais* and *Lysandra* were married, the former to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and the other to *Agathocles* the son of *Lysimachus*. *Ptolemy Soter*'s fourth wife was *Berenice*, by whom he had *Ptolemy* surnamed *Philadelphus*, and *Argæus*, with two daughters *Arsinoe*, whom we have mentioned above, and *Philotera*. *Philadelphus* succeeded his father, and reigned in *Egypt*. *Argæus* was put to death by *Philadelphus*, for having formed a conspiracy against him. Of *Arsinoe* we have spoke already, and shall have occasion to mention her anon. All we know of *Philotera* is, that she gave her name to a city built in *Troglodytis* by one *Satyrus*, whom *Philadelphus* had sent thither to take care c of his elephants [y].

Ptolemy Philadelphus became, by the death of his father, sole master of *Egypt*, and the many countries we have mentioned above; and then it was that he vented his rage against *Demetrius Phalereus*, which he had carefully concealed during his father's life-time. We have observed above, that *Ptolemy Soter* was prevailed upon by his wife *Berenice* to disinherit the sons of *Eurydice*, who were the first-born, and place the crown on the head of *Philadelphus* her son. When *Ptolemy* proposed this to *Demetrius*, and asked his advice about the choice of a successor, that unbiassed counsellor is said to have, in the first place, dissuaded him from parting with the crown in his life-time, telling him, that if he once gave it away, he would never be able to d recover it, but be obliged to live like other subjects, in an intire dependence on the capricious humours of his children, which he said, would prove insupportable to a man of his years, who had been so long accustomed to command. This seasonable advice made him change his mind, and resolve to take one of his sons for his partner, instead of divesting himself of the whole power; and in this choice he advised again with *Demetrius*, who earnestly pressed him to prefer the children of *Eurydice* to those of *Berenice*, being moved thereunto both by his love to justice, the children of *Eurydice* being the first-born, and by the affection which he bore to them for the sake of *Cassander* his deceased friend, whose sister *Eurydice* was [z]; but *Soter*, tho' in all other things he willingly followed the advice of *Demetrius*, was e prevailed upon, by the great ascendant *Berenice* had gained over him, not to hearken to his counsels in this important affair; but, contrary to his opinion, to appoint *Philadelphus* his partner in the kingdom, and successor to the crown after his death. The advice given by *Demetrius* greatly provoked *Berenice* and her son; but neither of them expressed any displeasure against him till *Soter* was dead; and then the king commanded him to be seized, and carried, under a strong guard, to a remote fortress, to be kept there under close confinement, till he should determine what further punishment to inflict upon him; but, in the mean-time, the accidental bite of an asp put an end to the life of this great man, whose extraordinary learning and other qualifications deserved a far better fate [a]. Ptolemy Philadelphus. *Death of* Demetrius Phalereus.

f AFTER the death of *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, *Arsinoe*, whom he had confined to *Samothrace*, left the place of her banishment, and retired into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* her brother, who falling in love with her, married her, after he had divorced another *Arsinoe*, the daughter of *Lysimachus*, whom he had married on his accession to the crown [b]. The reason why *Ptolemy* parted with his first wife, was her being convicted of entering into a conspiracy against him; for *Arsinoe* the wife, finding that he *Ptolemy Philadelphus marries his sister* Arsinoe.

[u] JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 2—4. MEMNON. excerpt. apud Phot. c. 15. [w] JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 5. [x] PAUS. in Attic. [y] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 132. [z] DIOG. LAERT. in Demet. CIC. de Finib. l. v. ÆLIAN. Hist. Var. l. iii. c. 7. [a] JUSTIN. l. xvii. CIC. in orat. pro C. Rabir. [b] THEOCRIT. Scholiast. PAUS. in Atticis.

he was in love with his sister, and, on that account, neglected her, entered into a plot with *Chrysippus* her physician, and several others, to cut him off; but the treason being discovered, all the others, who had any hand in it, were put to death, and *Arsinoe* confined to a province of the *Upper Egypt* bordering upon *Æthiopia*, there to end her days, after she had brought to *Philadelphus* two sons and a daughter, of whom the eldest succeeded his father, and was known by the name of *Euergetes*. *Arsinoe* being thus removed, *Ptolemy* married the other *Arsinoe* his sister, who, tho' now past child-bearing, had such charms to engage his affections, that he never married any other. In the epistle which *Eleazar* the high-priest of the *Jews* wrote according to *Aristeas*, to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, she is honoured with the title of queen, and, at the same time, called the king's sister. [b]

Sends embassadors to Rome.

The *Romans* having obliged *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, after a six years war, to abandon *Italy*, and return with disgrace into his own country, their name began to be of great fame among foreign nations; whereupon *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, desiring to enter into an alliance with them, sent an embassy to *Rome* for that purpose. This was the first time that any *Egyptians* had appeared at *Rome*; whence the senate was overjoyed to see foreigners come so far to court the friendship of their republic, whose dominions were yet confined within a narrow compass. As they had then scarce any thing to recommend them but their virtue, and an obliging behaviour to their allies, they did not suffer themselves to be outdone in politeness and civility; but immediately dispatched into *Egypt* four embassadors, chosen with the utmost circumspection [c] by the senate, whose chief point in view was to maintain the reputation they had gained in a foreign court. Q. *Fabius Gurges* was at the head of the embassy, and so far from being of an avaricious temper, that in his youth, he had been greatly blamed for his prodigality. His three companions were Q. *Ogulinus*, and two brothers of the *Fabian* family, being descended from that *Fabius* who was surnamed *Pictor*, or the *Painter*, because he had painted the temple of the goddess of health. *Ogulinus* indeed was a plebeian, but had enjoyed great employments. At *Ptolemy*'s court they met with a reception suitable to their rank, and worthy of so great a prince. He gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold, which they accepted, being unwilling [d] to disoblige him by declining the honour which he intended to confer upon them; but the very next morning they crowned with them the statues of the king, which were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the *Romans* great reputation in *Egypt*; however, the king would not suffer the embassadors to depart without new presents, both for their republic and themselves; but they shewed the same disinterestedness at *Rome*, depositing all their presents in the public treasury, before they appeared in the senate to give an account of their embassy, declaring thereby, that they desired no other advantage from the service of the public than the honour and satisfaction of discharging it well [c]. *Ptolemy*, remembring twenty years after the alliance he had made with the *Romans*, returned the following answer to [e] the *Carthaginian* embassadors, when they desired him to lend their republic two thousand talents, which they promised to return after the war was ended which they were then engaged in with the *Romans*; *I will assist you against enemies, or indifferent persons; but cannot, without breach of fidelity, lend one friend any aid against another* [d]. Hence it appears, that he had made alliances with *Carthage* and *Rome*.

Enters into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians *and* Athenians *against* Antigonus Gonatus.

After the death of *Pyrrhus*, *Antigonus Gonatus* king of *Macedon* having made himself very formidable to the states of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* entered into a confederacy against him, and prevailed upon *Ptolemy* to accede to it. Whereupon *Antigonus* laid siege to *Athens*; for the relief of which city *Ptolemy* immediately sent a fleet under the command of *Patroclus*, who, not being able to persuade [f] *Areus* king of *Lacedæmon* to attack the enemy with their united forces, was obliged, for want of provisions, to sail back with his fleet to *Egypt* without even attempting to relieve the city. By this misunderstanding between the two commanders, the city of *Athens* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, as we have related in the history of *Greece*. *Patroclus* having, on his return into *Egypt*, touched at *Caunus*, a maritime city of *Caria*, found there the poet *Sodates*, famous for the unbounded licence both of his muse and manners. He had wrote a virulent satire against *Ptolemy*, full of cutting reflections on his marriage with *Arsinoe* his own sister, and fled from *Alexandria*

[c] Liv. l. xiv. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Dio. in excerpt. Ursini. Eutrop. l. ii. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. Zonar. l. vii. c. 6. [d] Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. c. 9.

a *dria* to avoid the indignation of the provoked prince; but *Patroclus* having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himſelf to his maſter's favour, than by making an example of a wretch who had abuſed him in ſuch an inſolent manner; accordingly he cauſed him to be wrapped up in a ſheet of lead, and thrown into the ſea, a puniſhment which he well deſerved [e] (E).

The revolt of Magas. *Year of the flood* 2736. *Year before Chriſt* 263.

THE long peace and tranquility which *Ptolemy* had enjoyed, was unexpectedly diſturbed by the revolt of *Magas*, whom the king had ever looked upon as one of his beſt and moſt truſty friends. He was half-brother to him, being the ſon of *Berenice* by one *Philip* a *Macedonian* officer, who had been her huſband before ſhe married *Ptolemy Soter*. As *Berenice* had a great aſcendant over the king her huſband, ſhe prevailed upon him to give the government of *Libya* and *Cyrene* to her ſon *Magas*,
b who having ſtrengthened himſelf in thoſe provinces by long poſſeſſion, and likewiſe by his marriage with *Apamea* the daughter of *Antiochus Soter* king of *Syria*, not only endeavoured to render himſelf independent in his government, but even to diſpoſſeſs his brother of the kingdom of *Egypt*. With this view he advanced, at the head of a numerous army, towards *Alexandria*, and made himſelf maſter of *Paretonion* on his march thither; but, as he was proceeding farther, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and return home, upon certain intelligence, that the *Marmarides*, a people of *Libya*, had revolted from him. *Ptolemy*, who was then with a great body of troops on the frontiers of *Egypt*, had a favourable opportunity of falling upon him in his retreat, and utterly deſtroying his army; but was, by a like revolt at home,
c prevented from laying hold of it; for having taken into his ſervice four thouſand *Gauls*, he was informed that they had entered into a conſpiracy, intending nothing leſs than to drive him out of *Egypt*, and ſeize it for themſelves. To prevent this, he haſtened back into *Egypt*, and having drawn the conſpirators into an iſland in the *Nile*, he there ſhut them up ſo effectually, that they all periſhed, either with famine, or with one another's ſwords, to avoid that lingering kind of death [f]. *Magas* had no ſooner quelled the troubles which had obliged him to return home, but he renewed his deſigns upon *Egypt*, and in order to ſucceed therein more effectually, he engaged in the ſame war *Antiochus Soter* his father-in-law. The meaſures agreed upon between
d them were, that *Antiochus* ſhould invade the territories of *Ptolemy* on one ſide, and *Magas* on ther other; but while the king of *Syria* was making the neceſſary preparations for this invaſion, *Ptolemy*, who had private intelligence of his deſigns, ſent forces into all the marime provinces of *Syria*, which committed every-where ſuch ravages and devaſtations, as obliged that prince to keep at home, for the defence of his own dominions; and *Magas*, without his aſſiſtance, did not think it adviſeable to make any further attempts [g].

The advantageous meaſures taken by Ptolemy *for the improvement of trade.*

Ptolemy being thus delivered from the apprehenſion of a war, bent his mind on advancing the riches of his kingdom, by drawing to it all the trade of the eaſt, which the *Tyrians* had to this time carried on by ſea to *Elath*, and from thence, by the
e way of *Rhinocorura*, to *Tyre*. Theſe were both ſea-port towns, *Elath* on the eaſt-ſide of the *Red-ſea*, and *Rhinocorura* at the bottom of the *Mediterranean*, between *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*; ſo that through them all the wares of *Perſia*, *India*, *Africa* and *Arabia* centered at *Tyre*, and were from thence carried into all the weſtern countries. By this means the *Tyrians* were grown exceeding rich, having engroſſed, while ſubject to the *Perſian* kings, this whole trade. To draw it into *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* built a city on the weſt-ſide of the *Red-ſea*, from whence he ſent out fleets into all thoſe countries to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elath*; but obſerving that the *Red-ſea*, towards the bottom, was very dangerous, by reaſon of its rocks and ſhelves, he transferred
f the trade to another city, which he built at as great diſtance as he could from that part

[e] ATHEN. l. xiv. p. 620. [f] PAUSAN. in Atticis. [g] Idem. ibid.

(E) This infamous poet is commonly known by the nickname of *Sotades Cinædus*, or *Sotades* the *pederaſt*, which was given him, not only becauſe he was notoriouſly addicted to that monſtrous and abominable vice, but more eſpecially for his having wrote in iambics a poem in commendation of it, which was in great repute among thoſe, who, like himſelf, were adicted to that unnatural ſort of luſt. Some writers have, not with good grounds, in that verſe of *Juvenal* (12), *Inter Socraticos notiſſima foſſa cinædos*, inſtead of *Socraticos*, read *Sotadicos*, being of opinion, that this alteration in the text was made by ſuch as were given to that vice, which, they thought, might deſerve ſome excuſe, if they could perſuade the world, that *Socrates*, a philoſopher of great credit, was addicted to it.

(12) *Juvenal. ſatir.* 2. *ver.* 10.

part of the sea, placing it almost on the frontiers of *Æthiopia*, and calling it from his mother *Berenice*; but the harbour not being convenient. *Myos Hormos*, a city in that neighbourhood, was preferred, and all the commodities of the above-mentioned countries conveyed thither by sea, and from thence on camels to *Coptus* on the *Nile*, where they were again shipped for *Alexandria*, and from that city dispersed all over the west, in exchange for the merchandize which was afterwards exported to the east. By this means the whole trade being fixed at *Alexandria*, that place became the chief mart of all the traffick that was carried on between the east and the west, and continued to be the greatest empory in the world for above seventeen hundred years, till another passage was found out by the cape of *Good-hope*; but as the road from *Coptus* to the *Red-sea* lay cross the deserts, where no water could be had, nor any convenience of towns or houses for the lodging of passengers, *Ptolemy*, to remedy both these evils, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, into which he conveyed the water of the *Nile*, and built on it houses at proper distances; so that all passengers found every night convenient lodgings, and necessary refreshments for themselves and their beasts of burden [h]. As *Ptolemy* intended to engross the whole trade of the east and west to himself, he fitted out two great fleets to protect his trading subjects. One of these he kept in the *Red-sea*, and the other in the *Mediterranean*. The latter was very numerous, and had several ships of an extraordinary size; two of them in particular were of thirty oars on a side, one of twenty, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five, and, besides these, an incredible number of vessels with four oars and three oars on a side. With these fleets he not only maintained and protected the trade, but also kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, namely, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria* and the *Cyclades* [i].

An accommodation effected between Magas *and Ptolemy.*

Magas king of *Cyrene* and *Lybia* growing old and infirm, expressed a desire of composing all differences with his brother *Ptolemy*; and in order to succeed therein, proposed a marriage between his only daughter *Berenice* and king *Ptolemy*'s eldest son promising to make over all his dominions to her by way of dowry. The proposal was accepted by *Ptolemy*, and a peace concluded on these terms [k]; but *Magas* dying before the execution of the treaty, after he had held the government of *Cyrene* and *Libya* for the space of fifty years, his wife *Apamea* did all that lay in her power to break off the match between her daughter and the son of *Ptolemy*, since it had been concluded without her consent; but her attempts proved unsuccessful, and only served to kindle a war between *Ptolemy* and her brother *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, which occasioned a cruel tragedy in the family of the latter, as we have related in the history of *Syria* [l].

In the heat of this war *Ptolemy* did not give over his search for books wherewithal to enrich his famous library, and likewise for pictures and drawings done by eminent masters, of which he was a great admirer. *Aratus*, the celebrated *Sicyonian*, was one of the agents he employed in *Greece* to collect pictures for him; and that great man gained his favour by this kind of service to such a degree, that the king looked upon him as one of his best friends; and, on the *Sicyonian*'s applying to him for his assistance towards the restoring of his native city to liberty and peace, *Ptolemy* presented him with an hundred and fifty talents for this purpose. The matter is thus related by *Plutarch* in the life of *Aratus*; *Aratus* having expelled *Nicocles* tyrant of *Sicyon*, and recalled the exiles, great disturbances arose about the restoration of their lands, which were likely to occasion new disorders, most of those lands having been transferred to other proprietors, and passed through several hands before the exiles returned. Those who had purchased them would not part with their purchase, unless the money, which they had disbursed, were paid back to them. Hereupon *Aratus*, having no other way to satisfy them, applied to king *Ptolemy*, and that generous prince immediately ordered the sum, which he required, to be transmitted to *Sicyon*; by which means every one being satisfied, peace and tranquility were restored to the city [m].

A peace concluded between Ptolemy *and* Antiochus.

The troubles and revolutions which happened in the east, induced *Antiochus* to put an end to the war, which had been for some time carried on between him and *Ptolemy*. The particulars of this war have not been transmitted to us; but the conditions

[h] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 805. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. [i] Strabo. ibid. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. Appian. in præfat. Athen. l. v. p. 203. [k] Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3. [l] Vide p. 525. [m] Plut. in Arat.

a ditions of the peace agreed by the contending parties, are related by *Polyænus* [m], *Strabo* [n], *Athenæus* [o], and St. *Jerom* [p]. One of theſe was, that *Antiochus* ſhould divorce *Laodice*, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and ſettle the crown on the male iſſue of that marriage. As *Antiochus*, tho' paſſionately fond of *Laodice*, ſubmitted to theſe terms, we may conclude from thence, that *Ptolemy* had gained conſiderable advantages over him. As this marriage was contracted on political views, and founded on very unjuſt conditions, it was attended with thoſe fatal conſequences which we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria* [q], to which we refer our readers.

As *Ptolemy* was a curious collector, not only of books, but alſo of ſtatues, draw-
b ings and pictures, he obſerved, while he was in *Syria*, a ſtatue of *Diana* in a temple conſecrated to that goddeſs, which he was greatly taken with; and therefore having begged it of *Antiochus*, carried it with him into *Egypt*; but ſoon after his return, *Arſinoe* his queen being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, dreamt, that *Diana* appearing to her, told her, that *Ptolemy* had brought the illneſs upon her, by removing out of her temple the above-mentioned ſtatue. Hereupon it was immediately ſent back into *Syria*, and there replaced in the temple from whence it had been taken. It was accompanied with many rich preſents, and a great many ſacrifices were offered to appeaſe the wrath of the provoked goddeſs; but all to no purpoſe, for the queen's diſtemper was ſo far from abating, that ſhe died of it in a very ſhort
c time, leaving *Ptolemy* under the greateſt affliction imaginable; for tho' ſhe was many years older than he, and paſt child-bearing when he married her, yet he maintained an inexpreſſible affection and tenderneſs for her to the laſt, and, after her death, did all that lay in his power to perpetuate her memory, calling ſeveral cities which he built by her name, and raiſing obeliſks to her honour, with other monuments to expreſs the great regard he had for her [r]. Of theſe the moſt remarkable was a temple, which he began in *Alexandria*, with a dome, which was to be lined with loadſtone, in order to keep an iron ſtatue of the queen hanging in the air. This was the project of *Dinocrates*, a famous architect of thoſe times, and it was no ſooner propoſed to the king, but he commanded it to be put in execution; but, before the
d work was completed, both the king and the architect died; ſo that no experiment was made of the virtue and power of loadſtones in ſuch a caſe (F). *Ptolemy* did not long ſurvive his beloved *Arſinoe*, for being originally of a tender conſtitution, which he had moreover weakened by a luxurious manner of life, the infirmities of old age, and the loſs of a conſort whom he loved beyond meaſure, ſunk him into a languiſhing diſtemper, which put an end to his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age, and fortieth of his reign [s]. He left behind him two ſons and a daughter, whom he had by his firſt wife *Arſinoe* the daughter of *Lyſimachus*. *Ptolemy* ſurnamed *Euergetes*, the eldeſt of his ſons, ſucceeded him in the kingdom; the other, called *Lyſimachus* from his grandfather by the mother, was put to death by his brother, for en-
e gaging in a rebellion againſt him. The name of the daughter was *Berenice*, whoſe marriage with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria* we have related above.

Ptolemy Philadelphus *dies.*

Ptolemy Philadelphus was without all doubt, a prince endowed with many excel- *His character.*
lent qualities, and yet we cannot propoſe him as a perfect model of a good king, his good qualities being counter-balanced by faults that were altogether as conſiderable. He diſhonoured the beginning of his reign by his reſentment againſt a man of uncommon merit, *viz. Demetrius Phalereus*, for having given a piece of advice to his father, which was indeed contrary to the intereſt of *Philadelphus*, but intirely agreeable to the laws of juſtice and equity. He put two of his brothers to death, having,

[m] POLYÆN. Strat. l. viii. c. 50. [n] STRABO. l. vii. p. 152. [o] ATHEN. l. ii. p. 42. [p] HIERONYM. in Dan. c. 11. [q] Vide p. 126. [r] LIBAN. orat. 11. [s] PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 14. ATHEN. l. xii. c. 10.

(F) *Auſonius* ſpeaks of this temple as finiſhed by the above-mentioned architect, in the following verſes:

Creditor hic forſan fuerit Ptolemaidos aulæ
Dinocrates, quadro cui in faſtigia cono
Surgit, & ipſa ſuas conſumit pyramis umbras;
Juſſus ob inceſti qui quondam fœdus amoris,
Arſinoen Pharii ſuſpendit in aëre templi (13).

It has been long ſince reported, and even believed by many, that the body of the impoſtor *Mohammed* was, after his death, laid in an iron coffin, and thus hung in the air by virtue of a loadſtone in the roof of the room where it was depoſited; but this is a mere fable without the leaſt foundation (14).

(13) *Auſon. Idyll.* 9. (14) *Vide Adolph. Verner. in epitom. rer. Turcicar.*

having, as ſome writers tell us, forged plots in order to give ſome colour of juſtice to his blind jealouſy, which alone prompted him to embrue his hands in their blood; and hence he was ironically called *Philadelphus*, or *a lover of his brothers*. He was greatly given to all ſorts of effeminate pleaſures, and intirely neglected all kind of military diſcipline, by which neglect he left the army in a very bad condition, and quite unfit for action. On the other hand, as he was himſelf a prince of great learning, he was a zealous promoter and encourager of it in others, an induſtrious collector of books, and a generous patron of all thoſe, who were eminent in any branch of literature. The fame of his generoſity drew ſeven celebrated poets to his court [r], who, from their number, were called the *Pleiades*, which are ſeven ſtars in the neck of the bull. Theſe were *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, *Callimachus*, *Lycophorn*, *Apollonius*, *Nicander* and *Philicus*. *Theocritus* wrote an idyllium, and *Callimachus* an hymn in praiſe of *Philadelphus*, which have reached our times. In his court flouriſhed likewiſe *Ariſtarchus*, a learned grammarian, *Manetho* the famous *Egyptian* hiſtorian, *Conon* and *Hipparchus*, two celebrated mathematicians, *Zenodotus* of *Epheſus*, the firſt who corrected *Homer*'s works, as *Suidas* informs us, and *Ariſtophanes*, who, if *Vitruvius* is to be credited, read over all the books of the *Alexandrian* library, in the order they ſtood [s]. *Zoilus* the critic came alſo to his court, and lived ſome time at *Alexandria*. He had wrote againſt *Homer*, whoſe works were highly eſteemed and admired by all except himſelf, and had likewiſe criticiſed, in a very biting ſtile, the works of other eminent writers; whence his name grew ſo infamous, that it was afterwards given by way of reproach to all detracting and ill-natured critics; but tho' he was very eminent in his way, and far excelled in criticiſm all who had flouriſhed before him, this could not reconcile *Ptolemy* to him, who is ſaid indeed to have admired his wit, but at the ſame time, to have been ſo offended at the bitterneſs of his ſtile, that he would not beſtow any thing upon him, tho' he ſhewed a truly royal generoſity towards all other writers of any wit or learning. Being therefore abhorred by all men, and not relieved by *Ptolemy*, he died in a miſerable manner. Some ſay he was ſtoned by the enraged multitude; others that he was burnt alive in his houſe; and ſome that he was crucified by *Ptolemy* for a crime which well deſerved that puniſhment [t]. We have already taken notice of his extraordinary taſte for books, and of his indefatigable induſtry in augmenting and embelliſhing, at an immenſe charge, the library founded by his father; a work which has rendered the names of both theſe princes more famous than the greateſt conqueſts could have done. To *Ptolemy Philadelphus* we are indebted for the *Greek* tranſlation of the ſcripture, commonly called the *Septuagint*, of which we ſhall give a particular account in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place. This prince is likewiſe ſaid to have maintained, at a vaſt expence, and ſent into different parts of the world, skilful perſons, in ſearch of all ſorts of wild beaſts, and by that means to have made a great many new diſcoveries relating to the nature of animals [w].

Tho' *Philadelphus* had a peculiar taſte for the ſciences, yet he did not ſuffer them to engroſs his whole attention, but applied himſelf with indefatigable induſtry to buſineſs, ſtudying all poſſible methods to render his ſubjects happy, and raiſe his dominions to a flouriſhing condition. This enticed great multitudes of the neighbouring and moſt diſtant nations to leave their native countries, and ſettle in *Egypt*; inſomuch that this prince is ſaid to have had in his dominions no fewer than thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-nine well-peopled cities [x]. As he was well appriſed that the real power of a prince conſiſts in the number and wealth of his ſubjects, the greateſt expences were not capable of diſcouraging him from purſuing ſuch meaſures as were moſt apt to draw inhabitants into his dominions. With this view he built an incredible number of cities, and repaired others, granting many valuable privileges to all, without diſtinction, who came to ſettle in them. Among the latter were the two famous cities of *Paleſtine*, *Ace*, which he rebuilt on the weſt-ſide of that country, and *Rabbah of the children of Ammon*, ſo often mentioned in ſcripture, on the eaſt ſide of the ſame province. *Ace* he called from one of his names *Ptolemais*, and *Rabbah* from the other *Philadelphia*. The former of theſe, which is ſtill ſtanding, in proceſs of time recovered its ancient name, and is often ſpoke of in the hiſtory of the holy wars [y]. Beſides cities, he left ſo many other public monuments

[r] Vide Vossium de hiſtor. Græc. l. i. c. 12. [s] Vitruv. in præfat. ad lib. vii. [t] Vetruv. ibid. & Vossius. de hiſtoric. Græc. l. i. c. 15. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. [x] Theocrit. Idyll. 17. [y] Vide Reland. Paleſtin. illuſtrat. Sandys, Thevenot, &c.

ments of his magnificence, that all works of an extraordinary taſte and grandeur were proverbially called *Philadelphean* works [z]. *Athenæus* calls him the beſt of kings, and the moſt wealthy prince of his age [a]; and truly he died poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, notwithſtanding the great expence he muſt have been at; for he kept two great fleets, one in the *Mediterranean*, and the other in the *Red-ſea*, and maintained in conſtant pay an army of two hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe, and had three hundred elephants, two thouſand armed chariots, and his armory at *Alexandria* ſtocked with three hundred thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and all other neceſſary implements and engines of war; but, for all this, he left in his treaſury ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand *Egyptian* talents in ready money, which reduced to our coin, amounts to a prodigious and almoſt incredible ſum, each *Egyptian* talent containing ſeven thouſand five hundred drachmas more than an *Attic* talent [b]. *Athenæus* therefore called him, not without reaſon, the richeſt of all the princes of his age; and *Appian* gives him this character, *viz.* that as he was the moſt magnificent and generous of all kings in laying out his money, ſo was he of all the moſt skilful and induſtrious in raiſing of it [c].

Ptolemy Euergetes. *Year after the flood*, 2755. *Before Chriſt* 244.

He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Ptolemy*, who, in the beginning of his reign, engaged in a war with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, of which we have given a diſtinct account in the hiſtory of that country [d]. On his return from that war, he brought with him out of *Syria* two thouſand five hundred pictures and ſtatues, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which had been carried by *Cambyſes*, when he conquered *Egypt*, into *Perſia*. Theſe *Ptolemy* reſtored to their ancient temples; in acknowledgment for which favour the *Egyptians* gave him the glorious ſurname of *Euergetes*, or *the Beneficent* [e]. In this expedition he made himſelf maſter of all the countries that lie between mount *Taurus* and the confines of *India*, as we read in *Juſtin* [f], *Appian* [g], *Polybius* [h], *Jerom*, &c. [i], with whom the monument of *Euergetes*, called *monumentum adulitanum*, and publiſhed at *Rome* by the celebrated *Leo Allatius* in 1631 intirely agrees. The words quoted by that writer from the ſaid monument are as follow: Ptolemy Euergetes *having received from his father the ſovereignty of* Egypt, Libya, Syria, Phœnice, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, *and the* Cyclades, *aſſembled a mighty army of horſe and foot, with a great fleet, and elephants, out of* Tragloditica *and* Æthiopia, *ſome of which had been taken by his father, and the reſt by himſelf, and brought from thence, and trained up for war. With this great force he ſailed into* Aſia, *and having conquered all the provinces which lie on this ſide the* Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, *the* Helleſpont *and* Thrace, *he croſſed that river with all the forces of the conquered countries, and the kings of thoſe nations, and reduced* Meſopotamia, Babylonia, Suſia, Perſia, Media, *and all the country as far as* Bactria.

Ptolemy *gains great advantages over the king of* Syria.

When *Ptolemy Euergetes* firſt ſet out on his expedition into *Syria*, his queen *Berenice*, who tenderly loved him, being apprehenſive of the dangers to which he might be expoſed in the war, made a vow to conſecrate her hair, which was her chief ornament, in caſe he ſhould return ſafe. The prince returned not only ſafe, but crowned with glory and ſucceſs; whereupon *Berenice*, to diſcharge her vow, immediately cut off her hair, and dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had built in honour of his beloved *Arſinoe*, under the name of the *Zephyrian Venus*, on the promontory of *Zephyrium* in *Cyprus*; but this conſecrated hair being loſt ſoon after, or perhaps contemptuouſly flung away by the prieſts, *Ptolemy* was much offended at this accident, and threatened to puniſh the prieſts for their neglect. Hereupon *Conon* of *Samos*, a flattering courtier, and great mathematician, to appeaſe the king's wrath, and gain his favour, gave out, that the queen's locks had been conveyed up to heaven, and pointed out ſeven ſtars near the tail of the lion, which, till that time, had not belonged to any conſtellation, declaring, that they were the queen's hair. Several other aſtronomers, either to make their court, as well as *Conon*, to the king, or out of fear of drawing upon themſelves his diſpleaſure, affirmed the ſame thing; and hence *coma Berenices*, or *the hair of* Berenice, became one of the conſtellations, and is ſo to this day [k]. *Callimachus*, who lived in thoſe times, and had been a great favourite of *Philadelphus*, wrote a hymn on the hair

The hair of Berenice.

[z] Philo in vita Moſis [a] Athen. l. v. c. 5. [b] Vide Bernard. de menſur. & ponder. antiquorum. p. 186. & tabulam huic operi præfixam. [c] Appian. in præfat. [d] Vide p. 524. [e] Hieron. in Dan. c. 11. & monument. Adulitan. [f] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1 [g] Appian. in Syriac. p. 130. [h] Polyb. l. v. p. 402. [i] Hieron. ibid. [k] Hygini. poetic. aſtronom. & Nonnus in hiſtor. ſynag.

hair of *Berenice*, which was afterwards tranſlated by *Catullus*, whoſe verſion is ſtill extant among his other moſt elegant performances. a

Euergetes *offers ſacrifices to the God of* Iſrael.

Ptolemy, on his return from this expedition, having paſſed through *Jeruſalem*, offered there many ſacrifices to the God of *Iſrael*, in acknowledgment for the victories he had gained over the king of *Syria* [l], ſhewing thereby, that he preferred the true god to all the idols of *Egypt*. Perhaps the prophecies of *Daniel* had been ſhewn to him, whence it was obvious for him to conclude, that his fortunate conqueſts were owing to that God, whoſe prophet had ſo fully and diſtinctly foretold them. Of theſe prophecies we ſpoke in the hiſtory of *Syria*, to which we refer the reader [m].

Applies himſelf to the improving of his library.

Euergetes having at laſt concluded a peace with *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, who had ſucceeded *Antiochus Theus* in that kingdom, devoted moſt part of his time to the cultivating of the ſciences, and the improving of his father's library at *Alexandria*. b With this view he ſent perſons of learning into diſtant countries, to puchaſe, at any rate, what books they ſhould think proper for his deſign; but as a skilful librarian was neceſſary for the making a good choice, likewiſe for the preſerving of them after they were lodged in the library, upon the death of *Zenodotus*, who had exerciſed that function from the time of *Ptolemy Soter*, he invited from *Athens Eratoſthenes* (G) the *Cyrenian*, who was a man of univerſal learning, to take this charge upon him, which he did accordingly, and acquitted himſelf in it with great applauſe [n].

The reputation of Joſeph, *nephew of* Onias, *with* Ptolemy.

Onias the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, being of a very covetous temper, had neglected to ſend to *Ptolemy* the uſual tribute of twenty talents, which his predeceſſors had annually paid to the kings of *Egypt*, as a token of their ſubjection to that crown. As c the arrears amounted to a great ſum, the king ſent *Athenion*, one of his courtiers to *Jeruſalem* to demand the payment of the money, and to acquaint the *Jews*, if they did not comply immediately with the demand, that he was determined to ſend a body of troops into *Judæa*, who ſhould drive them out of the country, and divide it among themſelves. When *Athenion* arrived at *Jeruſalem* with this meſſage, the whole city was thrown into the uſtmoſt conſternation, not knowing how to appeaſe the king's wrath, and divert the impending ſtorm. At that time *Joſeph*, the nephew of *Onias* by his ſiſter, was in great repute among the *Jews* for his prudence, juſtice, and the ſanctity of his life. To him therefore his mother had recourſe, and as he d was in the country when *Athenion* came to *Jeruſalem*, ſhe took care to diſpatch a meſſenger to him, with an account of what happened. Hereupon he haſtened to *Jeruſalem*, where he ſeverely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the public money, and told him, that ſince he had brought the nation into ſuch difficulties, the only expedient he could find out to avert the calamities that threatened them, was, that he ſhould go in perſon to the *Egyptian* court, and endeavour, by applying to the king himſelf, to make up matters. But *Onias*, who was a man of no parts, and beſides ſtricken in years, declared to his nephew, that he would chuſe rather to diveſt himſelf of the high-prieſthood, and live a private life, than undertake ſuch a journey, and appear at court. *Joſeph* therefore, who was a young man e of extraordinary parts, and great addreſs, offered to go in his ſtead; which *Onias* conſenting to with great pleaſure, *Joſeph* having aſſembled the people, acquainted them, that he had been appointed by the high-prieſt embaſſador to the court of *Egypt*, and aſſured them, that, if they thought fit to confirm him in this charge, he ſhould ſoon, by ſome means or other, deliver them from their preſent fears. The people

[l] Joseph. in Apion. l. ii. [m] Vide p. 526. [n] Suidas in voce Απολλωνιος.

(G) *Eratoſthenes* had been educated by *Callimachus* his countryman, and is often quoted by *Pliny*, *Strabo* and others, as a man of extraordinary learning; and therefore thoſe are greatly miſtaken, who finding him called *Beta*, that is, *the ſecond*, think he had that name to denote, that he was not in the firſt, but in the ſecond claſs of the learned; for by that appellation nothing elſe was meant, but that he was the ſecond librarian of the royal library at *Alexandria*. As to his knowledge in all the branches of literature, he was inferior to none of the age he lived in, as appears from the great encomiums beſtowed by the ancients on the many books he wrote; but none of his works have reached us, except his catalogue of the kings of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, with the years of their reſpective reigns, from *Menes*, who firſt peopled *Egypt* after the deluge, to the time of the *Trojan* war. It contains a ſeries of thirty-eight kings reigning in a direct line of ſucceſſion one after another, and is ſtill extant in *Syncellus*. We have made uſe of it in ſettling the *Egyptian* chronology, it being one of the moſt noble, venerable, and authentic monuments of antiquity now extant, extracted out of the moſt ancient records of that country. This extract was in all likelihood made to ſupply the defect of *Manetho*, whoſe catalogue of the *Theban* kings begins where this ends (15).

(15) *Vide Voſſ. de hiſtor. Græc. Syncell. p.* 91—147. *Johan. Marſham. in canon. chronic.*

people, with loud ſhouts of joy, approved the appointment of the high-prieſt, returned *Joſeph* thanks for what he intended to do in their behalf, and deſired him to proceed without delay to the court of *Egypt*. Hereupon *Joſeph* went immediately to invite *Athenion* to his houſe, where he not only entertained him with great kindneſs and ſplendor, all the time he ſtaid at *Jeruſalem*, but, on his departure, made him very conſiderable preſents, which the *Syrian* was ſo pleaſed with, that he left *Jeruſalem*, fully determined to do all that lay in his power in behalf of the *Jews*, and to repreſent matters to the king in the beſt light the caſe would bear. Accordingly, on his return to *Alexandria*, he made ſo favourable a report to the king of his tranſactions at *Jeruſalem*, and of the kind and obliging deportment of *Joſeph*, that *Ptolemy* ſhewed a great deſire to ſee him. In the mean time *Joſeph*, having borrowed twenty thouſand drachmas of the *Samaritans*, which amount to about ſeven hundred pounds of our money, and thereby furniſhed himſelf with an equipage to appear at the *Egyptian* court, ſet out for *Alexandria*, and having met on his way thither ſeveral of the chief nobility of *Cæle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, who were travelling to the ſame place, he joined them in the remaining part of his journey. Their buſineſs at that court was, to offer terms for farming the revenues of thoſe provinces; and as their equipages were very magnificent, they laughed at *Joſeph* for the meanneſs of his, making it the ſubject of their diverſion moſt part of the way. *Joſeph* took all in good part, but in the mean time hearkening to the converſation they had with each other about their buſineſs at court, he got ſuch an inſight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them in his turn. On their arrival at *Alexandria*, they found, that the king had taken a progreſs to *Memphis*, and *Joſeph* was the only perſon among them who ſet out for that city to wait on him. As he was haſtening thither, he had the good fortune to meet him returning from *Memphis*, with the queen and *Athenion* in the ſame chariot. The king, who had heard great commendations of him from *Athenion*, was overjoyed to ſee him; and, taking him into his chariot, complained to him in a friendly manner of his uncle *Onias*, who had, for ſeveral years, neglected to pay him the uſual tribute. But *Joſeph* excuſed his uncle on account of his great age and ſlender parts in ſo handſome a manner, that he not only ſatisfied the king, but raiſed in him ſuch an opinion of his abilities, that he took him into his favour, allowed him an apartment in the royal palace, and entertained him at his own table. When the day came, whereon the king uſed annually to farm out the revenues of the ſeveral provinces of his empire, and they were ſet up, in order to be lett to the beſt bidder, the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who had been *Joſeph*'s fellow-travellers, offered no more than eight thouſand talents for the provinces of *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*. Hereupon *Joſeph*, who had diſcovered from their converſation on the road, that they were worth more than double the ſum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and proffered ſixteen thouſand talents, beſides the forfeitures, which he propoſed to return into the king's treaſury, tho' they had ever before belonged to the farmers. *Ptolemy* was well pleaſed to ſee his revenues ſo conſiderably increaſed; but queſtioning the ability of the bidder to make good his engagement, aſked him what ſecurity he could give him for the performance of his agreement. To this queſtion *Joſeph* anſwered, that he would give him the ſecurity of ſuch perſons as he could not refuſe or except againſt; and when he was ordered to name them, he named the king and the queen, adding, that they would be bound to each other for the faithful performance of what he undertook. The king was ſo taken with the pleaſantry of this anſwer, that he truſted him on his own word, without any other ſecurity. Hereupon *Joſeph*, having borrowed at *Alexandria* five hundred talents to pay the king his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the truſt of receiver-general of all the revenues in the above-mentioned provinces; and having received a guard of two thouſand men, to ſupport him in the execution of his office, he left *Alexandria*, in order to act in his new ſtation. On his arrival at *Aſkelon*, the inhabitants of that city not only refuſed to pay him the king's duties, but abuſed him with rude and opprobrious language. Whereupon having ordered his guards to apprehend the ringleaders of that tumult, he cauſed twenty of them to be immediately executed, and ſent their forfeited eſtates, which amounted to a thouſand talents, to the king. The ſame rigour he practiſed at *Scythopolis*, where he had met with the like oppoſition; which ſo terrified the reſt of the cities, that they all opened their gates to him, and readily paid the king's dues. His prudent conduct, and the punctuality of his payments, gained him ſuch favour at court, that he was con-

continued in his office by *Ptolemy Euergetes*, *Ptolemy Philopator*, and *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, for the space of two and twenty years, that is, till *Antiochus the Great* making himself master of these provinces, annexed them to the crown of *Syria*, which happened in the first year of the reign of *Ptolemy Epiphanes* [o]. Most authors write, that he continued in this office to his death; but herein they plainly contradict *Josephus*, who tells us, that he died very old; nay, that he was of a great age when he sent his son *Hyrcanus* into *Egypt*, which happened some years before his death [p]; and on the other hand says, that he was a young man when he first entered upon this employment [q]. Now, if he was young at that time, he could not be old twenty-two years after; for allowing him to have been thirty when he was raised to that employment, two and twenty more would make him but fifty-two; at which age he could not be called an old man, and much less before it. After *Antiochus* had held the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine* several years, he is said to have restored them again to *Epiphanes*, on his marrying his daughter *Cleopatra*. Perhaps *Joseph* was then restored to his office, and died in it, being at that time, as *Josephus* tells us, very old. This, if true, would clear up all the difficulties which some writers have started against the account *Josephus* gives us of this matter.

Ptolemy's *conquests.*

Ptolemy, having concluded a peace with *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, applied himself to the enlarging of his dominions southward, and was therein attended with great success; for he made himself master of all the coasts of the *Red-sea*, both on the *Arabian* and *Æthiopian* sides, down to the streights, through which that sea discharges itself into the southern ocean. The cities and provinces which he subdued in this glorious expedition were, according to *Leo Allatius* in his *monumentum Adulitanum*, *Agama*, *Sigsiene*, *Tiamus*, *Gambela*, *Maga*, *Zingabe*, *Angavis*, *Tiama*, *Athagotis*, *Calea*, *Semena*, *Lazinazaa*, *Bega*, *Thancaitis*, &c. Most of these provinces bordered upon *Æthiopia*, and as they were under no apprehension of an invasion, *Ptolemy*, without much loss or trouble, reduced them, and, having garisoned the fortified towns, returned to *Alexandria* with an immense booty, which he generously divided among the soldiers who had attended him in that expedition [r]. Upon his return, the *Cleomenic* war being kindled in *Greece*, the *Achæans* sent embassadors to him, imploring his assistance against the *Ætolians* and *Lacedæmonians*, which he readily promised them; but they having, in the mean time, engaged *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* to support them, *Ptolemy* was so much offended at these proceedings, that he sent powerful succours to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, hoping by that means to humble both the *Achæans* and their new ally *Antigonus*; but he had the mortification to see *Cleomenes*, after he had gained very considerable advantages over the enemy's united forces, intirely defeated in the famous battle of *Selasia*, and obliged to take refuge in his dominions. *Phylarchus* writes, that, about ten days before this battle, there arrived in *Greece* embassadors from *Ptolemy* to *Cleomenes*, acquainting him, that their master had no mind to send him any further supplies of money, and advising him, in his name, to come to a speedy agreement with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*; and that thereupon *Cleomenes*, tho' encamped in a very advantagious post, challenged *Antigonus* to an engamement in the open field [s]. Be that as it will, *Ptolemy* received him with all possible demonstrations of kindness and esteem, allowed him a yearly pension of four and twenty talents, and assured him, that in due time he would use his utmost efforts to replace him on the throne. But *Ptolemy*, before he could fulfil his promise, died in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Philopator* [t]. *Ptolemy Euergetes* was a no less generous encourager of learning than his father and grandfather had been; for he applied himself with the same care and attention to the inlarging of his library and purchasing of books at an immense charge, invited with ample rewards to his court all those who were of any note for their learning, and took great pleasure in improving his own knowledge by their conversation; for he was himself, as *Athenæus* informs us [u], well versed in all the branches of learning, having been brought up by the famous *Aristarchus*, and he even wrote in his youth historical commentaries, which were in great repute. He was the last of his race, in whom any virtue, humanity, or moderation appeared, those who succeeded him being destitute of all true virtue, and plunged in all manner of vice, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. We are told by *Tacitus*, that, in this king's reign

Assists Cleomenes *king of* Sparta, *against* Antiochus Doson *and the* Achæans.

His death and character.

[o] Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3. & Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 50. [p] Idem ibid. c. 4. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Leo Allat. in monument. Adulitan. [s] Vide Polyb. l. 2. versus finem. [t] Plut. in Cleom. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155. [u] Athen. l. ii. c. 33.

a reign a phœnix was seen at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, drawing after her great flocks of other birds, which were taken with her beauty [w].

Ptolemy Philopator, the son of *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Berenice*, succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and proved a most debauched and wicked prince. *Justin* tells us, that he was ironically called *Philopator*, that is, *Lover of his father*, because he murdered him in order the sooner to ascend the throne [x]. But upon what authority *Justin* affirms this, we know not; *Polybius*, who flourished soon after the reign of this prince, tells us, that *Ptolemy Euergetes fell sick and died*, without mentioning any violence used either by his son or others [y]. It is certain, that this *Ptolemy*, on several coins which have reached us, bears the title of *Philopator*; and who can believe, that, b if it had been given him by antiphrasis or a contrary meaning, as *Justin* will have it, he would have suffered it to be impressed on his coins, and transmitted to posterity? He was also surnamed *Tryphon*, from the effeminate life he led, and *Gallus*, because he used to walk about the streets on the *Bacchanal* solemnities, or feasts of *Bacchus*, with a crown of ivy on his head, after the manner of the *Galli*, or priests of the goddess *Cybele* [z]. In the very beginning of his reign he caused his brother *Magas* to be murdered, being prompted thereto by *Sosibius* his prime minister, who represented *Magas* as a man of great interest in the army, who might one day raise troubles in the kingdom, and even, with the assistance of the foreign troops, who served in *Egypt* and were intirely at his devotion, place the crown on his own head [a]. The death c of *Magas* was soon followed by that of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*. That prince, being driven out of *Greece* by *Antigonus*, as we have related above, had fled to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, and had been kindly received by him. But *Philopator* treated him in a very different manner, especially after he had got rid of his brother *Magas*, who gave him no small umbrage. As *Cleomenes* was generally esteemed a man of great wisdom and sagacity, *Sosibius*, who was *Ptolemy*'s prime minister, employed him in the beginning of that prince's reign, and admitted him into his most secret counsels, even imparting to him his design of cutting off *Magas* and asking his advice about it. *Cleomenes* did all that lay in his power to dissuade the king from such an attempt, telling him, that he had not in his court a more zealous person for his service, nor one d who was more capable of assisting him with good advice in the well-governing of his kingdom. This quieted *Ptolemy* for some time, but his fears and jealousies being revived by the artful *Sosibius*, *Magas*, notwithstanding the advice of *Cleomenes*, was cut off; and the king, after his death thinking himself secure, devoted all his time to pleasures and diversions, not suffering them to be interrupted by cares or application of any kind. His example was followed by the courtiers, who abandoned themselves to all manner of vice and licentiousness, so that, all business being neglected, the kingdom fell, as it were, into a kind of anarchy. In the mean time *Cleomenes*, who led a very melancholy life at so vicious a court, received advice, that *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* was dead, that the *Achæans* were engaged in a war with the *Ætolians*, and that the *Lacedæmonians* had joined the latter against the *Achæans* and e *Macedonians*. As he was not able to bear any longer the dissolute manners of the *Egyptians*, and all things seemed to recal him to his native country, he represented to the king the state of his affairs, and put him in mind of his former promises; for *Ptolemy* had promised, while he apprehended the power of his brother *Magas*, to send him back into *Greece* with a powerful fleet and restore him to his kingdom. Finding that *Ptolemy* would not grant him his request, he desired him at least to give him and his followers leave to depart, since he could not hope for a more favourable conjuncture, than that which now offered, for the recovery of his kingdom. But *Ptolemy* was too much taken up with his pleasures to come to any resolution touching the request f of *Cleomenes*. *Sosibius*, who governed the kingdom with an absolute sway, while the king was immersed in pleasures and debauches, having assembled his friends to deliberate on the request of *Cleomenes*, it was concluded in that council, that the king of *Sparta* should not only be denied the succours he demanded, but even leave to depart the kingdom. As *Antigonus* was dead, and *Cleomenes* had no rival in *Greece* who could withstand him, they were afraid, lest he should invade *Egypt*, after having recovered his own dominions; for he was thoroughly acquainted with the state of their affairs, and had the king and his ministers in the utmost contempt. On these considera-

Ptolemy Philopator. *Year of the flood* 2782. *Before Christ* 217.

Puts his brother Magas *to death.*

His base treatment of Cleomenes *king of* Sparta.

[w] Tacit. Annal. l. vi. [x] Justin. l. xxix. c. 1. [y] Polyb. l. ii. versus finem. [z] Plut. in Cleom. Polyb. l. v. Trog. in prolog. Plin. l. vii. [a] Polyb. l. v. p. 380—382.

considerations it was not thought proper to grant *Cleomenes* the assistance he desired, or even to permit him to leave *Egypt*. For, as he was a bold and enterprizing prince and had been refused the succours he demanded, they did not doubt, but he would one day or other, if allowed to return to his kingdom, revenge the affront which had been put upon him. *Sosibius* was even of opinion, that he should not be allowed his liberty in *Alexandria*; and accordingly by the king's orders he was seized and kept under confinement, as we have related in the history of *Sparta*, till, in concert with his friends who used to visit him, he came to a resolution, which despair alone could suggest; this was to escape out of prison with all his domestics and friends, and to stir up the people of *Alexandria* to shake off the yoke they groaned under. But not succeeding in this attempt, he and his followers closed it by a tragical and bloody catastrophe, killing one another to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death [b]. For a more full account of the unhappy end of this great prince, we refer the reader to our history of *Sparta*. The king caused his body to be flead and hung upon a cross, sentencing at the same time to death his mother *Cratisiclea*, his children, and all the women who attended them [c].

Antiochus king of *Syria*, who was afterwards from his conquests surnamed *the great*, taking advantage of *Euergetes*'s death and the succession of so voluptuous and profligate a prince, undertook the recovering of *Cœle-Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Judæa*, which had formerly belonged to *Seleucus Nicator* and some of his successors. But, as we have already given a distinct account of this war [d], we shall only observe here, that *Ptolemy*, notwithstanding the advantages gained over *Antiochus*, being desirous of putting an end to a war which interrupted his voluptuous pleasures, concluded a peace with *Antiochus*, when he might with great ease have driven him quite out of *Syria*. The discontent which followed hereon, throughout the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, broke soon out into an open rebellion; and thus *Ptolemy* by avoiding a war abroad kindled one in his own dominions [e]. And indeed, that there was such a war, *Polybius* tells us in express terms [f]; but neither he nor any other author gives us an account of the event of it. All we know is, that *Ptolemy* continued to enjoy the same power and authority which he had before the civil war broke out; whence it is plain, that he mastered this difficulty and got the better of the rebels. In whose favour the *Jews* declared, is no-where recorded; but *Eusebius* tells us [g], that about this time forty thousand of them were cut off and destroyed, very likely during these intestine broils, for at this time they were very numerous in *Egypt*.

Persecutes the Jews.

Ptolemy being highly provoked against the *Jews* for their obstructing his entrance into the temple, as we have related in the history of *Syria*, began on his return to *Alexandria* to vent his rage upon such of the *Jewish* nation as lived in that metropolis. In the first place he published a decree, which he caused to be engraved on a pillar erected for that purpose at the gate of his palace, excluding all those who did not sacrifice to the gods he worshipped. By this means the *Jews* were debarred from suing to him for justice, or obtaining his protection, in what case soever they might stand in need of it. We have observed elsewhere, that the *Jews*, by the favour of *Alexander the Great* and *Ptolemy Soter*, enjoyed at *Alexandria* the same privileges as the *Macedonians*, and were enrolled among those of the first rank; for the inhabitants of that great metropolis were divided into three ranks or classes; in the first were the *Macedonians*, the original founders of the city; in the second the mercenaries, who had served under *Alexander*; and in the third the native *Egyptians*. Now *Ptolemy*, to be revenged on the *Jews*, ordered by another decree, that they should be degraded from the first rank, in which they had been from the founding of the city, and inrolled among the common people of *Egypt*, who were of the third rank; by this decree they were stript at once of all the rights and privileges, which had prompted them to leave their native country and settle in *Egypt*. But this was not the greatest grievance; for in the same decree it was enacted, that all the *Jews* at an appointed time should appear before the proper officers in order to be inrolled among the common people; that at the time of their inrollment they should have the mark of an ivy leaf, the badge of *Bacchus*, impressed with a hot iron on their faces; that all, who were thus marked, should be made slaves; and finally, that if any one should stand out against this decree, he should be immediately put to death. But that he might not seem

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[b] Plut. in Cleom. & Polyb. l. v. [c] Plut. ibid. [d] Vide p. 535. [e] Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11. [f] Polyb. l. v. p. 444. [g] Euseb. in Chron.

a an enemy to the whole nation, he declared, that those who sacrificed to his gods should enjoy their former privileges, and remain in the same class. Notwithstanding this tempting offer, three hundred only, out of many thousands, of the *Jewish* race who lived in *Alexandria*, were prevailed upon to abandon their religion in compliance with the king's will. The others chose rather to be stigmatized in the manner the king had ordered, or to redeem themselves from that ignominious mark by parting with all they had to the king's officers. Those who continued in the religion of their forefathers excluded their fallen brethren from all manner of communication with them, expressing thereby the abhorrence they had of their apostasy. This their enemies construed as done in opposition to the king's order, which so inraged *Ptolemy*, that b he resolved to extirpate the whole nation, beginning with the *Jews* who lived in *Alexandria* and other parts of *Egypt*, and then proceeding with the same severity against the inhabitants of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*. Pursuant to this resolution, he commanded all the *Jews*, who lived in any part of *Egypt*, to be brought in chains to *Alexandria*, and there to be shut up in the hippodrome, which was a very spacious place without the city, where the people used to assemble to see horse-races and other public shows. When news was brought him that all the *Jews*, who lived in *Egypt*, were, agreeable to his order, confined within the hippodrome, he sent for *Hermon*, master of the elephants, and ordered him to have five hundred of them ready against the next day to be let loose upon the prisoners in the hippodrome. But, when the elephants were c prepared for the execution and the people assembled in great crowds to see it, they were all disappointed for that day by the king's absence. For, having been late up the night before with some of his drunken and debauched companions, he did not awake the next day, till the time for the show was over and the spectators returned to their respective homes. He therefore ordered one of his servants to call him the day following betimes, that the people might not meet with a second disappointment. But when the person appointed awaked him, he was not yet returned to his senses, having a little before withdrawn exceeding drunk; and therefore not remembering the order he had given, flew into a violent passion, threatening the person, who spoke to him of it; which caused the show to be put off to the third day. In the mean d time the *Jews*, who continued shut up in the hippodrome, ceased not to offer up prayers to the Almighty for their deliverance, which he accordingly granted them. For on the third day, when the king was present and the elephants brought forth and let loose upon the prisoners, those fierce animals, instead of falling upon the *Jews*, turned their rage upon the spectators and soldiers, who assisted at the execution, and destroyed great numbers of them; which, with other appearances seen in the air, so terrified the king, that he commanded the *Jews* to be immediately set at liberty, acknowledged the power of the God they worshipped, and, to appease his anger, restored his people to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, bestowing upon them besides many favours, and loading them with presents at their departure; for the king not e only allowed them to return to their respective homes, but would himself bear the charges of their journey. The *Jews* seeing themselves thus restored to the king's favour, demanded and obtained leave of him to put all those of their own nation to death who had abandoned their religion; which permission they soon made use of without sparing a single man [h]. This miraculous deliverance is related at length in the third book of the *Maccabees*, which *Philostorgius*, in the beginning of his ecclesiastical history, calls *the book of miracles*. *Josephus* gives us no account of this whole matter in his antiquities; but we find it mentioned in the *Latin* edition, which *Ruffinus* published, of his second book against *Apion*; as for the *Greek* original, it is there wanting. According to *Ruffinus*'s version, this miraculous deliverance was effected in the f reign of *Ptolemy Physcon*, many years after the time in which we have placed it agreeable to the history of the *Maccabees*; where this persecution, and the deliverance of the *Jews* is related at length, as happening in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, immediately on his return from *Syria*, after the famous victory gained by him at *Raphia* over *Antiochus*, of which we have spoke elsewhere [i].

The Jews miraculously delivered.

About this time, the ninth year of *Philopator*'s reign, the *Romans* sent *M. Atilius* and *M. Acilius* to *Alexandria*, to renew their antient friendship and alliance with *Egypt*; for they were then ingaged in a war with *Carthage*. The embassadors carried as a present to the king a purple tunic and an ivory chair, and to the queen a purple robe finely embroidered

The Romans send an embassy to Philopator. Year of the flood 2791. Before Christ 208.

[h] Maccab. l. iii. c. 2, 3, 4, 5.

[i] Vide p. 538.

embroidered with a scarf of the same colour. This queen is called by *Justin Eurydice*, by *Livy* in this place *Cleopatra* [k], and by *Polybius* [l] and the author of the third book of the *Maccabees Arsinoe*. Not long after this embassy, *Decius Magius*, an illustrious *Capuan*, greatly attached to the interest of *Rome*, being seized by *Hannibal* and put on board a vessel in order to be conveyed to *Carthage*, was by a storm driven into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the king of *Egypt*, and there by *Philopator*'s order was taken out of the hands of his enemies, conducted to *Alexandria*, and kindly received by the king, who gave him leave to return either to *Capua* or *Rome*; but he chose to continue in *Egypt*, where he lived under the protection of his deliverer [m]. *Ptolemy* willingly embraced this opportunity of obliging the *Romans*; and, by protecting their friend, testified his gratitude for the presents they had sent to him and his queen. a b

Arsinoe brings him a son.

Arsinoe, who was both wife and sister to *Ptolemy*, after having been barren for several years, brought him at last a son, who was surnamed *Epiphanes* or *the illustrious*, and succeeded his father when but five years of age. His birth occasioned great rejoicings all over *Egypt* and the neighbouring provinces subject to that crown. Most persons of distinction in *Syria* and *Phœnice* went up to *Alexandria* to congratulate the king on that occasion, and among the rest *Hyrcanus* the son of *Joseph*, the king's receiver general, of whose transactions at the court of *Egypt* we shall have occasion to speak in the history of the *Jews*. But, in the mean time, the king, pursuing his old course of life, gave himself up to riots, pleasures, and excesses of every kind. c Drinking, gaming, and lasciviousness, were the whole employments of his life. *Sosibius*, an old and crafty minister, who had served under three kings, managed the affairs of state, in which by his long experience he was thoroughly versed, not indeed in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him; for he was subservient to the king and his worthless favourites in all their vilest designs. While things were thus managed, *Arsinoe* was little regarded by the king, his minister, and the other courtiers; which she not being able to bear, spared neither her clamours nor complaints on all occasions, which much offending the king and those who governed him, orders were given to *Sosibius* to rid them of her. The wicked minister complied with their request, employing for that purpose one *Philammon*, who had been d used to such cruel and barbarous assassinations [n]. She had shewed on all occasions an extraordinary affection for her husband, accompanied him in his wars with *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, and not only encouraged his soldiers before the famous battle of *Raphia*, but continued by him the whole time of the engagement, exposing herself to the same dangers [o]. Upon her death the king fell in love with one *Agathoclea*, a woman of mean extraction, and was entirely governed by her, by her brother *Agathocles*, who was subservient to his unnatural lust, and by their mother *Oenanthe*. These disposed of all the civil as well as military employments, which of course were filled with their creatures and favourites; insomuch, that the king himself, who was entirely in their hands, had no power at all, being only their tool and pro- e perty [p]. The murder of *Arsinoe* and several other actions of the same nature provoked the people to such a degree against *Sosibius*, that they obliged the king to dismiss him from his service, and raise to the office of prime minister one *Tlepolemus*, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army and was at that time the king's treasurer. To him *Sosibius* resigned the king's seal, which was the badge of his office, and by virtue thereof *Tlepolemus* governed all the affairs of the kingdom so long as the king lived. But in that short time he sufficiently shewed, that he was no-ways equal to that charge, he having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predecessor [q].

He murders his wife Arsinoe.

Obliged to dismiss his prime minister.

The death of Ptolemy Philopator.

Ptolemy, having by his continued debaucheries and intemperance wore out a very f strong constitution, died in the flower of his age, as it often happens to those who indulge themselves, like him, without restraint in all manner of pleasures. He was about twenty when he came to the crown, and reigned only seventeen years. He was succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old [r]. As the only persons present when the king expired were *Agathocles*, his sister, and their creatures, they

[k] Liv. l. xxvii. [l] Polyb. l. v. [m] Liv. l. xxii. c. 10. [n] Polyb. l. xv. p. 719. Valesii excerpt. p. 65. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. [o] Polyb. ibid. [p] Polyb. l. xv. p. 720. Valesii excerpt. p. 65. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1, & 2. Plut. in Erotico & Cleom. Athen. l. vi. c. 6. & l. xiii. c. 13. Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11. [q] Valesii excerpt, ex Polyb. l. xvi. [r] Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. & 2. Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11.

a they concealed his death as long as they could, and, in the mean time, carried off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace they could lay their hands on. At the same time they formed a project for maintaining the authority they had enjoyed under the deceased king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his successor. They vainly imagined, that they might carry this point, if they could but take off *Tlepolemus*, who had succeeded *Sosibius* in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures for putting him out of the way. When they thought proper to acquaint the public with the king's death, they summoned a general council of the *Macedonians*, that is, of those *Alexandrians* who were of the *Macedonian* race. When they were met, *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* appeared in the council; b the former, holding the young king in his arms and shedding abundance of tears, implored the protection of the *Macedonians*, telling them, that the late king, when at the point of death, had committed the young prince to the care of *Agathoclea*, and recommended him to the fidelity of his *Macedonian* subjects; and therefore he recurred, with great confidence, to them against *Tlepolemus*, who, as he was informed by unexceptionable witnesses, intended to seize the crown for himself. He imagined, that this weak artifice would have stirred up the *Macedonians* against *Tlepolemus*, on whose death he might have easily established himself in the regency. But, the malice of this contrivance being too glaring, the people, instead of falling upon *Tlepolemus*, vowed the utter ruin of him, his sister and all their creatures. For, on this occasion c the memory of all their past crimes and misdemeanours being revived, the people of *Alexandria* rose in a general tumult against them; and having first taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne in the hippodrome, they brought before him *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea*, and their mother *Oenanthe*, and caused them there, as by the king's order, to be put to death in his presence. Their dead bodies were dragged through all the streets of *Alexandria* and tore in pieces by the incensed multitude. The other sisters, relations, and creatures of *Agathocles* met with the same treatment, every one of them being cut off by the people, whom they had oppressed and abused.

His favourites put to death.

Philammon, who had been employed to murder queen *Arsinoe*, being returned from *Cyrene* to *Alexandria* about three days before this tumult broke out, the women, who had attended on that unhappy princess, no sooner heard of his arrival, but laying hold of the opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death; and accordingly, breaking into his house, they killed him with stones and clubs, a death which he well deserved, for becoming the instrument of such a wicked and detestable murder [s].

The guardianship of the young king was for the present committed to *Sosibius*, the son of that *Sosibius* who had been prime minister during the three last reigns. Whether he was still living or no, is no-where said; but it is certain, that he lived to a very great age, having for the space of three-score years been at the helm, and governd *Egypt*, we may say, with an absolute sway; and for this reason he was surnamed, *Polychronos*, or *the long-liver*. He was as crafty and as wicked a minister as ever any prince employed in the administration of public affairs. He did not scruple to commit the blackest crimes, when they were any ways conducive to the ends he proposed. *Polybius* imputes to him the murder of *Lysimachus*, the son of *Ptolemy*; of *Arsinoe* the daughter of *Lysimachus*; of *Magas* the king's brother; of *Berenice* the king's mother; of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*; and lastly of queen *Arsinoe* [t]. It is surprizeing, that this old *Egyptian* politician, after having behaved with so much haughtiness and cruelty in his administration for such a number of years, should at last be suffered to retire unmolested and end his days in peace. There are very few instances of this f nature to be met with in history, most ministers, who acted on his principles, having fallen at last victims, either to the just resentment of the princes themselves, whom they pretended to serve, or of the people, whom they oppressed.

Ptolemy Philopator was, without all doubt, one of the most wicked and debauched princes that ever swayed a sceptre; for he began his reign with the murder of his mother *Berenice* and his brother *Magas*, and closed it with that of his sister and wife *Arsinoe*. He minded nothing from the time he ascended the throne to his death, but his pleasures and diversions, wallowing in all sorts of vices, and taking most pleasure in such as were most repugnant to nature. His favourites, catamites, and the many

Character of Ptolemy Philopator.

[s] Polyb. l. xv. p. 712, 713, 714, &c. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 294. & excerpt. Polybii, p. 56. Plut. in Cleom. [t] Valesii excerpt. ibid. Plut. in Cleom. Polyb. ibid.

many lewd women, with whom he spent his whole time, governed him and the kingdom, disposing of all the employments civil and military to persons of their own stamp, and consequently no-ways equal to them. However, he was not without some virtues; witness his liberality towards the *Rhodians*, after the famous earthquake, which threw down their colossus, their arsenal, and great part of their walls, to the repairing of which he contributed more generously than any prince of his age; for, upon the first application made to him in their behalf, he sent them three hundred talents of silver, a million of artabes or bushels of wheat, materials for building of twenty quinqueremes and the like number of triremes, three thousand talents for the rebuilding of the colossus, an hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty artificers, promising to pay annually fourteen talents for their subsistence so long as the *Rhodians* wanted them. Besides, he gave them ten thousand artabes of corn for their sacrifices, and twenty thousand for the service of their fleet [u]. *Athenæus* tells us, that he was an encourager of learning, and when sober took pleasure in conversing with one *Sphærus* an eminent philosopher. The same author adds, that he built a magnificent temple in honour of *Homer*, placing in it the statue of that great poet, and round his statue the figures of the several cities that claimed him [w]. *Ptolemy*, the son of *Agesarchus*, a native of *Megalopolis*, wrote the history of this prince's reign [x]; which, had it reached our times, would enable us to give a more particular and distinct account of his actions.

Ptolemy Epiphanes. *Year of the Flood* 2799. *Before Christ* 200.

He was succeeded, as we have related above, by his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old. During his minority, *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, entering into an alliance with *Philip* of *Macedon*, made himself master of *Palestine* and *Cœle-Syria*; but was soon dispossessed of them again by *Aristomenes*, the prime minister of *Egypt*, as we have related in the history of *Syria* [y]; where the reader will find a particular account of the troubles which disturbed the beginning of his reign, and were occasioned partly by the ambition of *Antiochus*, and partly by the treachery of *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, who was commander in chief of *Ptolemy*'s forces. In the third year of his reign the *Romans*, as *Justin* [z] and *Livy* [a] inform us, sent three deputies to him, viz. *Caius Claudius Nero*, *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Publius Sempronius Longitanus*, to notify to the court of *Egypt* the victory which they had gained over *Hannibal*, and the treaty of peace concluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*; to thank him for his inviolable attachment to the republic, at a time when the neighbouring nations had in a cowardly manner deserted her; and lastly, to exhort him always to continue this good understanding with the *Romans*, in case *Philip* should oblige them to carry the war into *Macedon*. The *Egyptian* lords, who were guardians to the young king, encouraged by this embassy, thought they could not better secure the life of their prince, than by putting him and his kingdom under the protection of the *Roman* senate; which they did accordingly, sending a solemn embassy to *Rome* for that purpose. The senate complied with their request, and sent *M. Lepidus* to take upon him the guardianship, which he, after a short stay in *Egypt*, conferred upon *Aristomenes*, by birth an *Acarnanian*, but an experienced minister of that court, and thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*. He undertook the charge, and acquitted himself in it with great prudence and fidelity [b]. In the beginning of his administration, being informed of the ravages *Philip* had committed in *Attica*, and of the motion of the *Macedonian* troops to lay siege to *Athens*, he advised his royal pupil to send an embassy to the senate, acquainting them, that he was ready to deliver *Athens* from the danger that threatened her, provided it were agreeable to the *Romans*. This act of submission from so powerful a king was highly acceptable to the senate, who returned thanks to *Ptolemy* for the respect he had shewn them, and gave the ambassadors the following answer; that *Rome* was resolved to assist the *Greeks* against *Philip*, that she would give *Ptolemy* notice when she wanted his assistance, and was fully convinced of their master's fidelity and affection [c]. *Aristomenes* in like manner took care to renew the ancient alliance between the crown of *Egypt* and the republic of *Achaia*, on which occasion *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the historian, and two others were sent by the *Achæan* confederacy into *Egypt* to sign the treaty [d].

Embassy of the Romans *to* Ptolemy.

Offers the Romans *assistance against* Philip.

In

[u] Polyb. l. v. [w] Athen. l. v. p. 204. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. 2. [x] Athenæus, l. x. p. 426. [y] Vide p. 536. [z] Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. [a] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 4. [b] Justin. & Liv. ibid. Polyb. l. xv. p. 717. [c] Liv. ubi supra. [d] Polyb. legat. 37.

In the mean time, the king having attained to the fourteenth year of his age, his enthronization, called by the *Alexandrians Anaclateria*, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the administration of affairs put into his hands; for at that age the kings of *Egypt* were, according to the custom of the country, declared to be out of their minority. So long as *Aristomenes* was at the helm, matters were managed in such manner as gained the king an universal applause and approbation; for he followed in all things the advice of that prudent and experienced minister. But, as soon as he became his own master, the flattery of his worthless courtiers prevailing over the wise counsels of so able and faithful a servant, the kingdom suffered great calamities, and the remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous. *Aristomenes* did not cease to give him good advice, and intr at him to conduct himself in a manner more worthy of his exalted station; but the young prince, plunging himself into all the vices which had rendered his father's name and reign so odious, instead of hearkening to his wholesome admonitions, ordered him to be put to death for the liberty he had taken. Having thus got rid of so troublesome a censor, he abandoned himself to excesses and disorders of all kinds, following no other guides in the administration of affairs but his wild passions, and exercising a most cruel tyranny over his subjects[e]. The *Egyptians*, not being able to bear the grievances they suffered under his arbitrary administration, began to cabal against him; and, being headed by many persons of the first quality, entered into a conspiracy with a design to depose him, which they were very near putting in execution[f]. To extricate himself out of these difficulties, he appointed *Polycrates* his prime minister, who was a man of great abilities and experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had commanded in quality of general under his father in the famous battle of *Raphia*, and on that occasion greatly contributed to the signal victory which was there gained. He had been afterwards made governor of *Cyprus*, and happening to come from thence to *Alexandria*, when the conspiracy of *Scopas*[g] broke out, he had a great share in the suppressing of it[h]. By his means *Ptolemy* having got the better of the rebels, obliged their leaders, who were the chief lords of the country, to capitulate and submit upon certain conditions. But, having got them into his power, he forfeited his promise; and, after treating them in the most cruel manner, caused them all to be put to death. This treacherous conduct involved him in new difficulties, from which he was again delivered by the wisdom of his faithful minister *Polycrates*[i].

Puts Aristomenes *to death.*

His subjects revolt.

He maintained, during the whole time of his reign, a strict friendship with the *Romans*. For *Livy* tells us[k], that he offered the *Romans* a thousand pounds weight of gold and twenty thousand of silver, to carry on the war against *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, whose daughter *Cleopatra* he had married; nay, after *Antiochus* was by the arms of the republic driven out of *Europe*, he sent an embassy to *Rome* to congratulate the senate on the deliverance of *Greece* and the flight of *Antiochus*, and to offer them, in his name and in that of his queen *Cleopatra*, what ships, money, or provisions they wanted to pursue the war with the king of *Syria*[l]. *Ptolemy* hated *Antiochus* on account of the disturbances he had raised and fomented in his kingdom, and *Cleopatra* in all likelihood was shocked at his treachery and cruelty; for he is said to have married her to *Ptolemy* with no other view but to get rid of him by her means, and have *Egypt* delivered into his hands. But the virtuous young queen, inviolably attached to her duty, joined with *Ptolemy* against *Antiochus*, and preferred conjugal affection to the ties of blood[m].

Cultivates the friendship of the Romans.

Ptolemy in like manner cultivated with great care the friendship of the *Achæan* republic; for in the end of his reign he sent embassadors to them, inviting the confederacy to join with him in an offensive and defensive league, and promising them six thousand shields, two hundred talents of brass, and ten ships of fifty oars rigged and equipt. His offer was accepted, and embassadors were appointed, viz. *Lycortas* with his son *Polybius* and young *Aratus*, to renew the alliance, and bring the ten ships into *Peloponnesus*[n]. But while they were preparing to set out, news was brought of the death of *Ptolemy*.

And of the Achæans.

This prince, having reduced his rebellious subjects at home, as has been already related, was preparing to make war abroad upon *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But, as his finances were exhausted, one of his chief officers asked him, by what means he would raise

[e] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. 294. Polybius, l. xvii. p. 773. [f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [g] Vide p. 587. [h] Polyb. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 113. [i] Polyb. ibid. [k] Lib. l. xxxvi. c. 3. [l] Polyb. legat. 17. [m] Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11. [n] Polyb. legat. 57.

raiſe money to carry on the war which he was ready to imbarque in. The king replied, that *his friends were his treaſure*; which anſwer being ſpread abroad among his officers and the chief men about him, they inferred from thence, that he deſigned to purſue the war with their fortunes and eſtates. To prevent therefore this evil which made a ſtronger impreſſion upon them than any misfortune which could befal their country, they cauſed poiſon to be given to the king, which put an end to his project and life, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and twenty-ninth of his age[o]. *Cato*, as quoted by *Priſcian* the grammarian, commends him as an excellent and bountiful prince; and ſuch he was, ſo long as he followed the counſels of *Ariſtomenes*; but after he had cauſed him to be poiſoned, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of wickedneſs and debauchery. He left two ſons, both under age, viz. *Ptolemy Philometor* and *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, and one daughter by name *Cleopatra*. *Ptolemy Philometor*, who was but ſix years old, ſucceeded his father under the guardianſhip of his mother *Cleopatra*, who for the ſpace of eight years governed the kingdom of *Egypt* with great prudence and moderation. Upon her death the regency fell to *Lenæus*, a nobleman of great diſtinction in that country, and to *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was charged with the care of the young king's education. Theſe no ſooner entered on the adminiſtration, but they demanded *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who at that time reigned in *Syria*. Theſe provinces had always been in the poſſeſſion of the kings of *Egypt* from the time of *Ptolemy* the firſt, till *Antiochus the Great* wreſted them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*; and by this title alone *Antiochus Epiphanes* now held them. However, this demand occaſioned a war between the two crowns, the particulars whereof we have related elſewhere at length[p], and therefore ſhall not repeat in this place. *Philometor* having in the courſe of this war, either of his own accord delivered himſelf up to *Antiochus*, or, as others will have it, been taken priſoner by that prince, the *Alexandrians*, looking upon him as loſt, raiſed his younger brother to the throne, who from that time took the name of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the ſecond, which was afterwards changed into that of *Phyſcon*, or *the great-bellied*, by reaſon of the prominent belly which by his luxury and gluttony he acquired. On his aſcending the throne, *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed to ſerve him in quality of prime miniſters, and charged with the care of reſtoring the kingdom to its former ſplendor and flouriſhing condition[q]. But *Antiochus Epiphanes*, returning ſoon after into *Egypt*, drove *Phyſcon* from the throne, and reſtored the whole kingdom, except the city of *Peluſium*, to *Philometor*. His deſign was to kindle a war between the two brothers, and ſeize the kingdom for himſelf, after they had waſted their ſtrength by their domeſtic feuds. With this view he retained *Peluſium*, that having this city, which was the key of *Egypt*, in his hands, he might re-enter that country at his pleaſure. But *Philometor*, being well appriſed of his deſign, invited his brother *Phyſcon* to an accommodation, which was happily effected by the mediation of *Cleopatra* their ſiſter. In virtue of this agreement both brothers were to reign jointly, and oppoſe, to the utmoſt of their power, *Antiochus* as a declared and common enemy[r]. Hereupon *Antiochus* invaded *Egypt* at the head of a mighty army; but was obliged by the *Romans* to leave that country in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria*[s].

Is poiſoned.

Ptolemy Philometor. *Year of the Flood* 2823. *Before Chriſt* 176.

War between him and the king of Syria.

His brother Phyſcon *raiſed to the crown.*

The two brothers reign jointly.

The two brothers, being by the retreat of *Antiochus* freed from all apprehenſion of a foreign enemy, began to quarrel with each other; and the diviſions between them roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Roman* ſenate wrote to their embaſſadors *Cneius Octavius*, *Spurius Lucretius*, and *Lucius Aurelius*, whom they had ſent a little before into *Syria*, injoining them to proceed from thence to *Alexandria*, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the two kings. But before the embaſſadors reached *Egypt*, *Phyſcon* the younger brother had driven *Philometor* from the throne, and obliged him to quit the kingdom[t]. Whereupon imbarquing for *Italy*, he landed at *Brundiſium*; from whence he travelled to *Rome* on foot, meanly dreſſed and with very few attendants. This humble appearance he affected, in all likelihood, to raiſe the compaſſion of the ſenate. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Seleucus Philopator*, late king of *Syria*, who was then an hoſtage at *Rome*, having had notice of the arrival of *Ptolemy* in *Italy*, and of the deplorable condition in which this unfortunate prince was going to appear in the metropolis of the world, cauſed an equipage to be prepared for him ſuitable to his dignity, and went out with it himſelf to meet him, that he

Philometor *driven out by his brother* Phyſcon.

[o] Hieronym. ubi ſupra. [p] Vide p. 575. [q] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 60—68. Polyb. legat. 81. p. 907. [r] Liv. l. xlv. c. 11. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Porphyr. ibid. p. 60. Euseb. in Chron. p. 68. [s] Vide p. 580. [t] Porphyr. ubi ſupra.

a he might appear at *Rome* as a king. He found him at twenty-six miles distance from *Rome*, on foot and covered with dust, embraced him, put a crown on his head, and begged he would make use of the royal equipage which he had brought for that purpose. *Ptolemy* expressed his gratitude for the honour and respect the *Syrian* had shewn him; but had his reasons for not accepting the offers of the prince. Nay, he would not even permit him to accompany him the rest of the way; but entered *Rome* on foot, with the same mean attendance and in the same dress with which he first set out on his journey, and without any state or ceremony took up his lodging in the private house of a painter of *Alexandria*, his subject. The senate was no sooner informed of his arrival, but they sent for him, and excused themselves for not having b received him with those ceremonies which were usual on such an occasion, assuring him, that it was not from any neglect or want of respect for his person, but merely because his coming had been kept so private, that they had no notice of it till after his arrival. After this having desired him to quit the habit in which he came, and to fix a day for an audience of the senate, in order to lay before them the motives of his journey, he was conducted by some of the senators to lodgings suitable to his royal dignity; and the quæstor was ordered to supply him, at the expence of the public, with all things necessary during his stay at *Rome* [u].

The differences of the two brothers composed by the Romans.

On the day appointed for his having an audience of the senate, he represented to the conscript fathers the injustice of his brother and the wrong done him so effectually, c that they immediately decreed his restoration; and deputed two of their body, *viz.* *Quintius* and *Canuleius*, to attend him to *Alexandria*, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and on their arrival in *Egypt* succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers; in virtue of which *Physcon* was put in possession of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, and *Philometor* of all *Egypt* and the island of *Cyprus*, each of them being declared independent of the other in the dominions allotted them [w]. The treaty of agreement was confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices. But oaths had been long among the generality of princes no more than mere ceremonies, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. For not long after the youngest of the two kings, being dissatisfied with the d part allotted him, sent embassadors to *Rome*, desiring that, besides *Libya* and *Cyrene*, the island of *Cyprus* might be assigned him. As he could not obtain this of the conscript fathers by means of his embassadors, he went to *Rome* in person to solicit the senate for it. But *Menithyllus* of *Alabanda*, whom *Philometor* had sent to plead his cause, maintained it with great zeal and ability. He represented to the senate, that *Physcon* had had a much greater share than he could in reason have expected. "His "brother, said he, has given him *Cyrenaica*; and will not this rich maritime country "satisfy the desires of a younger brother? Nay, *Philometor* has done more for *Physcon*; "he has saved his life. For after the death of *Cleopatra*, *Physcon*, being suspected of "parricide, would not have escaped the fury of the incensed multitude, had he not e "been protected by the king his brother. Besides, an accommodation was made, "conscript fathers, by your embassadors between the two competitors: It was agreed, "that *Philometor* should reign in *Egypt* and in the island of *Cyprus*, and that *Libya* "and *Cyrene* should be given to *Physcon* with the title of king. This treaty was "signed and ratified at the altars, each party binding themselves by the most solemn "oaths to the observance of it. But the ambition of *Physcon* knows no bounds; "he pays no regard to his oath, and even despises your decrees." The embassadors, whom *Rome* had sent to negotiate the accommodation between the two brothers, being present in the senate, confirmed the truth of all *Menithyllus* had advanced. *Physcon* had nothing to answer, but that he was forced by the necessity of his affairs at that f time to consent to the proposal of an ambitious brother, though greatly to his prejudice. "It is certain, said he, that I was injured in the division of my father's "dominions; and therefore, conscript fathers, I have recourse to your equity. "That with me shall supply the place of gods and oaths. I still abate of what is "due to me in justice. All I desire is the island of *Cyprus*, which, though granted, "will not put me upon the level with my brother. *Egypt* is a large kingdom, and "if *Philometor* reigns alone there and in the island of *Cyprus* too, his power will "become very formidable [x].

New disputes between them.

NOTHING

[u] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 322. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. legat. 113. p. 941.
[w] Polyb. ibid. p. 943. Epitom. Liv. l. xlvi. Zonaras, l. ii. [x] Polyb. legat. 113. p. 941. & legat. 117. p. 950.

The Romans *adjudge the island of* Cyprus *to* Physcon.

NOTHING could be more equitable than the decisions of the senate, when their own interest did not interfere and help to turn the balance. But, as it was for the advantage of the republic that the strength of the kingdom of *Egypt* should be divided, and consequently lessened, those refined politicians, without any regard to equity or justice, granted the younger brother what he demanded. *Polybius* observes here, that the *Romans* were ever careful to improve to their own advantage the quarrels and disputes which arose among kings and princes, conducting themselves therein in such manner, as to make the contending parties believe that they favoured them, while they promoted their own interest, which they had solely in view in all their resolutions [y]. This alone prompted them to favour *Physcon*, and adjudge to him the island of *Cyprus*, as an addition to his share, contrary to the treaty of division concluded a little before by their own embassadors. *Demetrius*, who was then at *Rome*, and whose interest it was that *Cyprus* should not continue subject to so powerful a prince as the king of *Egypt*, supported the demand of *Physcon* with all his credit. Two commissioners were therefore sent with the king of *Cyrene*, viz. *T. Torquatus* and *Cn. Merula*, to put him in possession of *Cyprus*. Their orders were to use gentle methods, and endeavour by fair means to prevail upon *Philometor* to give up *Cyprus* to his brother.

WHILE *Physcon* was at *Rome* on this occasion, he had often the opportunity of seeing *Cornelia*, the mother of the *Gracchi*, who was the pattern of her sex and the prodigy of her age. The *Egyptian*, being taken, not so much with her charms, as with her virtue, superior understanding, and extraordinary qualifications, caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But she, being the daughter of *Scipio Africanus* and the widow of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been twice consul and once censor, despised the offer, thinking it more honourable to be one of the first matrons of *Rome*, than to reign with *Physcon* in *Libya* and *Cyrene* [z].

Physcon set out from *Rome* with the two embassadors, and arriving in *Greece* on his way to *Cyprus*, he there raised a great number of mercenaries, with a design to sail forthwith to *Cyprus*, and possess himself by force of that island. But the embassadors having acquainted him that they were injoined by the senate to use gentle methods, and procure him the possession of the island by way of treaty with his brother, and not by dint of arms, at their request he dismissed his forces, and with *Merula* returned to *Libya*, while *Torquatus* pursued his journey to *Alexandria*. The design of the embassadors was to bring the two brothers to an interview on the frontiers of their dominions, and there to settle matters between them in an amicable manner, agreeable to the instructions of the senate. But *Torquatus*, on his arrival at the court of *Alexandria*, found *Philometor* no ways inclined to comply with the decree of the senate. He urged the late agreement made between him and his brother, by *Quintus* and *Canuleius* the former embassadors; in virtue of which *Cyprus* having been allotted to him, he thought it very strange, that it should, contrary to the articles of that treaty, be now taken from him and given to his brother. However, he did not absolutely refuse to yield to the orders of the senate, but shewing himself inclined to grant some things, and objecting against others, he spun out the time without coming to any determination [a]. In the mean time *Physcon*, who waited at *Apis* in *Libya*, as had been agreed on, to hear the result of *Torquatus*'s negotiations, receiving no intelligence from him, sent *Merula* also to *Alexandria*, hoping that both the embassadors might prevail upon *Ptolemy* to comply with the express orders of their republic. But *Philometor* still observed the same conduct, treating the embassadors with great kindness, flattering them with fair words, and entertaining them at a great charge for forty days together, without ever giving them any positive answer. At length, when he found that they would be put off no longer, he plainly declared that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and would hearken to no other [b]. With this answer *Merula* return'd to *Physcon*, and *Torquatus* to *Rome*.

Philometor refuses to submit to the decree of the senate.

IN the mean time the *Cyreneans*, being informed of the ill conduct of *Physcon* during his short reign at *Alexandria*, conceived so strong an aversion against him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but *Philometor* fomented under-hand these disturbances in order to find his brother employment at home, and thereby divert him from raising new commotions in *Egypt* or *Cyprus*. *Physcon*, being informed of these troubles, and at the same time receiving intelligence that the *Cyreneans* were already in the field, laid aside all thoughts of *Cyprus*,

The Cyreneans *rise up in arms against* Physcon.

[y] Idem ibid. [z] PLUT. in Tiber Gracch. [a] POLYB. legat. 113. p. 942. [b] POLYB. legat. 115. p 950.

Cyprus, and leaving *Apis* where his fleet lay in harbour, he haſtened to *Cyrene* with all his forces, but was on his arrival overthrown by the rebels, hereupon being involved in great difficulties, he reſolved to ſend two embaſſadors to *Rome*, there to renew his complaints againſt his brother, not daring to go thither in perſon, till ſuch time as the troubles raiſed at *Cyrene* were appeaſed. The embaſſadors, ſetting out with *Torquatus* and *Merula*, arrived ſafe at *Rome*, where, after a long debate between them and *Menithyllus*, whom *Philometor* had ſent back to *Rome* on this occaſion, the ſenate not only declared in favour of *Phyſcon*, but to expreſs their reſentment againſt *Philometor* for not ſubmitting to their decree, renounced all friendſhip and alliance with him, and ordered his embaſſadors to leave the city in five days. Two embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to *Cyrene*, to acquaint *Phyſcon* with the reſolution of the *Roman* ſenate [c].

Phyſcon, having at laſt got the better of his rebellious ſubjects, eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Cyrene*; but his wicked and vicious conduct ſoon eſtranged the minds of the *Cyreneans* from their new king to ſuch a degree, that ſome of them, entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, fell upon him one night as he was returning to his palace, wounded him in ſeveral places, and left him for dead on the ſpot. This he laid to the charge of his brother *Philometor*, and as ſoon as he was recovered returned to *Rome* to make his complaints to the ſenate, and ſhew them the ſcars of his wounds, accuſing him of having employed the aſſaſſins, from whom he had received them [d]. Though *Philometor* was known to be a prince of a moſt mild and humane diſpoſition, and of all men living the moſt unlikely to have given countenance to ſo black an attempt, yet the ſenate, being offended at his refuſing to ſubmit to the regulations they had made with reſpect to the iſland of *Cyprus*, hearkened to this falſe accuſation, and carried their prejudice againſt him to ſuch a height, that they would not ſo much as hear what his embaſſadors had to ſay in confutation of the charge, but ordered them forthwith to depart the city. At the ſame time they appointed five commiſſioners to conduct *Phyſcon* into *Cyprus*, and put him in poſſeſſion of that iſland, injoining all their allies in thoſe parts to furniſh him with forces for that purpoſe [e].

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

Phyſcon, having by this means got together an army, which ſeemed to him ſufficient for the execution of his deſign, landed in *Cyprus*; but, being there encountered by *Philometor* in perſon, his forces were put to flight, and he obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Lapitho*, a city in that iſland, where he was cloſely beſieged, and at length taken and delivered up to *Philometor*, whom he had ſo highly provoked. Every one expected he would have treated him with the ſeverity he well deſerved; but the prince gave on this occaſion a ſignal proof of his good nature and truly generous temper; for he not only forgave him, but reſtored to him *Libya* and *Cyrene*, adding ſome other territories in lieu of the iſland of *Cyprus*, and promiſing him his daughter in marriage [f]. Thus an end was put to the war between the two brothers, the *Romans* being aſhamed to oppoſe any longer a prince, whoſe clemency had gained him the affection of all the neighbouring nations.

Phyſcon *defeated, and taken priſoner by his brother* Philometor, *who generouſly pardons him.*

Philometor on his return to *Alexandria* appointed one *Archias* governor of the iſland of *Cyprus*. But he, ſoon after the king's departure, agreed with *Demetrius* king of *Syria* to betray the iſland to him for five hundred talents. The treachery was diſcovered before it took effect, and the traitor, to avoid the puniſhment which he deſerved, laid violent hands on himſelf. *Archias* had formerly ſerved *Ptolemy* with great fidelity, and even attended him to *Rome*, when he was driven out of his kingdom, and forced to implore the aſſiſtance of the ſenate in his diſtreſs. But as he was of a covetous temper, his fidelity was not proof againſt money; and therefore offered to betray his truſt for the abovementioned ſum, and loſt his life by the bargain [g]. *Ptolemy*, being diſguſted with *Demetrius* for this attempt upon *Cyprus*, joined *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* and *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, in ſetting up a pretender to his crown, and ſupporting him with all the ſtrength of his kingdom, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria* [h]. This was *Alexander Balas*, to whom he even gave his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, after he had placed him on the throne of *Syria*. But he, notwithſtanding theſe and many other favours, being ſuſpected of having entered into a plot againſt his benefactor, *Ptolemy*, highly provoked at his ingratitude, became his greateſt enemy, and marching againſt him routed his army in the neighbourhood of

Death of Philometor.

[c] Polyb. legat. 116, 117. p. 950. [d] Idem legat. 132. p. 961. [e] Polyb. legat. 133. & in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 197. [f] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 197. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 334, 335. Liv. l. xlvii. Zonar. ex Dion. [g] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 170. [h] Vide p. 593.

of *Antioch*, but died a few days after of the wounds he received in the engagement, as a
His character. we have related elsewhere [i]. He was, without all doubt, an excellent prince, and is by all the profane historians highly commended on account of his clemency and good nature. *Polybius*, who was his contemporary, gives him this character; he was, says that historian, an enemy to all kind of cruelty and oppression, averse from spilling the blood of his subjects, and so much inclined to mercy, that during the whole time of his long reign he put none of his nobles, nor even of the citizens of *Alexandria*, to death, though some of them well deserved it. Though his brother, continues the same writer, had provoked him to the highest degree, and committed such crimes as to others would have seemed unpardonable, yet he not only forgave him, but treated him with the affection of a kind brother [k]. 'Tis true, that in the beginning b
of his reign he was looked upon, as *Justin* informs us [l], as a very mean-spirited prince, keeping, while in the army, at as great a distance from all danger as he was able, and afterwards submitting in a shameful manner to the will of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, by whom he suffered himself to be deprived of a rich and powerful kingdom without attempting to recover it. But this mean behaviour was not owing to his want of natural courage or capacity, for he afterwards gave many instances of both, as we have seen; but to his effeminate education. For the eunuch *Eulæus*, who had the care of his education and was at the same time one of his prime ministers, endeavoured to corrupt him with all manner of luxury, in order to render him unfit for governing, and by that means keep the power in his own hands. He c
took the name of *Philometor* to testify his gratitude to his mother *Cleopatra*, for her prudent and careful administration during his minority. He allowed the *Jews* to build a temple in *Egypt* like that of *Jerusalem*, being induced thereunto by *Onias*, who was in high favour both with him and his queen *Cleopatra* [m]. *Aristobulus* an *Alexandrian Jew*, and a *Peripatetic* philosopher of great note, is said to have been *Ptolemy*'s preceptor, and to have dedicated to him a comment, which he wrote on the five books of *Moses* [n]. The author of the history of the *Maccabees*, in his account of the troubles of *Syria*, represents *Ptolemy* as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under his feet the most sacred laws of justice and nature, to raise himself on the ruins of his son-in-law *Alexander Balas*; which no-ways agrees with the d
character given him by *Josephus*, *Polybius*, and other profane historians [o].

Ptolemy Physcon. *Year of the flood* 2858. *Before Christ* 141.

Cleopatra, queen of *Egypt*, on the death of *Philometor* her brother and husband, endeavoured to secure the crown for the son she had by him, being therein supported by some chief lords of the kingdom; but others, declaring for *Physcon* the deceased king's brother, sent embassadors to invite him from *Cyrene*, where he then reigned, to *Alexandria*. This obliging *Cleopatra* to provide for her defence, she had recourse to *Onias* and *Dositheus*, two *Jews*, who had had the whole management of affairs during the last years of *Philometor*'s reign. These with an army of their countrymen hastened to her assistance. But before hostilities were committed on either side, matters were compromised by the interposition of *Thermus*, a *Roman* embassador at that time e
Marries Cleopatra, *and on the day of the nuptials murders her son.* in *Alexandria*, on the following terms, *viz.* that *Physcon* should marry *Cleopatra*, and reign jointly with her during his life, but at the same time declare her son by *Philometor* next heir to the crown [p]. To these terms both parties agreed; but as *Physcon* could not but look with jealousy on the young prince, whose birth intitled him to the crown, he murdered him in his mother's arms on the very day of the nuptials. This prince, as we have observed above, was commonly called *Physcon* by reason of his prominent belly; but the name which he assumed was *Euergetes*, that is, *the benefactor*; this the *Alexandrians* changed into that of *Kakergetes*, or *the evildoer*, a surname to which he had the justest title; for he was the most cruel, wicked, and likewise the most vile and despicable, of the *Ptolemies*, who reigned in *Egypt*. f
He began his reign with the murder of his nephew in the manner we have related, and continued it to the last with the same cruelty and wickedness. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he caused all those to be put to death, who had shewed any
His cruelty. concern for the murder of the young prince. Transported with rage against the *Jews*, for having espoused the cause of *Cleopatra*, he treated them more like slaves than subjects. *Josephus* tells us, that he condemned all those of that nation, who were at *Alexandria*, to be trod to death by elephants, and that by the miraculous interposition

[i] Vide p. 599. [k] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 191. [l] Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. [m] Joseph. contra Apion. l. ii. [n] Euseb. Præp Evang. l. xiii. c. 12. & Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. [o] Vide p. 599. [p] Joseph. l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1064. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8.

a tion of heaven in their favour they eſcaped the fury of thoſe animals. But that writer places a fact here which happened in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, as is plain from the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. However, it is certain, that this wicked prince made himſelf the curſe of his people by his unparalleled cruelties; putting every day ſome of them to death, either on groundleſs ſuſpicions, or for the ſmalleſt faults; and often for no faults at all, but merely to gratify his cruel and inhuman temper. Thoſe who had had the greateſt ſhare in the confidence of his brother *Philometor*, were ſacrificed the firſt; and next to them moſt of the leading men, who had declared in his favour againſt *Cleopatra*; for as they had by their intereſt placed him on the b throne, ſo they might by the ſame, as he apprehended, drive him from it; and therefore he reſolved to diſpatch his own friends after he had got rid of his brother's [q].

In the ſecond year of his reign queen *Cleopatra* brought him a ſon, while he was employed in the performance of certain religious ceremonies, practiſed, according to the ſacred rites of *Egypt*, by their kings ſoon after their acceſſion to the crown. *Phyſcon* was tranſported with joy at the birth of a ſon, whom he deſigned for ſucceſſor, calling him *Memphitis*, from the ceremonies which he was diſcharging at the time of his birth in the city of *Memphis*. However, he could not forbear his cruel practices even during the public rejoicings on account of the young prince's birth; but cauſed ſome chief lords of *Cyrene*, who attended him into *Egypt*, to be barbarouſly murdered, for having on that occaſion caſt ſome reflections on one of his favourite courteſans, by name *Irene* [r]. On his return to *Alexandria*, he baniſhed all thoſe who had been brought up with his brother *Philometor*, and, without the leaſt provocation, gave his guards, who conſiſted of *Greek* and *Aſiatic* mercenaries, free liberty to murder and plunder the inhabitants of that rich metropolis at their pleaſure; and the cruelties practiſed by thoſe greedy and inhuman wretches upon this licence are not to be expreſſed. *Juſtin* [s] and *Athenæus* [t] tell us, that not only the private houſes, but the ſtreets, and even the temples ſtreamed daily with the blood of the innocent citizens; which ſo terrified the few *Alexandrians*, who outlived theſe repeated maſſacres, that ſtealing privately away, they fled into other countries, and left their native city in a manner deſolate. *Phyſcon* therefore, that he might not reign over empty houſes, invited ſtrangers, by his edicts diſperſed over the neighbouring countries, to repeople the place. Upon this invitation great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of thoſe who had fled, and, admitting them to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the former citizens, by this means repeopled the city [u]. As there were among thoſe who had left *Egypt* on this occaſion many grammarians, philoſophers, phyſicians, geometricians, and maſters of other liberal arts and ſciences, by their means learning was revived in *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and in other places where they ſettled. The wars, which had been carried on for a long tract of time among the ſucceſſors of *Alex-* e *ander*, had in a manner extinguiſhed learning in thoſe parts; and it would have been intirely loſt, but for the protection and encouragement given to learned men by the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. The firſt *Ptolemy* erected at *Alexandria* a muſæum or college, as we have related above, for the ſupport of thoſe who devoted their time to the ſtudy of the liberal arts; and, adding to it a great library for their uſe, drew by that means moſt of the learned men out of *Greece* to his metropolis. *Ptolemy* the ſecond, and alſo the third, having herein followed the example of their predeceſſor, *Alexandria* became the place where the ſciences flouriſhed, when they were quite neglected elſewhere, moſt of the inhabitants of that city being bred up in the knowledge of ſome ſcience or other. Whence when they were driven by the cruelty and oppreſſions of f this wicked tyrant into foreign countries, as they were qualified to gain themſelves a maintenance by teaching in the places where they ſettled the particular arts they were ſkilled in, they erected ſchools for this purpoſe in the countries, through which they were diſperſed; and being ſatisfied, by reaſon of their poverty, with a ſmall ſalary, great numbers of ſcholars flocked to them. By this means the ſeveral branches of learning were revived in thoſe eaſtern parts, in the ſame manner as they were in latter ages in the weſtern after the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Turks*. For that city being reduced by the infidels in the year of the chriſtian æra 1453, the learned men, who lived there and in the other parts of *Greece*, to avoid the cruelty of the *Turks*, withdrew

Learning revived in Greece, Aſia Minor, *&c.*

[q] Justin. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 350. [r] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. p. 354.
[s] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. [t] Athen. l. iv. c. 24. [u] Justin. & Athen. ibid.

withdrew into *Italy*, where, under the patronage of the *Italian* princes, especially of *Lorenzo de Medicis*, they propagated their books and their learning. a

Three Roman *embassadors arrive at* Alexandria.

But to return to *Alexandria*; while foreigners were flocking from all parts to that metropolis with a design to settle there, on the encouragement given them by *Physcon*, three *Roman* embassadors landed at that port, viz. *Scipio Africanus* the younger, *Spurius Mummius*, and *L. Metellus*. They had been sent by their republic to visit the countries which were subject to *Rome*, as *Greece* and *Macedon*, and those also that were only in alliance with her; their commission being to pass through *Greece* and *Macedon*, and from thence to the courts of the princes of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Pergamus*, *Bithynia*, &c. to observe the state of affairs in each kingdom, to compose what differences they should find among their kings, and to settle in all places peace and concord. b The report of *Scipio*'s coming had reached *Egypt* before him; and upon the news of his arrival, the inhabitants repaired to the port in great crowds to see a man, who had filled the whole world with the fame of his exploits. On his landing he had covered his face with one of the lappets of his gown; but the *Alexandrians* desired him to shew his face to them, the multitude being come on purpose to see him. *Scipio* complied immediately with their request, whereupon he was with loud acclamations applauded by the numerous crowds [u]. The king himself went out to meet the embassadors; but made such an appearance as inspired them with a contempt for him. He had, says *Athenæus*, out of the seventh book of *Possidonius* the *Stoic* [w], a great head, and a broad face, extremely deformed and shocking, upon a short c squat body, with a belly enormously prominent. His dress was agreeable to his vicious disposition; for he wore only a fine stuff, which was so transparent as to leave those parts visible, which it is the chief end of garments to conceal. *Scipio* and his collegues were extremely offended with these indecencies, but they had no right to reform them. The more conscious the king was of his crimes and wicked administration, the more respect he affected to shew to the embassadors. He entertained them during their stay at *Alexandria* with all the varieties of the most sumptuous viands; but they, scorning that rich fare, as prejudicial both to their bodies and minds, touched nothing but what was necessary in the most temperate manner for the support of nature. Such was the temperance of the *Romans* in the times we are now d writing of. The king shewed them in person his palace and treasury, and whatever else was worth seeing at *Alexandria*. After they had viewed that great metropolis, and made themselves well acquainted with the state of affairs there, they sailed up the *Nile* to *Memphis* and the other parts of *Egypt*. In this progress observing the great number of cities, the vast multitudes of inhabitants, the fertility of the soil, &c. they concluded, that nothing was wanting to render the kingdom of *Egypt* one of the most powerful states in the world, but a prince of abilities and application; and therefore were mighty well pleased to find a prince on the throne intirely destitute of every qualification that was necessary for such an undertaking [x].

Kindly entertained by Physcon.

Physcon *divorces his sister, and marries his neice.*

The embassadors no sooner left *Egypt*, but *Physcon* began to exercise the same cruel- e ties upon the new inhabitants of *Alexandria*, which had obliged the ancient citizens to abandon their country. No day passed without some signal instance of his cruelty and tyranny, such of the *Alexandrians*, as were possessed of large estates, being daily murdered under some pretence or other. We have observed above, that he married *Cleopatra*, his sister and his brother's widow, and slew her son in her arms on the very day of the nuptials. But now falling in love with a daughter she had by *Philometor*, who was also called *Cleopatra*, he first ravished and afterwards married her, having divorced her mother to make room for her. These and many other excesses of the like nature exasperated the *Alexandrians* against him to such a degree, that they wanted only an opportunity of taking up arms, and ridding themselves of a f tyrant, who was become the contempt, as well as the hatred and detestation, of his people. That he kept the crown on his head, under so general an odium and aversion of his subjects, was wholly owing to *Hierax* his chief minister. He was a native of *Antioch*, and had in the reign of *Alexander Balas*, in a joint commission with *Diodotus* called afterwards *Tryphon*, governed the city of *Antioch*, as we have related elsewhere. On the turn of affairs, which afterwards happened in *Syria*, he retired into *Egypt*; and there, entering into the service of *Ptolemy Physcon*, was raised to the chief command of the army, and moreover charged with the whole management of the affairs of

[u] Plut. in Apoph. [w] Athen. l. xii. c. 27. [x] Justin. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Athen. l. vi. c. 273.

of the kingdom. As he was a man of great valour and wisdom, he took care to gain the affections of the soldiery by paying them punctually, and to ballance, so far as in him lay, by his good and wise administration, the wicked conduct of his master; and by this means had the good luck to keep for several years all things quiet in the kingdom, under the most contemptible, brutal, and cruel tyrant that had ever swayed a sceptre[y]. But afterwards, *Hierax* being either dead, or removed from his station, the *Alexandrians* began openly to complain of the oppressions they groaned under, and throw out threats against their king in case he did not change his conduct. But *Physcon*, in order to put them out of a condition of attempting any thing against him, resolved on a general massacre of all their young men, in whom the whole
b strength of the place consisted. Accordingly when they were one day assembled in the gymnasium or place of their publick exercises, he caused fire to be set to it, so that they all perished in the flames, or by the swords of his mercenaries, whom the tyrant had placed at all the avenues. Hereupon the people, being exasperated to the highest degree, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and running without any guide, but their rage and despair, to the king's palace, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes. But he had the good fortune to make his escape undiscovered, and to retire to the island of *Cyprus*, with *Cleopatra* his wife and *Memphitis* his son by his sister *Cleopatra*[z]. Upon his flight the *Alexandrians* placed on the throne his divorced queen and sister; but he fearing lest they should bestow the crown on his son, whom he had appointed gover-
c nor of *Cyrene* sent for him into *Cyprus*, and as soon as he was landed caused him to be assassinated. This new act of cruelty provoking the people still more against him, they pulled down and dashed to pieces all the statues which had been erected to him in *Alexandria*, which he supposing to have been done at the instigation of his divorced queen, his rage stifled all natural affection in him; wherefore considering *Memphitis* only as *Cleopatra*'s child he resolved to revenge the mother's quarrel upon him. Accordingly, without the least concern at spilling the blood of a young prince, his own son, and amiable for his beauty and rising virtues, he caused his throat to be cut in his own sight, and his mangled members to be put into a box, with the head intire, to shew thereby to whom they belonged, and sent to *Alexandria*. The mes-
d senger, who was one of his guards, was ordered to wait till the queen's birth-day, which approached, and was to be celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and then to present it. His orders were executed and the box conveyed to the queen in the midst of the publick rejoicings, which were quickly changed into a general mourning. The horror and detestation which the sight of so dismal an object stirred up in all who were present, against the author of such a monstrous and unparalleled cruelty, cannot be expressed. The abominable present, being exposed to the view of the public, had the same effect on the populace, as it had had on the nobles at court. They knew what they were to expect from a king, who had thus treated his own son, and therefore nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that
e monster of cruelty from ever reascending the throne. An army was soon raised, and the command of it given to *Marsyas*, whom the queen had appointed general, enjoining him to take all the necessary steps for the defence of the country[a].

A general massacre of all the young men of Alexandria.

Physcon *driven from the throne.*

Murders his own son, and sends his mangled members to Cleopatra *his mother.*

On the other hand, *Physcon*, having hired a numerous body of mercenaries, sent them under the command of *Hegelochus* against the *Alexandrians*. Hereupon the two armies meeting on the frontiers of *Egypt*, a bloody battle ensued, wherein the *Egyptian* army was intirely defeated, and their general *Marsyas* taken prisoner, and sent in chains to *Physcon*. Every one expected that so bloody a tyrant would have made his unhappy prisoner first suffer the most exquisite torment, and then put him to some cruel death. But he, to the great surprize of all, pardoned him, and gave him his
f liberty. For finding by experience that his cruelties did not keep in awe, but exasperated the people, he resolved to try whether he could by using lenity regain their affections[b]. *Cleopatra*, being greatly distressed by this overthrow and the loss of her army, which was almost intirely cut to pieces, sent to demand aid of *Demetrius* king of *Syria*, who had married her eldest daughter by *Philometor*, promising him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward. *Demetrius*, accepting the proposal without hesitation, marched with all his forces into *Egypt*, and there laid siege to *Pelusium*[c]. But he being by his tyrannical

[y] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1 & 2. [z] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. Justin. l. viii. c. 8. Orosius, l. v. c. 10. Epit. Liv. l. lix. [a] Justin. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 374. Liv. l. lix. Jul. Obsequens de prodig. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. [b] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 376. [c] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. & l. xxxix. c. 1.

tyrannical government, vicious manner, and haughty behaviour, no leſs hated by the *Syrians* than *Phyſcon* was by the *Egyptians*, the people of *Antioch*, taking advantage of his abſence, broke out into open rebellion, and were joined therein by the *Apamæans*, and moſt of the inhabitants of the other cities of *Syria*. This obliged *Demetrius* to leave *Egypt* and haſten back into *Syria*. *Cleopatra*, being deſtitute of the aid ſhe expected, and no-ways in a condition, after the defeat of her army, to make head againſt *Phyſcon*, put all her valuable effects on board a ſhip, and ſet ſail for *Ptolemais*, where her daughter *Cleopatra* queen of *Syria* then reſided. This *Cleopatra* had been in her father's life-time firſt married to *Alexander Balas*, and afterwards to *Demetrius*. But *Demetrius* being taken priſoner by the *Parthians* and detained amongſt them, ſhe had after her father's death diſpoſed of herſelf to *Antiochus Sidetes*, the brother of *Demetrius*. *Sidetes* dying ſoon after, ſhe returned to the bed of *Demetrius* her firſt huſband, upon his being ſet at liberty by the *Parthian* king [e]. Upon the flight of *Cleopatra*, *Phyſcon* returned to *Alexandria*, and reaſſumed the government, there being, after the retreat of *Cleopatra* and defeat of *Marſyas*, no power in *Egypt* to withſtand him. His firſt thoughts, after his being ſettled anew on the throne, were to be revenged on *Demetrius* for his late invaſion. With this view he ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called *Alexander Zebina*, whoſe adventures we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria* [f]. From this time *Phyſcon* held the kingdom of *Egypt* undiſturbed till the twenty-ninth year of his reign and ſixty-ſeventh of his age, when he died at *Alexandria*, and by his death put an end to a moſt wicked life, and a moſt cruel and tyrannical reign, he having been infamous for both, beyond all who reigned before him in that country [g].

Phyſcon *reſtored.*

His death.

Phyſcon *an encourager of learning.*

ONE would hardly believe, that a prince who is repreſented by hiſtorians as a monſter rather than a man, ſhould have deſerved the reputation of being the reſtorer of letters and the patron of learned men. But this is atteſted in ſeveral places by *Athenæus*, *Vitruvius*, *Epiphanius*, and others [h]. *Athenæus* tells us, that, in the ſhort intervals between his debaucheries, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the polite arts and ſciences. Nay, according to this author, he had ſo extenſive a knowledge, and ſo great an eaſe in diſcourſing of all kinds of literature, that he acquired the ſurname of *Ptolemy the Philologiſt*. The ſame author adds, that he wrote an hiſtory in twenty-four books, and a learned comment on *Homer*. His hiſtory, as *Epiphanius* informs us, was in great repute among the antients, and often quoted by thoſe who wrote on the ſame ſubject. *Galen* tells us, that he enriched the *Alexandrian* library with a great number of valuable books, which he purchaſed at a vaſt expence, having ſent men of learning into all parts of the world for that purpoſe. He allowed one *Panaretus*, who had been a diſciple of *Arceſilas* and was a man of great learning, an annual penſion of twelve talents, that is, of two thouſand three hundred and twenty-five pounds ſterling [i]. He left three ſons behind him, viz. *Apion*, whom he had by a concubine; *Lathyrus* or *Lathurus*, and *Alexander*, his children by *Cleopatra* his niece, whom he had married after divorcing *Cleopatra* her mother. He left the kingdom of *Cyrene* to his eldeſt ſon *Apion*, and that of *Egypt* to his widow *Cleopatra* in conjunction with one of her ſons, whom ſhe ſhould think fit to chuſe. The crown belonged by right of inheritance to *Lathyrus*, the eldeſt of his lawful children; but, *Phyſcon* either from an ill-judged policy, or an exceſſive condeſcenſion to his wife, gave her the abſolute diſpoſal of it; and ſhe looking upon *Alexander* as the moſt likely to leave the whole management of affairs in her hands, reſolved to chuſe him. But the people of *Alexandria*, taking up arms upon this unjuſt preference, obliged her to ſend for *Lathyrus* from the iſland of *Cyprus*, whither ſhe had procured him to be baniſhed in his father's life-time, and admit him to reign jointly with her [k]. But before ſhe would ſuffer him to be inaugurated, according to the cuſtom of the country, at *Memphis*, ſhe forced him to divorce his eldeſt ſiſter *Cleopatra*, whom he paſſionately loved, and to marry in her ſtead *Selene* his youngeſt ſiſter, for whom he had no inclination. On his inauguration he took the name of *Soter*; but is called by *Strabo*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Pliny*, *Joſephus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Lathyrus* or *Lathurus*, by *Athenæus* and *Pauſanias Philometor*, which *Natalis Comes*, in his tranſlation of *Athenæus*, changes

Ptolemy Lathyrus. *Year of the Flood* 2887. *Before Chriſt* 112.

[e] JUSTIN. ibid. &. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. [f] Vide p. 611. [g] PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG. PTOLEMÆUS in can. EPIPHAN. de ponder & menſur. Hieron in Dan. c. 11. [h] ATHEN. l ii. c. 33. EPIPHAN. de ponder. & menſ. VITRUVIUS in præfat. ad. l. vii. [i] Vide USHER. ad ann. Mundi 3835. [k] JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 5. APPIAN, in Mithridat. 225. TROG. in Prolog. 39. & 40. JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 18. CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. Strom. l. i. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 705. PLIN. l. ii. c. 67. &. l. vi. c. 30.

a changes into that of *Philopator*. The name *Philometor* was given him, as *Pausanias* observes [l], by antiphrasis, no one having ever hated his mother more than he did. But he is commonly known by the name, or rather nick-name of *Lathyrus*, which in the *Greek* tongue signifies a *chich-pea*, he having in all likelihood some mark of this sort on his face. The *Greek* word *Lathyros* answers the *Latin Cicer*, whence the family of the *Ciceros* had their name, one of their ancestors having an excrescence like a pea on his nose. *Cleopatra*, whom *Lathyrus* had been obliged to repudiate, disposed of herself in marriage to *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, carrying with her an army, which she raised in *Cyprus*, for her portion, and thereby enabling *Cyzicenus* to make head against *Antiochus Grypus* his half brother and competitor, as we have related b in the history of *Syria* [m]. However, *Cyzicenus* was defeated by *Grypus*, and his wife *Cleopatra* dragged from one of the temples of *Antioch*, where she had taken sanctuary, and put to death by the command of her sister *Tryphæna*, the wife of *Grypus* [n].

In the mean time *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, the common mother of these two sisters, did not seem to be any ways affected, either with the death of the one, or the crime of the other. Her mind was so actuated by ambition and the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts, but how she might best support her authority in *Egypt*, and there continue to reign without controul during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of *Cyprus* to *Alexander* her younger son, c that she might from thence be assisted by him against his brother *Lathyrus*, in case he should ever dispute the authority, which she was determined never to part with [o].

Lathyrus had not reigned long, before his mother, provoked at some measures entered into against her will, found means by base artifices to gain over the people of *Alexandria* to the interest of her youngest son, and to place him on the throne. The matter is thus related by *Justin* [p], *Pausanias*, [q] *Porphyrius* [r], and *Josephus* [s]: While the two competitors for the crown of *Syria* were wasting their strength against each other, *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*, seeing they had nothing to fear from them, undertook the siege of *Samaria*. Hereupon the *Samaritans* had recourse to *Cyzicenus*, who d marched to their relief; but had the misfortune to be overthrown in battle by the two sons of *Hyrcanus*, who had besieged the place. After this victory the two brothers returned to the siege, and pursued it with such vigour, that the besieged were obliged to implore once more the assistance of *Cyzicenus*, who, not having sufficient forces of his own for such an attempt, desired *Lathyrus* king of *Egypt* to send him a body of troops to be employed against the victorious *Jews*. *Lathyrus* readily complied with his request, and ordered six thousand men into *Syria*, contrary to the opinion and inclination of *Cleopatra* his mother. For as she had two *Jews*, *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the sons of that *Onias* who built the *Jewish* temple in *Egypt*, for her chief favourites and ministers, she was very unwilling to do any thing that might e redound to the disadvantage of their nation; and therefore, being highly provoked against *Lathyrus* for this and some other attempts of the like nature against her authority, she first took his first wife *Selene* from him, though he had already two sons by her, and then drove him out of the kingdom. As this could not be effected without the consent of the *Alexandrians*, the treacherous and unnatural mother, to stir up the populace against her own son, caused some of her favourite eunuchs, on whose fidelity she could depend, to be wounded, and then bringing them covered over with blood into the publick assembly of the *Alexandrians*, pretended, that they had been thus treated and abused by *Lathyrus*, for defending her person against his wicked attempts. She inflamed the people by this black fiction to such a degree, that they rose in a general f tumult against the prince, and would have tore him in pieces had he not saved his life on board a ship, which immediately set sail, and delivered him from the imminent danger he was in [t]. Upon the flight of *Lathyrus*, *Cleopatra* sent for her younger son *Alexander*, on whom she had bestowed the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and having declared him king of *Egypt* in the room of *Lathyrus*, obliged the latter to be content with *Cyprus* on his brother's quitting it [u]. This happened, according to *Porphyrius* [w], in the eighth year of *Alexander*'s reign in *Cyprus*, and eleventh of *Cleopatra*'s in *Egypt*.

Cleopatra *drives out* Lathyrus, *and places on the throne* Alexander *her younger son.*

Not

[l] Pausin. in Atticis, p. 7. [m] Vide p. 613. [n] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 3. [o] Pausan. in Atticis. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. [p] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. [q] Pausan in Attic. [r] Porphyr. ubi supra. [s] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. [t] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. Porphyr. ibid. p. 60. [u] Justin. Pausan. &c. ibid. [w] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

NOT long after this revolution, *Alexander Jannæus*, king of the *Jews*, having settled matters at home, marched out against the inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, and having vanquished them in battle, obliged them to shut themselves up within the walls of their city, and there closely besieged them. Hereupon they dispatched messengers to *Ptolemy Lathyrus* king of *Cyprus*, imploring his assistance, and begging he would come in person to their relief. But the messengers were scarce gone, when, upon second thoughts, they began to repent of what they had done. They apprehended, that they might suffer as much by *Ptolemy*'s coming to them as a friend, as they could from *Alexander* their enemy; for they did not doubt but *Cleopatra*, upon their entering into an alliance with *Lathyrus*, would march against them with all the forces of *Egypt*. Upon this consideration they resolved to defend themselves without admitting any auxiliaries at all, and took care to acquaint *Ptolemy* with their resolution. But he having in the mean time, with incredible expedition, increased his army to the number of thirty thousand men, and prepared vessels to transport them, notwithstanding their remonstrances, landed his forces in *Phœnice*. and marched towards *Ptolemais*, encamping at a small distance from the city. But the *Ptolemains* refusing to admit his embassadors into the town, or to enter into any treaty with him, he was under great perplexity, not knowing what course to take. While he was in this condition, messengers arrived at his camp from *Zoilus* prince of *Dora* and from the *Gazæans*, desiring his assistance against the *Jews*; for *Jannæus*, having divided his army, besieged *Ptolemais* with one part of his forces, and had sent the other to lay waste the territories of *Zoilus* and *Gaza*. *Ptolemy* was glad of this opportunity of employing his troops; and accordingly marched to the assistance of those who had called him. This obliged *Jannæus* to raise the siege of *Ptolemais*, and lead back his army from thence to watch the motions of *Lathyrus*. As he was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, he pretended to court his friendship, and entering into a treaty with him, he engaged to pay him four hundred talents of silver, on condition, that he would deliver *Zoilus* into his hands, with the places which he held. *Lathyrus* closed with the proposal, and accordingly seized on *Zoilus* and all his territories, with a design to deliver them up to *Alexander Jannæus*. But in the mean time, being informed that *Alexander* was treating under-hand with *Cleopatra*, in order to bring her upon him with all her forces and drive him out of *Palestine*, he broke off all friendship and alliance with him, and resolved to do him all the mischief he could [x]. Accordingly the next year, having divided his army into two bodies, he detached one of them to form the siege of *Ptolemais* for not having admitted his embassadors; with the other he marched in person against *Alexander*. At first he took *Asochis* a city of *Galilee* on a sabbath day, and carried away from thence ten thousand captives with an immense booty. From *Asochis* he advanced to *Sepphoris*, another city of the same country, which he invested; but was soon obliged to raise the siege, upon intelligence that *Alexander* was coming full march against him at the head of fifty, or as others write of fourscore, thousand men. The two armies met at *Asophos*, not far from the *Jordan*, and engaged with the utmost fury. Victory was sometime doubtful, eight thousand of *Alexander*'s men, who carried brazen bucklers having fought with great intrepidity and resolution; but at length the *Jews* were put to the rout after having lost thirty thousand, or, as *Timagrines* writes, fifty thousand men, not including the prisoners taken by *Lathyrus* after the victory. The success of this day was chiefly owing to one *Philostephanus*, who observing that his men were ready to turn their backs, being warmly charged by the *Jewish* targeteers, flanked the enemy with fresh troops, put them in confusion, and obliged them, as they were not relieved by their companions, to give ground and save themselves by a precipitate flight [y]. A most cruel and barbarous action is related to have been done by *Lathyrus* on this occasion. For having taken up his quarters in the evening after this victory in the neighbouring villages, and finding them full of women and children, he caused all their throats to be cut, and their mangled limbs to be put into boiling caldrons, as if he intended to make a repast with them for his army. His design was to make the *Jews* believe, that his men fed upon human flesh, and thereby strike a greater terror and dread of his army into the neighbouring country. This fact is related by *Josephus* on the authority of *Strabo* and *Nicholaus Damascenus* [z]. *Lathyrus*, after the defeat of *Alexander*, ravaged and laid waste the whole country,

Lathyrus passes from Cyprus, *where he reigned, into* Phœnice.

And makes war upon Alexander Jannæus.

And defeats them.

Cruelty of Lathyrus.

[x] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20. [y] JOSEPH. ibid, c. 20, 21. [z] JOSEPH. ibid.

a country, the *Jews* being no-ways in a condition to made head againſt him, or even appear in the field.

THIS victory, and the advantages attending it, alarmed *Cleopatra*, who apprehending, that, if *Lathyrus* ſhould make himſelf maſter of *Judæa* and *Phœnice*, he would thereby be in a condition to invade *Egypt* and recover that kingdom, reſolved to put a ſtop to his further progreſs. She therefore commanded an army to be raiſed, with all poſſible expedition, under the command of *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the two *Jews* of whom we have made mention above. At the ſame time ſhe equipped a powerful fleet with a great number of tranſports, and putting her troops on board of them, ſhe imbarqued with them herſelf and ſet ſail for *Phœnice*; where ſhe landed b her army, and ſo terrified *Lathyrus* with her unexpected arrival, that he abandoned the ſiege of *Ptolemais* and retired in great haſte into *Cæle-Syria*. *Cleopatra* diſpatched *Chelcias* with one part of her army after him, and marched with the other, which ſhe put under the command of *Ananias*, to *Ptolemais*, expecting the citizens would open their gates to her. But they refuſing to admit her, ſhe inveſted the place, with a deſign to reduce by force that important fortreſs. In the mean time *Chelcias* having loſt his life in purſuing *Lathyrus* into *Cæle-Syria*, that prince, taking advantage of the diſorder occaſioned in the army by the loſs of their general, marched with all his forces into *Egypt*, hoping to find it unprovided with forces in the abſence of his mother, who had carried her beſt troops with her into *Phœnice*. But he was diſappointed in c his expectation; for the forces, which *Cleopatra* had left for the defence of the country, made good their ground, till they were joined by other troops, which, on this attempt of *Lathyrus*, ſhe detached from *Phœnice* to reinforce them. Upon their arrival *Lathyrus* was obliged to return to *Paleſtine*, and there take up his winter quarters at *Gaza* [w].

Obliged by Cleopatra *to quit* Phœnice.

Cleopatra, however, purſued the ſiege of *Ptolemais* with ſo much vigor, that ſhe reduced it at laſt. She no ſooner entered it, but *Alexander Jannæus* haſtened thither with rich preſents to implore her protection. What chiefly recommended him to her favour was his enmity to *Lathyrus*; and on this account he was received kindly by the queen; but ſome perſons about her thinking ſhe had now a fair opportunity of d making herſelf miſtreſs of all *Judæa* by ſeizing *Alexander*, earneſtly preſſed her to it. The queen was not averſe from following their advice; but *Ananias* repreſented to her how baſe and diſhonourable it would be to treat thus an ally engaged with her in the ſame cauſe; that it was contrary to the faith of treaties, which are the foundations of ſociety; that ſuch a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her intereſt, and would not fail to draw upon her the abhorrence of all the *Jews* diſperſed throughout the world. Partly by theſe conſiderations, and partly by his credit, which was great with the queen, he prevailed upon her to drop the deſign, and to renew her alliance with *Alexander*, who having, after his return to *Jeruſalem*, recruited his army, took the field anew, and croſſing the *Jordan* laid ſiege to *Gadara* [x]. *Lathyrus* having ſpent e the winter at *Gaza* after his retreat out of *Egypt*, and finding that all his efforts againſt *Paleſtine* would prove ineffectual, ſo long as his mother oppoſed him, abandoned that country and retured to *Cyprus*. Hereupon *Cleopatra* on her ſide ſailed back into *Egypt*; and thus *Paleſtine*, to the great joy of the *Jewiſh* nation, was delivered from all foreign forces [y].

Cleopatra *takes* Ptolemais.

Cleopatra, underſtanding on her return to *Alexandria*, that a treaty was carrying on at *Damaſcus* between her ſon *Lathyrus* and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, in virtue of which the *Syrian* was to ſupply *Ptolemy* with a body of troops to be employed in a ſecond attempt upon *Egypt*, the queen, to render their meaſures abortive, gave her daughter *Selene*, whom ſhe had taken from *Lathyrus*, to *Antiochus Grypus*, ſending him at the ſame f time a conſiderable ſupply of men and money. By this means *Grypus* being enabled to renew the war with his brother *Cyzicenus*, the latter had ſo much employment upon his hands at home, that he was not in a condition to lend any aſſiſtance to *Lathyrus*, who thereupon was forced to drop the project [z] and return to *Cyprus*.

IN the mean time *Ptolemy Alexander*, the younger brother, acted the baſe part of a ſlave under the ſpecious appearance of a ſovereign. But at laſt being tired out with the indignities he was forced to ſuffer from this fury, and terrified at the barbarous cruelty with which ſhe perſecuted his brother *Lathyrus*, eſpecially in thus taking from him his wife and giving her to his enemy; and moreover obſerving, that ſhe did not

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] JOSEPH. ibid. [z] JUSTN. ibid. LIV. epit. l. lxviii.

not ſcruple to commit the greateſt crimes to gratify her ambition, that prince did not think himſelf any longer ſafe near her, and therefore ſtole away privately from *Alexandria*, chuſing rather live in baniſhment with ſafety, than to reign with ſo wicked and cruel a mother in continual danger of his life. His flight alarmed the queen, who was well appriſed, that the *Alexandrians* would never ſuffer her to reign without one of her ſons. She therefore uſed all poſſible artifices to prevail upon her ſon to return; and it was not without great ſolicitation that he was induced thereunto. Not long after his return he found, that this reſtleſs woman had formed a conſpiracy againſt his life, and hired aſſaſſins to murder him. But *Alexander* having notice of it prevented the plot, and by cutting her off firſt made it turn upon her own head. She was a moſt wicked woman, as her actions ſufficiently ſhew, and well deſerved this death, had it come from any other hand but her own ſon. As ſoon as it was known at *Alexandria*, that the ſon had cauſed the mother to be put to death, the enormity of the crime ſtirred up all his ſubjects againſt him; they could not ſuffer a parricide to reign over them, but drove him out with ignominy, and ſending to *Cyprus* for *Lathyrus*, replaced him on the throne. *Alexander* led for ſome time a rambling life in the iſland of *Cos*, while his brother returned in triumph into his dominions amidſt the acclamations of his people [a]. *Alexander* having got together ſome ſhips, he next year attempted to return into *Egypt*; but being met at ſea by *Tyrrhus*, *Ptolemy*'s admiral, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Myra* in *Lycia*. From *Myra* he ſteered his courſe towards the iſland of *Cyprus*, hoping that the inhabitants would declare in his favour, and place him on the throne, which his brother had left empty to return to *Egypt*. But *Chœreas*, another of *Ptolemy*'s admirals, coming up with him while he was ready to land, diſperſed his fleet, and killed him in the engagement, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king, for that was all his mother allowed him, for the ſpace of nineteen years [b]. He left a ſon behind him named alſo *Alexander*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Alexander *murders his mother* Cleopatra, *and is driven from the throne.*

Alexander *killed.*

During all the troubles that diſturbed *Egypt*, *Apion*, the natural ſon of *Phyſcon*, maintained peace and tranquility in his dominions; and at length, after a reign of one-and-twenty years, in order to ſecure them from the miſeries, in which the countries ſubject to the *Egyptian* government were involved, deviſed them by will to the *Romans*. He was, as we have related above, ſon to *Phyſcon* by a concubine named *Irene*, and by him at his death appointed king of *Cyrenaica*. This country enjoyed its freedom, till it was reduced by *Ptolemy* the firſt king of *Egypt*; after it became ſubject to the crown of *Egypt*, it was governed by the brothers or younger ſons of thoſe princes, till *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Apion* or *the lean*, bequeathed it to the *Romans*. It comprehended the following cities, *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Arſinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, whence it was called the *African Pentapolis*. The firſt was the capital of the country, and one of the moſt wealthy cities in *Africa*. Near it was the fountain *Cyre* mentioned by *Callimachus*, and mount *Cyra* ſpoke of by *Juſtin*. *Ariſtippus* the founder of the ſect of the *Cyrenaics*, *Eratoſthenes* the geographer, and *Carneades* the philoſopher, were all natives of *Cyrene*. This city is mentioned by the prophet *Amos* [c], and in the ſecond book of kings by the name of *Kir*; but is now called *Corene* and *Cairan*. *Herodotus* gives us a very particular, but fabulous, account of the origin of this city [d]; and *Juſtin* is pretty diffuſe on the ſame ſubject [e]; but *Strabo* tells us in few words, that *Cyrene* was built by one *Battus*, a native of the iſland of *Thera*, of whom we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of the iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, or the *Archipelago*. From him the *Cyreneans* are called by the poet *Silius Battiadæ* [f]. As the iſland of *Thera*, the native country of *Battus*, belonged to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Joſephus* tells us, that the *Cyreneans* were originally *Lacedæmonians* [g]. The ſecond of the five cities took its name from *Berenice*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* and wife of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the firſt. This city was firſt called *Heſperis* and *Heſperides*, and ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance from the *Great Syrtis*. Some have placed in its territory the famous gardens of the *Heſperides*, and the river *Lethon* or *Lethe*, which has furniſhed the poets with numberleſs fictions. It is at preſent a miſerable village, called by its beggarly inhabitants *Bernichio*. *Arſinoe*, another conſiderable city of *Cyrenaica*,

Apion *by his laſt will leaves the kingdom of* Cyrenaica *to the* Romans.

[a] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Appian. in Syriac. Epit. Liv. l. lxxviii. Memnon. c. 33. Euseb. in Chron. Pausan. in Attic. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550. [b] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. [c] Amos, c. 9. [d] Herodot. l. iv. c. 156. [e] Justin. l. xiii. c. 7. [f] Silius Italio. l. xi. v. 60. [g] Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. l. xi. c. 28.

Cyrenaica, took its name from the wife of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, to whom the *Egyptians*, as *Callimachus* tells us, paid divine honours, equalling her to *Venus*. The antient name of this city was, according to *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus*, &c. *Teuchira* or *Tauchira*. *Ferrarius* gives it the name of *Sues*, but the *Turks* call it *Barcu*. *Ptolemais* was antiently called *Barca*, according to *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Stephanus*. But *Ptolemy* makes *Barca* and *Ptolemais* two different cities, placing the former in the inland country, and the latter on the coaſt. It is now commonly called *Tolemata*. *Cyrenaica* comprehended other countries beſides the *Pentapolis*, which the *Romans* upon the death of *Apion* did not fail to take poſſeſſion of. But they were at firſt very moderate in the exerciſe of their power, declaring the people a free nation, and only obliging them to pay an annual tribute of *laſer*, which grew here in great quantities, and was better than in any other part of the world (H). By this means the *Libyan Pentapolis* enjoyed a perfect freedom, and acknowledged no foreign dominion, *Rome* being at preſent content with leſſening very conſiderably the power of *Egypt*. Not long after this country became a prey to two tyrants, who ſucceſſively uſurped a ſovereign authority over their fellow-citizens; but *Lucullus*, while he ſerved under *Sylla* in quality of quæſtor, having touched at *Cyrene* as he coaſted along *Africa*, reſtored the oppreſſed province to its former liberty, reſettled it in peace, and reformed its laws, putting at the ſame time the *Cyreneans* in mind of the anſwer *Plato* had formerly given to the deputies of their nation, deſiring him to give them a plan of government. The philoſopher refuſed to grant them their requeſt, ſaying, that a people ſo happy and rich as they were, would never ſubmit to the authority of laws [h]. But to return to *Egypt*.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, being upon the death of his mother and brother delivered from two formidable competitors to his crown, began to ſettle all things on their antient footing, and to remedy, as far as in him lay, the many diſorders and abuſes which had crept in during the late troubles. But the city of *Thebes* in the *Upper Egypt* refuſed to ſubmit to his regulations, and even attempted to ſhake off the yoke, and reſume their antient liberties. Hereupon *Lathyrus* marched againſt the rebels, defeated them in a pitched battle, and laid cloſe ſiege to their city, which with incredible obſtinacy held out againſt the utmoſt efforts of a victorious army for the ſpace of three years. But it was at laſt taken, and by way of puniſhment given up to be plundered by the inraged ſoldiery, who left every-where melancholy marks of their avarice and cruelty. *Thebes*, which till that time had been one of the greateſt and moſt wealthy cities of *Egypt*, was on this occaſion reduced to ſo low a condition, that it never after made any figure in hiſtory [i]. It is ſurpriſing, that *Pauſanias*, deceived by the identity

Lathyrus *takes the city of* Thebes, *and plunders it.*

[h] Appian. in Mithridat. Plut. in Lucullo. [i] Pausan. in Atticis, p. 8.

(H) The *Laſer* of *Africa*, which ſome moderns confound with the *Benjamin*, was a viſcous and medicinal juice drawn by inciſion from a plant, which the *Latins* called *Laſerpitium*, and the *Greeks* Σιλφιον. It grew in ſome places of *Cyrenaica*, and the liquor it produced was, according to *Pliny*, worth its weight in ſilver. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time the ſpecies was loſt, ſome *Nomades*, who made an irruption into *Egypt*, having tore up the roots of that ſhrub (16). But *Pliny* aſcribes the loſs of it to the avarice of the publicans, or public farmers, who uſed to feed their cattle with it. Nevertheleſs in *Nero*'s time there was one ſhrub of it found, which the natives ſent as a great rarity to that emperor (17). The ſame author gives in the place we have quoted an account of the qualities of the *Laſer*, and deſcribes the manner of preparing it; for it was formerly preſcribed in many caſes by phyſicians, and thought to be a ſovereign remedy againſt ſeveral diſtempers. The ſtalks baked under aſhes, and taken before any other food for forty days together, purified the blood, corrected the vicious humours, and was deemed a great reſtorative of a worn-out conſtitution. *Pliny* adds, that it had the ſame effects on cattle as on men. It fattened ſheep and oxen, according to him, and gave the meat an exquiſite flavour. In the year of *Rome* 660, *Valerius* and *Herennius* being conſuls, it was firſt brought from *Cyrenaica* to that city, as the ſame writer informs us; and there greatly admired, and ſought for by all the citizens. From that time the care and ſale of it was committed to the quæſtors. In the beginning of the civil war, *Julius Cæſar*, having ſeized the public treaſury, is ſaid to have taken out of it, beſides other things, fifteen hundred pounds of *laſer*. Afterwards *Rome* was ſupplied with this plant from *Perſia*, *Syria*, and *Media*; but the *laſer* brought from thoſe countries had much leſs virtue than that of *Cyrenaica*. Some botaniſts have confounded this famous ſpecific with *Aſſa-fœtida*, and others with *Benjamin*, which is a valuable ſort of roſin brought from the kinghom of *Lao*, and ſeveral parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. *Theophraſtus* has given us in his hiſtory a full account of the properties and uſes of the *Laſerpitium*; and deſcribed its roots, leaves, ſtalks, and the peculiar form of each of its parts (18). From this antient botaniſt *Pliny* ſeems to have copied the accounts which we read of it in his nineteenth book. If we ſtand to either of the deſcriptions or accounts, we muſt own, that the *laſer* is very different both from the *Benjamin*, and from the ſtinking and offenſive drug called *Aſſa-fœtida*.

(16) *Strab. l.* ix. (17) *Plin. l.* ix. *c.* 3. (18) *Theophraſtus, l.* iii.

tity of names, ſhould apply the hiſtory of the revolt and conqueſt of *Thebes* in *Egypt* to the city of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. What had the kings of *Egypt* to do with *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, which at this time was under the protection of the *Romans*, having been united in intereſt with that republic againſt the kings of *Macedon*, during the whole time of the *Macedonian* war?

TOWARDS the latter end of this king's reign, *Lucullus*, being ſent by *Sylla* to procure ſhips from the princes who retained any regard for the *Roman* name, in order to block up the ports of *Piræeus* and *Munychia*, landed at *Alexandria*; where the inhabitants, purſuant to *Lathyrus*'s orders, received him with thoſe honours which were paid only to the kings of *Egpyt*. His entrance into that city was a kind of triumph. Upon the news of his approach the royal fleet ſailed out in good order to meet him. The king received him with all poſſible marks of diſtinction; appointed him an apartment in his own palace, an honour which had never before been beſtowed upon any foreigner; and ordered his miniſters to give *Lucullus*'s attendants four times the allowance, which was uſually given to other embaſſadors. But the *Roman* contented himſelf with bare neceſſaries, and refuſed a preſent in money, which *Ptolemy* preſſed him to accept. He likewiſe declined going to *Memphis*, and to the other famous cities of *Egypt*, to ſee there the wonders that were the admiration of all ſtrangers, ſaying, that ſuch amuſements became none but idle perſons, and that it would be ſhameful in him to take a journey of pleaſure, while his general was daily hazarding his life in the ſervice of his country. But, after all, the king could not be prevailed upon to part with any of his ſhips, pretending, that he was threatened with a civil war in his own dominions. He therefore diſmiſſed *Lucullus* without complying with his requeſt, after having preſented him with his picture cut in an emerald of great value[k]. This picture, or head of *Ptolemy*, cut in an emerald, *Turnebius* is pleaſed to turn into a cup ſet with precious ſtones.

Lathyrus *dies.* NOT long after *Lathyrus* died, having reigned from the death of his father thirty-ſix years, *viz.* eleven jointly with his mother in *Egypt*, eighteen in *Coprus*, and ſeven alone in *Egypt*, after his mother's death. *Ptolemy* the aſtronomer takes no notice of *Alexander* in his canon, but reckons the whole time from the death of *Ptolemy Phyſcon* to that of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, as the reign of the latter, though he lived half of them in the iſland of *Cyprus* (I). He was ſucceeded by *Cleopatra* his daughter, and

[k] PLUT. in Lucullo.

(I) Though no two perſons were ever more unlike, than *Cleopatra* the mother of *Philometor* and *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* the mother of *Lathyrus* and *Alexander*, yet the two jeſuits, *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, authors of the *Roman* hiſtory now publiſhing at *Paris*, confound them, and charge the former, who was a princeſs of an unblemiſhed character, and governed with great equity, wiſdom, and moderation, during the minority of her children, with the many enormous crimes, which by all hiſtorians, except themſelves, are imputed to the latter (19). Their confounding thus the two mothers leads them of courſe into the like confuſion with reſpect to their children, and this ſecond miſtake, ſtill more material than the former, plunges them into endleſs blunders, which plainly betray in thoſe reverend writers a very ſuperficial knowledge, not to ſay a total ignorance of the *Syrian* hiſtory. For what they find related by the antients of *Lathyrus* and *Alexander* the ſons of *Phyſcon*, and his niece *Cleopatra*, they apply to *Philometor* and his brother *Phyſcon*, the ſons of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*. Thus, for inſtance, they tell us, that *Phyſcon* the youngeſt was alſo called *Alexander*, that the capricious mother, whom they call elſewhere a virtuous princeſs (20), conceived a fondneſs for him, which tended to nothing leſs than robbing *Ptolemy* the elder brother, whom ſhe hated, of the crown, and that hence the ſurname of *Philometor* was given him by way of deriſion. A few lines after they tell us, that the ſon, whom ſhe tenderly loved, killed her with his own hand, and that he, and not the elder, was for this parricide ironically ſurnamed *Philometor*. What a complication of blunders, anachroniſms, and contradictions! This is, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, turning the whole hiſtory of *Syria* topſy-turvy. *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, died quietly in her bed, when her eldeſt ſon was but thirteen years old; for the year enſuing he was declared, as *S. Jerom* informs us (21), to be out of his minority, which was a great ſolemnity among the *Egyptians* called Ανακλητηρια, or, the *ſolemnity of ſalutation*, becauſe they then firſt ſaluted their young prince as king. This ceremony was always performed in the fourteenth year of their king's age, he being then, according to their laws, out of his minority. *Polybius* tells us (22), that *Cleopatra*, as ſhe was ſiſter to *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, and mother to *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, prevented, ſo long as ſhe lived, a rupture between them; but that upon her death the management of affairs falling into the hands of *Lennæus*, a nobleman of the court, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, theſe no ſooner entered on the adminiſtration, but they demanded of *Epiphanes* the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*. This gave occaſion to the war, and not the ambition of *Antiochus*, veiled with the ſpecious pretence of aſſiſting *Philometor* againſt the intrigues of his mother, prejudiced in favour of her youngeſt ſon, *Cleopatra* being dead a whole year before this rupture.

(19) *Vide Hiſt. Rom. l.* xliii. (20) *Lib.* xxxix. *Ad. ann. urb.* 561. (21) *Hieronym. in c.* 11. *Dan.* (22) *Polyb. legat.* 82. *p.* 908.

a and only legitimate offspring. She is called by *Pausanias* [l] *Berenice*, which was her proper name; for as all the males, according to the established custom of the royal family of *Egypt*, had the name of *Ptolemy*, so the females had that of *Cleopatra*, and besides other names to distinguish them from each other. Thus, for instance, *Selene* was called *Cleopatra*, and so were also her two sisters [m]. In like manner the daughter of *Lathyrus*, whose proper name was *Berenice*, bears also that of *Cleopatra*. The observing of this will remove many obscurities and difficulties which occur in the history of *Egypt*. *Sylla*, who, at this time, was perpetual dictator at *Rome*, and gave or took away crowns at pleasure, hearing that *Lathyrus* was dead without male issue, sent *Alexander* the son of that *Alexander*, who had reigned before *Lathyrus*

b and murdered his mother, to succeed his uncle in the kingdom, as the next heir of the male line.

Alexander II. *Year of the Flood*, 2923. *Year before Christ*, 76.

THIS *Alexander* had met with many adventures. When *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Ptolemy Alexander* and *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, marched with her army into *Phœnice* against the latter, she sent her grandson *Alexander*, the son of the former, who then reigned with her in *Egypt*, into the island of *Cos*, with a great sum of money, all her jewels, and her most valuable effects, to be deposited there as a reserve against all events. When *Mithridates* made himself master of that island, the inhabitants delivered up into his hands the young *Egyptian* prince, and the treasures which his grand-mother had lodged there with him. The king of *Pontus* gave him an edu-

c cation suitable to his birth; but he, not thinking himself safe with a prince who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children, fled from the court of *Mithridates*, and took refuge in *Sylla*'s camp, while that general was making war in *Asia*. From that time he had lived in the dictator's family, and in a manner among his domestics, till news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Lathyrus*. Then *Sylla* sent him to take possession of the crown of *Egypt*, as the nearest heir male of the deceased king. But the *Alexandrians*, having placed *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Lathyrus* on the throne six months before his arrival in *Egypt*, to compromise the matter and avoid displeasing *Sylla*, who governed *Rome* with an absolute sway, prevailed upon *Alexander* to marry *Cleopatra* and reign jointly with her. The nuptials were accord-

d ingly celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; but *Alexander*, either out of a dislike to *Cleopatra*'s person, or not caring to have a partner in the government, caused her to be assassinated nineteen days after the marriage, the blackest murders and parricides being now become in a manner fashionable at the court of *Egypt* [n]. *Porphyry* and *Appian* tell us, that the *Alexandrians*, highly provoked at this murder and the haughty and imperious airs their new king assumed, rose up in arms, surrounded his palace, and dragging him into the gymnasium, there put him to death, after a reign of nineteen days [o]. But it is manifest from *Suetonius* and *Cicero*, that he reigned fifteen years after the death of *Cleopatra*, as we shall make appear in the sequel of this history, against the common opinion, or rather mistake, of historians

e and chronologers, who begin the reign of *Ptolemy Auletes* here, confounding it with that of *Alexander*. This prince reigned fifteen years, during which time he made himself so odious to his subjects by his cruelties and vices, that at last they made a general insurrection, and would have sacrificed him to their resentment, had he not seasonably withdrawn himself from the fury of the inraged multitude. He fled first to *Pompey*, who was then in that neighbourhood carrying on the war with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and offered him rich presents and a large sum of money, in hopes of prevailing upon him, by that means, to espouse his cause and restore him to the crown; but *Pompey* refused to meddle with this matter, as being foreign to his commission. Hereupon the banished prince took refuge in the city of *Tyre*,

f whither he had sent before great part of his treasures, and there died some months after, perhaps of grief for the loss of his crown [p]. It is to be observed, that *Ptolemy*, in his chronological canon, does not reckon *Alexander* among the kings of *Egypt*, but begins the reign of *Auletes* his successor from the death of *Lathyrus*, tho' it is manifest, both from *Cicero* and *Suetonius*, that *Alexander* reigned full fifteen years between these two princes [q]. Perhaps *Auletes*, on his father *Lathyrus*'s death, got possession of some part of the *Egyptian* empire; and, on this account, is looked upon by *Ptolemy* as his immediate successor, tho' he had not the whole kingdom till fifteen years after.

Alexander *marries* Cleopatra *the daughter of* Lathyrus, *and murders her.*

Is driven out.

Dies in banishment.

Alexander,

[l] PAUSAN. in Atticis. [m] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. [n] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. [o] APPIAN. & PORPHYR. ibid. [p] SUETON. in Jul. Cæs. c. 11. TROGUS in prolog. CIC. in orat. 2. contra Rullum. [q] CIC. & SUET. ibid.

Alexander, when driven from his dominions and forced to shut himself up in the city of *Tyre*, had, by his embassadors, appealed to the *Roman* senate against his rebellious subjects; but dying before the negotiation was finished, he made over, by his last will, all his rights to the *Roman* people, declaring them heirs to his kingdom, not out of any affection to the republic, but to raise, by that means, a dispute between *Rome* and his rival *Auletes*, whom the *Egyptians* had placed on the throne. The will was brought to *Rome*, where it occasioned great debates. Some, with *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, were for taking immediate possession of the kingdom bequeathed to them in prejudice of *Auletes*. Others, with *Cicero*, were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of such a will, since *Alexander* had no right to dispose of his dominions in prejudice of his successor, and to exclude from the crown all those who were of the royal blood of *Egypt*. *Cicero* represented, that such a notorious usurpation would debase the majesty of the *Roman* people, and involve them in endless wars and disputes; that the fruitful fields of *Egypt* would be a strong temptation to the ambition of the restless tribunes and to the avarice of the common people, who would claim those lands as due to them on account of their poverty; and lastly, that this new acquisition would revive the bloody quarrels, which the *Agrarian* laws had so often raised in the heart of the republic. The authority of *Cicero* and the reasons he alledged against the opinion of *Marcius Philippus* were of great weight with the senate; but what prevented them from seizing on *Egypt* at that time was, their lately having taken possession of *Bithynia*, in virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*, and of *Cyrene* and *Lybia* by the like will of *Apion*. They thought therefore, that if they should, on the same pretence, take possession of *Egypt*, this might give too great umbrage, as if they designed to engross to themselves all foreign dominions; besides, as *Mithridates* was not at that time intirely reduced, they were afraid this might involve them in a new war, while they had the other still on their hands. On these considerations they contented themselves, for the present, with sending deputies to *Tyre*, to take possession of the effects of the deceased king for the use of the republic, and dropped all the rest [r].

Ptolemy Auletes. *Year of the Rod*, 2038. *Before Christ*, 61.

THE *Egyptians*, having driven *Alexander* from the throne in the manner we have related, called to the crown *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Auletes*, or *the Flute-player*, the natural son of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who had no male issue by his wife, that survived him, but several by his concubines. One of these had the kingdom of *Cyprus*, where he reigned till he was, with the greatest injustice, deprived of it by the *Romans*. *Auletes*, on whom the *Alexandrians* bestowed the crown after the expulsion of *Alexander*, is also called by the historians *Dionysius Neos*, or *the New Bacchus*. The name of *Auletes* was given him, because he piqued himself upon his skill in playing on the flute, and even debased himself so as to contend for the prize in the public games. He took great pleasure in imitating the effeminacies of the *Bacchanals*, dancing in a female dress, and in the same measures that they used during the solemnities of their god *Bacchus*; and hence he had the name of *the New Dionysius* or *Bacchus* [s]. *Strabo* tells us, that he surpassed all the kings who reigned before him in the effeminacy of his manners, and was no less infamous on that account, than his grandfather *Physcon* was for his wickedness [t]. As he had but a contested title to the crown, being only the natural son of *Lathyrus*, and the *Romans* pretending, that in virtue of the last will of *Alexander*, his dominions were devolved upon their republic, his first care was to get himself declared an ally of *Rome*, which was a certain means of being authentically acknowledged lawful king of *Egypt*. This he obtained by applying to *Julius Cæsar*, who was then consul, and, being immensely in debt, willingly embraced this opportunity of raising money; for he obliged the king of *Egypt* to purchase the desired alliance at the price of six thousand talents, that is, one million one hundred sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, paid partly to himself, and partly to *Pompey*, whose interest was necessary for obtaining the consent of the people [u]. Tho' that prince's yearly revenues were twice this sum, yet he could not raise it immediately without over-taxing his subjects, which occasioned a general discontent throughout the kingdom. While the *Egyptians* were thus dissatisfied with the conduct of their king, and even ready to rise up in arms against him, a most unjust decree was carried at *Rome* by the tribune *Clodius*, for deposing *Ptolemy* king of *Cyprus*, seizing his kingdom for the republic, and confiscating all his effects. When the

Is acknowledged by the Romans.

Alexandrians

[r] CIC. in orat. 1. & 2. in Rull. [s] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 796. TROGUS in prolog. 39. LUCIAN. de non tem. cred. calum. [t] STRABO, ibid. [u] PLUT. in Cæs. DIO. CASS. l. xxxviii.

a *Alexandrians* heard of the intentions of the republic, they preſſed *Auletes* to demand that iſland as an ancient appendant on *Egypt*, and, in caſe of a denial, to declare war againſt the imperious and incroaching republic; which he refuſing to do, the people, already provoked with the exorbitant taxes with which he loaded them, ran to arms and ſurrounded the palace; but the king eſcaped their fury, and, by the advice of his favourite *Theophanes*, who gave him timely notice of the inſurrection, having privately withdrawn from *Alexandria*, croſſed *Egypt*, and embarqued for *Rhodes*, with a deſign to implore the aſſiſtance of his old protectors at *Rome* [w]. In his flight he had time to reflect, as *Tully* obſerves [x], on his change of fortune, and being very hungry and much fatigued, he applied to a peaſant, who received him into his poor b hut, and preſented him with a piece of brown bread; which ſeemed ſo ſavoury to him, that he uſed to ſay, he had never had a more delicious meal. *Is driven from the throne.*

THE king arriving in *Rhodes* was informed, that the famous *Cato* was there in his way to *Cyprus*, being charged by the ſeditious *Clodius* to put in execution the unjuſt decree of the people, depriving *Ptolemy* of that iſland, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Cyprus* [y]. *Auletes*, deſirous to confer with a man of his prudence and integrity about his affairs, ſent immediately to acquaint him with his arrival, expecting, that, upon this notice, he would without delay come and wait upon him; but the proud *Roman* told the meſſenger, that, if the king of *Egypt* had any thing to ſay to *Cato*, he might, if he thought proper, come to his houſe. Accord- c ingly *Auletes* went to pay him a viſit; but *Cato* did not vouchſafe ſo much as to riſe when the king entered his chamber, or to ſalute him otherwiſe than as a private perſon. The *Egyptian* monarch was much ſurpriſed to ſee ſo much haughtineſs and ſtate, joined to the great ſimplicity and modeſty which he obſerved in the *Roman*'s dreſs and equipage, and would have entertained a very mean opinion of him, had he not diſcovered in his converſation an extraordinary fund of probity and good ſenſe; for the king having laid before him the ſituation of his affairs, *Cato* blamed him for leaving *Egypt*, the richeſt kingdom in the world, in order to expoſe himſelf to the many inſults and indignities which he would meet with at *Rome*, nothing being there in requeſt but wealth, pomp, and grandeur. He did not ſcruple to tell him, that all the riches of *Egypt* would not be ſufficient to ſatisfy the rapacious avarice of the leading men there; that they would not concern themſelves about the intereſts of a king, who brought nothing with him but wants and complaints; that new patrons, after he had purchaſed them at a great rate, would prove new chains to him, *&c.* He therefore adviſed him to return to *Egypt*, and ſtrive, by a more equitable conduct, to regain the affections of his people, which he had loſt by his male-adminiſtration. He even offered to reconduct him thither in perſon, and employ his mediation and good offices in his behalf [z]. *Ptolemy*, reflecting on what the wiſe *Roman* told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained ſome d thoughts of returning to it; but, the friends he had with him having diſſuaded him from following *Cato*'s good counſel, he purſued his journey to *Rome*. *Confers with* Cato *at* Rhodes. *Goes to* Rome.

IN the mean time the *Egyptians*, not knowing what was become of him, and either believing, or feigning to believe, that he was dead, placed *Berenice* his daughter on the throne, and ſent an embaſſy into *Syria* to *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, who, by his mother *Selene* the daughter of *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, was the next male heir of the family, inviting him into *Egypt*, in order to marry *Berenice*, and reign jointly with her; but he being dead, the embaſſadors were injoined by the chief men of *Alexandria*, to make the ſame propoſal to *Seleucus* his brother [a], who readily accepted the offer. This *Seleucus Strabo* deſcribes as a monſter of deformity, and adds, that his f ill-ſhaped body was animated by a yet more deformed ſoul. The *Egyptians* ſoon diſcovered his true character, and gave him the nickname of *Cybioſactes*, that is, *the Scullion*; for ſuch he was in his whole conduct and behaviour. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he gave a ſignal inſtance of his ſordid and avaricious temper. *Ptolemy* the firſt had cauſed the body of *Alexander the Great* to be depoſited in a coffin of maſſy gold; this *Cybioſactes* ſeized, and by this ſhocking crime provoked *Berenice*, who was already grown weary of him, to ſuch a degree, that, breaking through the moſt ſacred ties, ſhe cauſed him to be ſtrangled [b]. Having thus got rid of a man, whoſe preſence ſhe could no longer bear, ſhe married one *Archelaus*, high-prieſt of *Comana* *His daughter* Berenice *placed on the throne.* *She murders her husband* Seleucus, *and marries* Archelaus.

[w] DIO. CASS. & PLUT. ibid. Epitom. LIV. l. 104. [x] CIC. Tuſcul. quæſt. l. v. [y] Vide ſupra p. 185. [z] PLUT. in Caton. [a] PORPHYR. ubi ſupra. & STRABO, l. xvii. p. 796. [b] SUET. in Veſpaſ. c. xix. STRABO. l. xvii. p. 794.

Comana in *Pontus*, who pretended to be the ſon of *Mithridates the Great*, tho' he was, in fact, only the ſon of that king's chief general, whom we ſhall have occaſion to bring upon the ſcene in the hiſtory of *Pontus* [c]. a

Auletes, on his arrival at *Rome*, found, to his great concern, that *Cæſar*, on whom he chiefly depended, was making war in *Gaul*. However, *Pompey*, his other patron, who was then in the city, received him with great expreſſions of kindneſs, gave him an apartment in his houſe, and omitted nothing that lay in his power to ſerve him; but, notwithſtanding the protection of ſo powerful a man, the king was forced to go from houſe to houſe, like a private perſon, ſoliciting the ſuffrages of the ſenators. After he had ſpent immenſe treaſures in procuring a ſtrong party at *Rome*, he was at laſt, by the intereſt of *Pompey*, admitted to lay his complaints before the ſenate; b which he did with a great deal of art, exaggerating the hard uſage he had met with from his rebellious ſubjects, and putting the ſenators in mind of his alliance with the republic, by the articles of which they were bound to ſupport him to the utmoſt of their power, againſt his enemies both foreign and domeſtic. While *Auletes* was thus making intereſt at *Rome*, and courting the republic for her conſent to his being reſtored by force of arms, the *Alexandrians*, being informed of what paſſed in *Italy*, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the ſenate, conſiſting of an hundred citizens of diſtinction, to juſtify their revolt before the conſcript fathers. *Dion*, a celebrated academic philoſopher, who had many powerful friends at *Rome*, was at the head of this embaſſy; but *Ptolemy* found means to deſtroy moſt of them, either at *Rome*, or before their c arrival in that metropolis; which ſo intimidated the reſt, that they declined acquitting themſelves of their commiſſion, and even demanding juſtice for the murder of their collegues [d]. The rumor of theſe murders raiſed the indignation of the public, and gave a general alarm. *Marcus Favonius* the ſtoic was the firſt who declared in ſenate againſt *Auletes*. He accuſed him before the fathers, and exaggerated his late murders, his former miſcarriages, and the ſhameful meanneſs of many ſelf-intereſted ſenators, who had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted with his money. At the motion of this zealous ſenator, *Dio*, the chief of the embaſſy, was ſummoned to appear before the ſenate, in order to give, by word of mouth and upon oath, an authentic account of the aſſaſſination of the embaſſadors; but *Pompey*, *Lentulus*, and the d other great men at *Rome*, whoſe intereſt the perfidious king had bought at a vaſt price, declared ſo openly in his favour, that *Dio* was afraid to appear; however, he was ſoon after ſtabbed by an aſſaſſin, whom *Ptolemy* had hired for that purpoſe.

Auletes *protected at* Rome.

The king, knowing he could depend on *Pompey*'s protection, was not aſhamed to own himſelf the chief author of that crime; nay, he even pretended to juſtify ſo baſe and treacherous an action; but nevertheleſs a proſecution was carried on againſt *Aſcitius* the aſſaſſin, his accomplices, who were for the moſt part the domeſtics of *Luceius* at whoſe houſe *Dio* lodged, atteſting upon oath, that he ſtabbed him with his own hand; but, in ſpite of theſe and other unexceptionable evidences, *Aſcitius* was acquitted. Then an action was brought by the adverſe party againſt the judges, e for ſelling themſelves to *Ptolemy* and betraying their truſt; but, *Pompey* and his faction employing all their intereſt againſt the accuſers, the venal judges were likewiſe cleared, and injuſtice triumphed [e].

A decree for his reſtoration carried in the ſenate.

Tho' the ſcandalous behaviour of *Auletes* at *Rome* had made him highly odious and contemptible to the generality of the *Romans*, yet, by the powerful intereſt of *Pompey*'s party, a decree was carried in the ſenate, whereby it was enacted, That the *Egyptians* ſhould be compelled, by force of arms, to receive their king. All the great men of *Rome* were ambitious of being charged with the commiſſion of re-conducting a king, who was undoing himſelf and ruining his kingdom, to reward thoſe who protected him. No one had more reaſon to expect it than *P. Lentulus Spinther* f the proconſul, he having been appointed governor of *Cilicia*, which lay in that neighbourhood, and *Cicero* ſupporting him with all his eloquence and intereſt. *Pompey* likewiſe, *Cn. Cornelius Marcellinus* who was then conſul, and many others, were no leſs deſirous of a commiſſion, which, they well knew, would be attended with immenſe profit. After ſome months warm debates, *Pompey*, whoſe too great power gave already no ſmall umbrage, was excluded, under this honourable pretence, that his preſence was neceſſary at *Rome*, he being charged with the care of maintaining plenty

[a] Strabo, ibid. Dio. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 115—117. Cic. in Piſon. n. 49, 50. [d] Dio. Cass. l. xcvii, xcviii. Plin. l. xxxviii. c. 10. Cic. epiſt. familiar. in Piſon. & pro Cæl. Plut. in Cat. Min. Strab. l. xvii. [e] Dio. Cass. Strabo, Plin. Cic. ibid.

plenty there. After the exclusion of *Pompey*, all things seemed to favour the proconsul of *Cilicia*'s claim; but, what through the superstition of the people, what by the artifices of one of the tribunes, he was unexpectedly disappointed as well as *Pompey*. A statue erected on the hill of *Alba* being beat down with thunder, the *Sibylline* books were consulted, to discover the meaning of a prognostic which was deemed ominous. *C. Portius Cato*, who was then a young man, and one of the tribunes, took this opportunity of opening the *Sibylline* books, and thereby frustrating the intrigues and expectations of the leading men in *Rome*; for he was an eloquent speaker, a zealous advocate for virtue, and highly incensed at the meanness of the *Roman* magistrates, who, for great sums of money, had engaged to protect a king, whose crimes had rendered him insupportable to his subjects. He read, or pretended to read, in the *Sibylline* prophecies the following words: *If a king of* Egypt *shall apply to you for succour, assist him, but not with an army; if you use violence, fear great dangers and misfortunes* [f]. *Cicero* acknowledges, that all men of sense were convinced, that the pretended prediction was forged; but nevertheless the young tribune obliged the keepers of the *Sibylline* books to report it to the people, and rehearse the words in full comitia. The law required, that these oracles should never be divulged till they had been examined by the senate, who suppressed or published them as they thought fit; but *Cato*, being well apprised, that *Ptolemy* would, by his immense profusions, prevail upon the self-interested senators to suppress an oracle no-ways favourable to his restoration, had no regard to his law, but proclaimed the pretended answer of the *Sibyls* without imparting it to the senate [g]. The reading of the words of the *Sibyl* in the comitia had the desired effect on the minds of the people; and the decree, which empowered *Lentulus Spinther* to carry back *Auletes* to his dominions, was, at their request, revoked and annulled [h]. Then several expedients were proposed, in order to facilitate the king's return, without disobeying the pretended oracle; but the whole year being spent in fruitless debates, *Ptolemy*, tired out with these delays, resolved to leave *Rome*, where he had incurred the hatred of the people, and retiring to the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, the most venerable asylum in *Asia*, wait there in safety the decision of his fate [i]. From thence he wrote to *Ammonius*, whom he had left with the character of his embassador to the senate, desiring, that *Pompey* might be appointed to replace him on the throne; and his letter being read in the comitia by *Aulus Plautius* tribune of the people, his collegue *Caninius*, whom *Plutarch* through mistake calls *Canidius*, was of opinion, that *Pompey*, attended only by two lictors, for no violence could be used without disobeying the oracle, should go into *Egypt*, and, by his authority alone, bring the king into favour with his rebellious subjects; but the tribune was herein opposed by the senate, and *Pompey*, notwithstanding his great interest, obliged to drop the pursuit of an honour which he most passionately desired. *Pompey* being thus excluded, the senators were greatly divided in their sentiments. *Bibulus* and the consul *Marcellinus* were of opinion, that the king should be restored by three embassadors, and that those only should be chosen who had no other employment. Their view in this was to exclude *Lentulus*, at that time governor of *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*. *Crassus* agreed with *Bibulus* and *Marcellinus*, as to the re-settling of the king on his throne by three embassadors without an army; but was not for excluding such as had employments. *Cicero* never quitted the interest of *Lentulus*, who, during his consulship, had greatly contributed to his being recalled from banishment; nay, he was so desirous that his friend should have the honour of re-establishing the king of *Egypt*, and enjoy the advantages, which, he was well apprised, would accrue to him from thence, that, after *Lentulus* was gone into *Cilicia*, he wrote to him, advising him to advance, without any further orders from the senate, with all his sea and land-forces to *Alexandria*, and oblige the inhabitants by force to receive their king. "You are the best judge, says he in a letter he wrote to "him on this occasion, of what you can undertake and perform. If you can reduce "*Alexandria* and the other cities of *Egypt*, it is, without doubt, both for your honour "and that of the republic, that you advance thither with your fleet and army, leaving "the king at *Ptolemais*, or some other neighbouring place, till you have got the "better of the rebels, and settled all things in peace, so that he may return with-"out danger. In this manner you will re-instate him without troops, which, as our zealots

But opposed by Porcius Cato.

Auletes *leaves* Rome.

[f] Cic. l. i. ad familiar. ep. 1. & in orat. pro Rabir. Posthumo, & in L. Pison. Plut. in Pomp. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Dio, l. xxxix. [g] Cic. l. i. ad familiar. epist. 4. & Dio, ibid. [h] Cic. ibid. [i] Cic. & Dio, ibid.

" zealots pretend, is the meaning of the *Sibyl*." The *Romans* were prohibited by the oracle to re-conduct the king of *Egypt* with an army; and *Cicero* was of opinion, that if *Lentulus* had first reduced *Egypt* by force of arms, and then carried back the king without an army, he would not have acted therein contrary to the prohibition of the *Sibyl*, since it would be still true, that the king had returned without an army. One would hardly believe, that such a grave magistrate as *Cicero* could be capable of eluding the oracle by such an evasion; but he looked upon it only as a political contrivance to disappoint the expectations of *Pompey*, *Lentulus*, and the other great men, who were desirous to command the army on this occation. But *Lentulus*, being well apprised of the many difficulties, which, he foresaw, would attend this enterprize, followed the advice which *Cicero* gave him in the close of his letter, viz. that he should by no means undertake so great an enterprize, unless he could promise himself certain success [k].

Recurs to Gabinius *governor of* Syria.

Pompey, on his being excluded from the honour of restoring the king, had wrote to him, advising the banished prince to recur to *Gabinius*, who commanded in *Syria* in quality of proconsul; and ***Ptolemey***, seeing the senate came to no resolution with respect to his restoration, but spent the whole time in fruitless debates, determined to follow *Pompey*'s advice. *Gabinius* was a man of a most infamous character, and ready to undertake any thing for money, without the least regard to law, justice, or religion. He had quite ruined, by his enormous robberies and oppressions, the unhappy province of *Syria*, whither he had been sent after his consulship; and, finding that the *Syrians* could no longer gratify his avarice, had resolved to make war on the *Arabians*, in hopes of enriching himself with their spoils; but, in the mean time, *Mithridates*, who had been driven out of *Parthia* by his brother *Orodes*, flying for refuge to him, prevailed on the avaricious proconsul, by promising him large sums, to turn his arms against *Parthia*, and assist him in the recovery of his crown. He had already begun his march and passed the *Euphrates*, with a design to replace *Mithridates* on the throne, not doubting but he should return loaded with an immense booty, the *Parthians* being deemed at that time a very wealthy nation; but as he was advancing with *Mithridates*, whom he took along with him for his guide, towards the borders of *Parthia*, *Ptolemy* came up with him, and delivered into his hands letters from *Pompey*, their common friend and patron, whereby he was desired to restore the banished king, upon such terms as he should think fit to require, and the king to grant. It was against an express law for any governor to go out of the limits of his province, or to make war, upon any pretence whatsoever, even with the neighbouring princes or states, without positive orders from the senate and people of *Rome*; but the authority of *Pompey* and the hope of a great reward made the proconsul despise this law, and undertake the re-establishing of the king of *Egypt*, contrary to the opinion of all the officers of the army, except *Marc Antony* alone, who commanded the horse, and supported with great warmth the king's interest [l]. The more dangerous the enterprize was, the more right *Gabinius* thought he had to make *Ptolemy* pay dear for it; and therefore was not ashamed to demand of the king ten thousand talents for his pains, that is, one million nine hundred thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling, one half of it to be paid immediately, and the other as soon as he should be settled on the throne. *Ptolemy*, who was glad to be restored upon any terms, agreed to pay the proconsul the above-mentioned sum; but *Gabinius* would not stir till the first payment was made, which obliged the king to borrow it of *Caius Rabirius Posthumius*, a *Roman* knight, *Pompey* interposing his credit and authority for the payment of the capital and interest [m].

Who undertakes to restore him.

Mark Antony *distinguishes himself in this war.*

Gabinius, having received the sum of five thousand talents, repassed the *Euphrates*, and, leaving *Mithridates* to shift for himself, began his march towards *Egypt*. As he drew near the borders of that country, he detached *Antony* with a body of horse to seize the passes, and open the way for the rest of the army. As this young *Roman* was the chief promoter of the expedition, so he acted in it with the utmost vigor and resolution; for he not only possessed himself of the passes of a sandy desart, and found a way through the marshes of *Solonis*, which the *Egyptians* call the exhalations of *Tryphon*, but took the city of *Pelusium*, which was a place of great importance, and the key of *Egypt* on that side [n]. For this success he was indebted

[k] CIC. ad famil. l. i. epist. 7. [l] DIO CASS. l. xxxix. APPIAN. in Parthic. & Syriac. PLUT. in Anton. CIC. in orat. pro Rabir Posthum. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 6. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4. [m] CIC. PLUT. JOSEPH. DIO. ibid. [n] PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN de bell. civil. l. v. p. 676.

indebted to *Hyrcanus* prince of *Judæa* and *Antipater* the father of *Herod*, who not only assisted him with provisions, but prevailed upon their countrymen, who lived in *Pelusium*, to favour the *Romans*, and introduce them into the city. *Ptolemy*, on his entering the place, was for putting all the *Egyptians* to the sword; but *Antony* opposed so barbarous an execution, remonstrating, that it would draw both upon him and the *Romans* the general hatred of the nation, and by that means retard at least, if not prevent, his restoration; since the *Egyptians* would chuse rather to die in battle, than be sacrificed, after victory, to the resentment of the conqueror [o]. As soon as *Gabinius* received advice of *Antony*'s good success, he advanced into the heart of *Egypt*, the waters of the *Nile*, as it was then winter, being very low. *Archelaus*, who, as we have said before, had married *Berenice* and reigned jointly with her, met *Gabinius* at the head of a considerable army, and offered him battle; but the *Egyptian* troops were cut in pieces, and *Archelaus* himself taken prisoner, so that the proconsul might at once have put an end to the war; but his avarice prompted him to prolong it; for he gave *Archelaus* his liberty, upon his paying a considerable ransom, and then pretending that he had made his escape, demanded fresh sums of *Ptolemy* to pursue the war. *Rabirius*, who followed the king in this expedition, lent him what money he wanted at a very high interest. Such were the artifices made use of by the *Romans* of this age to enrich themselves. *Archelaus*, when again at liberty, would have long disputed the crown with his rival, had his troops seconded his valour, for he was a young man of extraordinary parts; but the *Egyptians* having, in several encounters, turned their backs at the very first onset, he was at length obliged to shut himself up in *Alexandria*, which *Gabinius* closely besieged, both with his sea and land-forces. *Archelaus* defended the place with incredible bravery, till he was reduced to the last extremity; and then he marched out of the distressed city to hazard another battle, which put an end both to his reign and life; for being abandoned by his effeminate and dastardly troops, he chose rather to die in the field, than survive the loss of his crown [p]. *Marc Antony*, who had been his particular friend and guest, hearing that he was slain, commanded his body to be sought for among the dead, wept over it when it was found, and took upon himself to inter it with all the pomp and magnificence that was due to a person of his rank [q].

Ptolemy, being now master of *Alexandria*, easily reduced the rest of *Egypt* to his obedience, and was thereby thoroughly resettled on his throne. For the preventing of new insurrections, *Gabinius*, before he returned into his province, left some of his *Roman* forces in *Alexandria* to keep that city in awe; but these soon exchanged the *Roman* manners for the *Egyptian*, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy of those among whom they lived [r]. *Auletes*, seeing himself again in quiet possession of the crown, began to vent his rage on all those who had been any ways concerned in the rebellion. His daughter *Berenice* was sacrificed the first to his resentment. The crime he laid to her charge was her having accepted of the vacant throne when the *Alexandrians* offered it her [s]. Afterwards he cut off most of the wealthy citizens of *Alexandria*, under pretence that they had been concerned in the rebellion, and confiscated their estates, in order to raise the vast sums which he was still to pay *Gabinius*, or had borrowed of *Rabirius*. To be rich was a crime for which many were condemned, the king filling his dominions, as *Dion Cassius* expresses it, with blood and slaughter, that he might thereby fill his coffers with the treasures of his unhappy subjects. These oppressions and violences the cowardly *Egyptians* suffered with great patience, being kept in awe by the *Roman* garison which *Gabinius* had left in *Alexandria*; but neither the fear of the *Romans* nor the authority of *Ptolemy* could make them put up a much less affront; for a *Roman* soldier having killed a cat, which animal, as it is well known, was worshipped by the *Egyptians*, the supposed sacrilege was no sooner known, but the *Alexandrians* made a general insurrection, and gathering together in crowds, made their way through the *Roman* guards, dragged the soldier out of his house, and, in spite of all opposition, tore him in pieces [t]. *Diodorus Siculus*, who relates this insurrection, was an eye-witness of it.

Auletes resettled on the throne.

Puts to death his daughter Berenice.

Caius Rabirius Posthumius had lent *Ptolemy Auletes*, as we have hinted above, immense sums to defray the expence of his expedition against the usurper of his crown, and

His ingratitude to Rabirius and Posthumius.

[o] Plut. ibid. Joseph. l. i. de bell. Jud. c. 6. & l. xiv. 10. [p] Dio, l. xxxix. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. [q] Plut. ibid. [r] Cæsar. Commentar. de bell. civil. l. iii. Lucan. l. x. ver. 402. [s] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Dio, ibid. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 226. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 74, 75.

and had reaſon to expect in gratitude to be ſpeedily repaid; but finding that the king a affected delays, he reſolved to leave *Rome*, where he then was, and go into *Egypt*. When he arrived at *Alexandria*, he preſſed the king to perform his engagements; but *Ptolemy* ſhewed little regard to his remonſtrances, excuſing himſelf on account of the bad condition of his finances ſince the late revolution; nevertheleſs he offered to make him general collector of his revenues, that he might, in that employment, pay himſelf. The unfortunate creditor accepted the offer, for fear of loſing his debt, for which he was himſelf indebted to others; but the baſe prince ſoon after, upon ſome frivolous pretence, ordered him and all his ſervants to be cloſe confined. This ſhocking treatment of a man who had aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs exaſperated *Pompey* as much as *Rabirius*, the former having been in a manner ſecurity for the debt, as b the money had been lent at his requeſt, and the whole buſineſs tranſacted by him at a country-houſe of his near *Alba*; however, *Rabirius* had reaſon to fear the worſt from a cruel and faithleſs prince, and therefore, having found means to make his eſcape, was glad to ſave his life from the wicked deſigns of his debtor; but, to complete his misfortunes, he was proſecuted as ſoon as he returned to *Rome*, 1*ſt*, For having enabled *Ptolemy* to corrupt the ſenate with ſums lent him for that purpoſe. 2*dly*, For having debaſed and diſhonoured the character of a *Roman* knight, by farming the revenues and becoming the ſervant of a foreign prince. And, *laſtly*, For having been an accomplice with *Gabinius*, and ſharing with him the ten thouſand talents, which the proconſul had received for his *Egyptian* expedition. *Rabirius* c ſeems to have been acquitted; and the eloquent oration which *Cicero* ſpoke in his defence, will be an everlaſting monument of *Ptolemy*'s treachery and ingratitude [u]. As for *Gabinius*, three actions were commenced againſt him as ſoon as he returned to *Rome*; one of high treaſon againſt the people, for reſtoring *Ptolemy* to his dominions, contrary to the expreſs orders of the republic, and thereby being guilty of the death of ſo many perſons who were killed on that occaſion; the other of bribery and corruption, ſince it was notorious that he had been induced, by vaſt ſums of money, to replace that cruel and wicked prince on the throne, in defiance of the laws and the prohibition of the *Sibyl*; the third action was of tyranny and oppreſſion in his government. *Cicero* repreſented his crime in ſo ſtrong a light, that he eſcaped death very d narrowly; for, notwithſtanding the powerful intereſt of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*'s party, and the vaſt ſums he ſpent in bribing the judges, he was cleared from the firſt charge by a majority of ſix votes only out of ſeventy; but in the other two actions he was caſt, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment, the only puniſhment which the *Roman* laws inflicted on public extortioners and oppreſſors [w]. We are told, that, before he left *Rome*, he was reduced to great poverty, having ſpent the money, which he got by oppreſſion, bribery, and corruption, in bribing and corrupting others, in order to eſcape the puniſhment which he deſired. He lived in baniſhment till the time of the civil wars, when he was recalled by *Cæſar*, in whoſe ſervice he loſt his life [x].

Gabinius *baniſhed* Rome.

Auletes *dies*.

Auletes, notwithſtanding the unheard-of tyrannies with which he haraſſed his ſubjects, died in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, about four years after his re-eſtabliſhment, and thirty after he had firſt aſcended the throne, leaving behind him two ſons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to his eldeſt ſon and his eldeſt daughter, ordering them to be joined in marriage, according to the cuſtom of their family, and to govern with equal power; and becauſe they were both under age, the daughter, who was the eldeſt, being but ſeventeen years old, he left them under the tuition of the *Roman* people, whom he conjured, by all the gods and by his alliance with *Rome*, to take care that his will was duly executed [y]. *Eutropius* tells us [z], that a copy of his will being tranſmitted to *Rome*, the people appointed f *Pompey* the young prince's guardian. The ſons were both called *Ptolemy*; the daughters names were *Cleopatra* and *Arſinoe*. This was the *Cleopatra* who afterwards became ſo famous, and had a great ſhare in the civil wars of *Rome*. We know but very little of the beginning of her and her brother's reign. The firſt thing we find recorded of her is, that two of the ſons of *Bibulus*, who had been conſul with *Julius Cæſar* and was at this time proconſul of *Syria*, being killed in *Alexandria* by the *Roman* ſoldiers, whom *Gabinius* had left for a guard to *Ptolemy Auletes*, *Cleopatra* ſent

Ptolemy *and* Cleopatra. *Year after the flood* 2968. *Before Chriſt* 31.

[u] CIC. pro Rabir. Poſth. [w] DIO, ibid. CIC. ad Attic. l. iv. epiſt. 16. & ad Quint. Fratr. l. iii. epiſt. 4. [x] HIRT. de bell. Alexandrin. c. 43. [y] CIC. l. viii. ad familiar. epiſt. 7. CÆS. l. iii. Comment. de bell. civil. [z] EUTROP. l. vi.

a ſent the murderers to *Bibulus*, that he might puniſh them as he thought fit; but the proconſul ſent them back untouched, with this meſſage, that the puniſhing of them belonged not to him, but to the ſenate of *Rome* [a].

As *Ptolemy* was a minor, under the tuition of *Pothinus* an eunuch and *Achillas* commander in chief of the *Egyptian* forces, theſe two miniſters, to engroſs the whole power to themſelves, deprived *Cleopatra* of that ſhare in the ſovereignty which had been left her by the will of *Auletes*, and drove her out of the kingdom. *Cleopatra* thus injured retired into *Syria*, and having raiſed in that country and in *Paleſtine* a very conſiderable army, led it herſelf into *Egypt*, with a deſign to aſſert her right by force of arms. On the other hand, *Ptolemy*, having drawn together all the forces

b he could, took the field, and marched againſt his ſiſter. Both armies encamped between *Peluſium* and mount *Caſius*, obſerving the motions of each other, neither of them being inclined to venture an engagement. While affairs were in this ſituation, *Pompey*, after the loſs of the battle of *Pharſalia*, arrived off *Peluſium*, hoping to find in the kingdom of *Egypt* an open and ſafe aſylum; for he had been, as we have obſerved above, the great friend and conſtant protector of *Auletes*, the father of the reigning prince; and therefore, as his favours were of a late date, he expected to find the ſon, and thoſe who were about him, grateful; but gratitude is a virtue unknown to princes and miniſters, as *Pompey* found by woeful experience, and many others have done ſince his time. The unfortunate *Roman*, obſerving from the ſea

c a great army encamped on the ſhore, concluded from thence, that the king was at war with his ſiſter, and that, in ſuch a conjuncture, he ſhould find the young prince the more ready to protect him, ſince he might ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance; he therefore ſent ſome of his friends to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to demand permiſſion to land and enter his kingdom [b]. The king himſelf, who was then but thirteen years old, gave no anſwer; but *Pothinus* and *Achillas*, the two reigning miniſters, taking *Theodotus* a rhetorician, who was the king's præceptor, and ſome others to conſult with them, adviſed together what anſwer to return. In this council ſome were for receiving *Pompey*, thinking it would be a reproach to the *Egyptian* nation and king to abandon him in his diſtreſs, and refuſe protection and relief to

d one who had been the late king's zealous and conſtant protector, and was the preſent king's guardian. Others were for rejecting his petition, and deſiring him to ſeek a retreat and aſylum elſewhere; but *Theodotus* diſplayed all his eloquence to ſhew, that the ſafeſt courſe they could take was to diſpatch him. His reaſons were, becauſe, if they received him, *Cæſar* would not fail to be revenged on them for protecting and abetting his enemy; and if they refuſed to receive him and affairs ſhould take a turn in his favour, he would, without all doubt, when again become powerful, make them pay dear for their refuſal; and therefore the only ſafe way to guard againſt both theſe evils was to cut him off, which, ſaid he, will gain us the friendſhip of *Cæſar*, and prevent the other from doing us any miſchief; for *dead men*, according to the antient proverb, *don't bite* [c] Some writers tell us, that *Theodotus* maintained

e this cruel paradox only to diſplay his eloquence and talents; but, however that be, his advice prevailed, and was put in execution in the manner we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Rome*.

Cleopatra *driven out by her brother's miniſters.*

Pompey *arrives off* Peluſium.

And is murdered.

In the mean time *Cæſar*, being informed that *Pompey* had ſteered his courſe towards *Egypt*, purſued him thither, and arrived at *Alexandria*, juſt as the news of his death was brought to that city. Soon after *Theodotus*, or, as others will have it, *Achillas*, preſented him with the head and ring of his rival; but he wept at that ſight, and, turning away his eyes with abhorrence, ordered the head to be buried in a proper place, with the uſual ſolemnities [d]. *Cæſar*, for the greater expedition, had purſued *Pompey* with few forces, having with him, when he arrived at *Alexandria*, only

f eight hundred horſe and three thouſand two hundred foot. The reſt of his army he had left behind him in *Greece* and *Aſia Minor*, under the command of his lieutenants, with orders to purſue the advantages of his late victory, and ſecure his intereſt in thoſe parts; and therefore, confiding in his good fortune and the fame of his ſucceſs at *Pharſalia*, he ventured to land at *Alexandria* with the ſmall body above-mentioned, but was very near paying dear for it; for the few forces he had with him not being ſufficient to defend him againſt the unruly mob of that populous city, which was all in

Julius Cæſar *arrives at* Alexandria.

[a] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1. Cæs. ibid. Senec. ad Marciam. [b] Cæs. ibid. l. iv. Appian. p. 480. Plut. in Pomp. Dio. l. xlii. [c] Liv. l. cxii. Plut. ubi ſupra, & in Bruto. [d] Liv. l. cxii. Plut. in Cæſar.

Where he is in great danger.

in an uproar on account of *Pompey*'s death, he, with much ado, got into the king's palace, and there ſhut himſelf up with part of his men, the reſt having been driven back to their ſhips by the outragious multitude [e]. As it was not in *Cæſar*'s power to leave *Alexandria*, by reaſon of the *Eteſian* winds, which in that country continue blowing all the dog-days, in the beginning of which *Cæſar* had entered that port, and prevent any ſhips from ſailing out, he ſent orders to the legions he had left in *Aſia* to join him with all poſſible expedition; but the tumult being appeaſed before the arrival of his troops, he ventured out of the palace, and having, by his affable behaviour, gained the affections of the common people, he ſpent his time in viſiting the curioſities of that great and ſtately metropolis, and ſeemed to take great pleaſure in aſſiſting at the public ſpeeches and harangues, made by the *Alexandrian* orators and rhetoricians by way of trial; but, that he might not ſpend his whole time in diverſions only, ſince he could not leave the place, he began to ſolicit the payment of the money due to him from *Auletes*, and to take cognizance of the difference between young *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter *Cleopatra* [f].

We have related above, that, during *Cæſar*'s firſt conſulſhip, *Auletes* had, by the promiſe of ſix thouſand talents, obtained of him the alliance of the *Roman* people, and by that means ſecured to himſelf the crown. The king had paid him only part of this ſum, and given him an obligation or bond for the remainder. This debt now *Cæſar* called for, wanting it to pay his ſoldiers, and exacted it with great rigour; which *Pothinus* the king's treaſurer by ſeveral artifices made appear greater than it really was; for he plundered their temples of their gold and ſilver utenſils, and perſuaded the king and all the great perſons of the kingdom to eat in earthen or wooden veſſels, inſinuating under hand, that *Cæſar* had ſeized on all their gold and ſilver plate, in order to ſtir up the people againſt him; but what moſt provoked them, and at laſt drove them to take up arms againſt *Cæſar*, was the haughtineſs with which he acted as judge between *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*; for he not only cited them to appear before him for the deciſion of their difference, but iſſued out a peremptory order, commanding them to diſband their armies, and ſtand to the ſentence which he, after hearing their reaſons, ſhould pronounce. This was looked upon in *Egypt* as a violation of the royal dignity, and an open incroachment on the prerogative of their ſovereign, who being independent acknowledged no ſuperior, and therefore was not, like a ſubject, to be adjudged by any man. To theſe complaints *Cæſar* replied, that he did not take upon him to judge as ſuperior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of *Auletes*, who having put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* people, and all their power being now veſted in him as their dictator, it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controverſy as a guardian of *Auletes*'s children by virtue of his will; and that he claimed for no other end than to ſettle peace between the king and his ſiſter [g]. This explanation quieting all for the preſent, the cauſe was brought to *Cæſar*'s tribunal, and advocates were appointed on both ſides to plead before him.

Endeavours to make up the differences between Ptolemy *and* Cleopatra.

But *Cleopatra*, being informed that *Cæſar* had a very particular regard for ſuch of her ſex, as were recommended to him by their youth and beauty, reſolved to make uſe of both, and by their means attach him firſt to her perſon, and next to her cauſe. Accordingly ſhe ſent a private meſſenger to *Cæſar*, complaining, that her cauſe was betrayed by thoſe ſhe employed, and demanding his permiſſion to appear before him in perſon. *Plutarch* ſays, that *Cæſar* preſſed her the firſt to come and plead her cauſe before him. Be that as it will, ſhe no ſooner knew that *Cæſar* was inclined to ſee her, but taking along with her only one of her ſervants, *Apollodorus* the *Sicilian*, ſhe embarqued in a ſmall veſſel, and, in the duſk of the evening arrived under the walls of *Alexandria*. She was afraid of being diſcovered by her brother, or thoſe of his party who were maſters of the city, and would not have failed to ſtop her, and prevent her from going to *Cæſar*'s houſe. In order therefore to get thither without being known, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be tied up in a mattreſs, and was thus carried by *Apollodorus* on his back through the ſtreets of *Alexandria* to *Cæſar*'s apartment. There he laid down his burden at *Cæſar*'s feet, ſaying he had brought him a preſent, and having untied it, up ſtarted a fine lady with the beſt airs ſhe could put on. *Cæſar* was highly pleaſed with the ſtratagem, but much more with the perſon of *Cleopatra*, whoſe extraordinary beauty ſo charmed him, that he kept her with him all that night,

Cleopatra *gains over* Cæſar *to her intereſt.*

[e] Liv. ibid. Dio, l. xlii. [f] Cæs. Comment. ibid. Dio, l. iv. [g] Plut. in Cæſ. Dio, l. xlii. Oros. l. vi. c. 15. Cæs. Comment. de bell. civil. l. iii.

night, and thinking himself engaged by the favours she granted him, to do all that lay in his power in her behalf, the next morning he sent for *Ptolemy*, and pressed him to receive his sister again upon her own terms. By this proposal *Ptolemy* found, that *Cæsar*, from being their common judge, was become her advocate, and being at the same time informed, that his sister was with him in that part of the palace where he lodged, the young prince left *Cæsar* in a violent passion, and running into the streets, took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, complaining with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the whole to the multitude that flocked round him, in a moment the whole city was in an uproar; the king himself, at the head of the populace, led them tumultuously to charge *Cæsar*, which
b they did with all the fury which is usual on such occasions. The *Roman* soldiers who were near him secured the king's person, and delivered him up to *Cæsar*; but nevertheless, as the rest of his forces, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, *Cæsar* must necessarily have been overpowered, and tore to pieces by the inraged multitude, had he not had the presence of mind to shew himself from a balcony which was out of their reach, and from thence assure them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think fit to suggest to him. These fair promises appeased the tumult for the present [h].

Ptolemy *stirs up the* Alexandrians *against him.*

The next day, having summoned a general assembly of the people, he brought out to them *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, and then causing their father's will publicly to be read, he decreed as guardian and arbitrator, that *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* should
c reign jointly in *Egypt* agreeable to the will; and that *Ptolemy* the younger son and *Arsinoe* the younger daughter should jointly enjoy the island of *Cyprus*. He added this last article to appease the people, and by that means escape their fury, which he was then in great fear of; for the island of *Cyprus* had for some time belonged to the *Romans*, as we have related elsewhere. This decree pleased all except *Pothinus*; for as he had been the cause of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and also of the expulsion of that princess, he had reason to apprehend, that she on her return would deprive him of the great power he had at court, and perhaps of his life. To prevent therefore *Cæsar*'s decree from taking effect, he inspired the people with new jealousies, giving out, that the *Roman* dictator had, by force and against his incli-
d nation, bestowed the crown on both; but that his true design was to place *Cleopatra* alone on the throne. When he had, by sowing such reports among the populace, stirred them up anew against *Cæsar*, for the *Egyptians* could not bear to be governed by a woman alone, he solicited *Achillas*, by private letters and messengers, to advance at the head of the army from *Peluſium*, where he was then encamped, to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæsar* out of the city. The general was easily prevailed upon to fall in with his measures, and approaching *Alexandria* with twenty thousand regular and well disciplined troops, put all things there again in confusion. *Cæsar*, who had but a small number of forces with him, persuaded the king to send out embassadors to *Achillas*, ordering him to forbear using any violence, since he was well pleased with
e what *Cæsar* had decreed. *Dioscorides* and *Serapion*, who had been embassadors at *Rome* and had great authority at court, were employed on this occasion; but *Achillas* was so far from complying with the king's orders, that he commanded the two embassadors to be seized and put to death; and accordingly one of them was killed on the spot, and the other carried off by his own men for dead. *Cæsar*, finding that *Achillas* would hearken to no proposals, resolved to keep within the walls of the town, not being in a condition to make head against the enemy in the open field. He therefore posted his men so well in the streets and avenues of that quarter of the town which he had taken possession of, that he found no difficulty in supporting the attack of the whole *Egyptian* army. *Achillas*, not being able to force that quarter,
f changed his measures, and went to attack the port, with a design to make himself master of the *Egyptian* fleet at anchor there, to the number of seventy-two ships, and by that means to shut up the *Romans* by sea, and prevent them from receiving succours and convoys on that side; but *Cæsar* prevailing there likewise caused the fleet to be set on fire, and at the same time seizing the tower of *Pharos*, placed a strong garison in it, and by this means secured his communication with the sea, without which he must necessarily have been soon obliged to surrender at discretion. Some of the ships, when on fire driving to the shore, communicated their flames to the adjoining

Cæsar *besieged in* Alexandria.

[h] Florus. l. iv. c. 2. Dio, l. xlii. Suet. in Julio. Plut. in Cæs. Liv. l. cxii. Cæs. ubi supra.

The library in the quarter called Bruchium *burnt.*

adjoining houſes, which, ſpreading into the quarter of the city called *Bruchium*, conſumed the noble library, which had been the work of ſo many kings, and contained at that time four hundred thouſand volumes [i]. a

Cæſar, finding himſelf thus engaged, contrary to his expectation, in a dangerous war, diſpatched meſſengers into all the neighbouring countries, ſoliciting ſpeedy ſuccours. He wrote, amongſt others, to *Domitius Calvinus* his lieutenant in *Aſia*, properly ſo called, acquainting him with the danger he was in. That general, upon the receipt of his letter, immediately detached two legions, putting the one on board ſome tranſports which he had ready, and ſending the other by land. The former arrived very ſeaſonably; but the latter did not reach *Alexandria* till the war was over. But *Cæſar* was beſt ſerved by *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a man of great valour and b experience in war; for he being ſent into *Syria* and *Cilicia* to haſten the ſupplies there, brought thoſe forces which extricated him out of danger, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel [k].

In the mean time *Cæſar*, that he might not be forced to fight the numerous troops of the enemy till his ſuccours arrived, fortified that quarter of the city where he lay, with walls, towers, and other works, including within them the palace, a theatre adjoining to it, which he made uſe of as a citadel, and a paſſage to the harbour. *Cæſar*, from the very beginning of the tumult, had taken care to get the king into his power, that this war might ſeem to be undertaken only by a few malecontents, and not by his authority or approbation. While he was thus detained in *Cæſar*'s c quarters, *Pothinus*, who attended him there as his governor and chief miniſter, carried on a private correſpondence with *Achillas*, and, by letters ſecretly conveyed to him, gave him intelligence of all that paſſed, encouraging him to puſh on the war with vigour; but at length one of his letters being intercepted and the treaſon thereby diſcovered, *Cæſar* cauſed him to be put to death. Hereupon *Ganymedes*, another eunuch, who was charged with the education of *Arſinoe* the king's younger ſiſter, fearing the ſame puniſhment, as having been privy to the treaſonable practices of *Pothinus*, ſecretly conveyed the young princeſs out of *Cæſar*'s quarters, and fled with her to the *Egyptian* army, who, wanting one of the royal family to head them, were overjoyed at her arrival and proclaimed her queen; but *Ganymedes*, who d entertained thoughts of ſupplanting *Achillas*, cauſed an accuſation to be formed againſt him, as if he had betrayed the fleet which *Cæſar* had burnt in the harbour, and having by this means got him condemned and executed, he took on himſelf the command of the army and the adminiſtration of all the affairs of that party; and indeed he was thoroughly qualified for the employment of a prime miniſter, being a man of great penetration and activity, and no probity. He contrived a thouſand artful ſtratagems to diſtreſs *Cæſar* during the courſe of this war, ſhewing himſelf at the ſame time a diſcerning ſtateſman and a crafty general; for inſtance, he found means to ſpoil all the freſh water in *Cæſar*'s quarters, and thereby reduced him to great ſtraits; for the *Alexandrians* having no other freſh water but that of the *Nile*, the whole city was e vaulted underneath their houſes for the receiving and keeping of it. Once a year, on the great ſwell of the *Nile*, the water of that river came into the city by a canal cut for that purpoſe, and being by ſeveral ſluices let into the vaults, filled them all, they being built without any partitions in a general communication from one to another under the houſes. The water let in on this occaſion ſerved for the common uſe of the inhabitants the whole year, every one having an opening in his houſe, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was drawn in buckets or pitchers. *Ganymedes* having ſtopt up the communications between the vaults or reſervoirs in *Cæſar*'s quarters and thoſe of the reſt of the city, found means to turn the ſea-water into the former, and thereby ſpoilt all the freſh-water that was kept in them. This raiſed f a general uproar among *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers, and he would have been obliged to abandon his quarters very much to his diſadvantage, had he not immediately ordered wells to be dug, and diſcovered, after he had ſunk them to an incredible depth, ſprings of freſh-water, which made amends for that which was ſpoiled [l].

After this *Cæſar* receiving advice, that the legion which *Calvinus* had ſent him by ſea was arrived on the neighbouring coaſts of *Libya*, but was detained there by contrary winds, advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it ſafely to *Alexandria*, being

[i] Cæs. & Dio, ibid. Oros. l. vi. c. 15. Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 17. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. [k] A. Hirtius de bell. Alexandrin. Joseph. Antiq. l. vii. [l] Hirtius, Plut. & Cæs. ibid.

being then reduced almoſt to the utmoſt extremity, and his men quite tired out with the continual aſſaults of the enemy. *Ganymedes* immediately aſſembled all the *Egyptian* ſhips he could, with a deſign to intercept him on his return. *Cæſar* was unwilling to engage, being deſirous to get the legion ſafe into the city; but a *Rhodian* galley, which was placed in his right wing, being attacked by ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, he could not forbear aſſiſting his faithful allies, which brought on an engagement between the two fleets, wherein *Cæſar* gained a conſiderable advantage, and would have intirely deſtroyed the *Egyptian* fleet, had he not been obliged by night coming on to retire with his ſhips and legion into the harbour [m].

To repair this and other loſſes, for *Cæſar* had by this time deſtroyed an hundred and ten *Egyptian* ſhips, partly in the harbour, and partly in the arſenal, *Ganymedes* drew together all the ſhips that were in the mouth of the *Nile* and in the private arſenals, and, having formed with them another fleet, entered the port of *Alexandria*. This produced another fight at ſea, in which *Cæſar* gained a ſecond victory, which was owing chiefly to the great valour and ſkill of the *Rhodians* in naval affairs. To make the moſt of the advantage he had got, he endeavoured to ſeize the town of *Pharos*, and the mole leading to it called the *Heptaſtadium*; but after he had landed his troops in the iſland, he was repulſed with the loſs of above eight hundred of his men, and was very near periſhing himſelf in his retreat; for finding the ſhip in which he endeavoured to eſcape ready to ſink, by reaſon of the numbers of thoſe who had crowded into it, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with great difficulty ſwam to the next ſhip, whence he ſaw, to his great concern, the veſſel which he had left ſink with all the men [n]. And here we muſt not paſs over in ſilence a circumſtance which is omitted by *Hirtius*, but recorded by *Dion Caſſius* [o], *Plutarch* [p], *Sueotonius* [q], and *Oroſius* [r]. Theſe tell us, that *Cæſar*, while he thus made his eſcape, carried his commentaries, which he had then with him, in one hand, holding it up the whole time, leſt the water ſhould reach them, and ſwam with the other. *Appian* relates this whole affair in a quite different manner; for he writes, that *Cæſar*, being ſurrounded on a bridge by the enemy, was obliged to throw off his purple garment, and leap into the ſea, and that the king's ſoldiers purſuing him, he ſwam under water, raiſing up his head now and then, to one of his own ſhips, where he was known and taken up [s]. *Suetonius* tells us, that he held his purple coat in his mouth, dragging it after him, leſt it ſhould fall into the enemy's hands; and *Florus* [t], with whom *Plutarch* agrees [u], that he left it in the waves, either by chance or on purpoſe, that the enemy purſuing him might diſcharge their darts and arrows at his garment. *Appian* and *Dio* add, that the *Egyptians* having got it, fixed it on a trophy which they had ſet up for having put the *Romans* to flight, and ſeemed to be as much pleaſed and elated, as if they had taken *Cæſar* himſelf [w].

The *Alexandrians*, finding that the *Romans* were rather encouraged than diſheartened by their late loſs, and were making the neceſſary preparations to repair it, ſent embaſſadors to *Cæſar*, demanding their king, and aſſuring him, that his compliance with their requeſt would gain over the multitude to him, and put a ſpeedy end to the war; For your keeping the king confined and in a manner priſoner, ſaid they, is what chiefly provokes the populace, and prevents them from hearkening to any terms of an accommodation: allow him his liberty, and you will find them ready to lay down their arms and come to an agreement. *Cæſar*, tho' well acquainted with the ſubtle and deceitful temper of the *Alexandrians*, readily complied with their requeſt, knowing, that he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's perſon; and that, if they failed in their promiſes, the continuation of the war and the evils attending it would be laid to their charge. Before he diſmiſſed the young prince, he exhorted him to take this opportunity of inſpiring his ſubjects with ſentiments of peace; to redreſs the evils which a war, very imprudently undertaken, had brought upon his dominions; to approve himſelf worthy of the confidence he repoſed in him by granting him his liberty, and to ſhew himſelf grateful for the ſervices he had rendered his father. *Ptolemy*, early inſtructed by his maſters in the art of diſſimulation and deceit, begged *Cæſar*, with tears in his eyes, that he would not oblige him to depart, aſſuring him, that he had rather live with him like a private perſon, than reign without him. The event ſoon ſhewed how little ſincerity there was in the young

[m] Dio. Cass. l. xlii. Hirtius, ibid. [n] Hirtius, ibid. [o] Dio. l. xlii. [p] Plut. in Cæſar. [q] Suet. in Julio. [r] Oros. l. vi. c. 15. [s] Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 523. [t] Flor. l. iv. c. 2. [u] Plut. ibid. [w] Dio. ibid. & Appian. ubi ſupra. p. 484.

young king's tears and profeſſions of friendſhip; for he was no ſooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hoſtilities with more vigour than ever. The firſt thing *Ptolemy*, who was intirely governed by *Ganymedes*, attempted, was to intercept with his fleet all *Cæſar*'s proviſions. This occaſioned a new fight at ſea near *Canopus*, in which the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Tiberius Nero*, had again the victory. In this engagement *Euphanor*, the *Rhodian* admiral, loſt his life and his ſhip, after having ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner[x]; but by this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* was drawing near with an army which he had raiſed with great expedition in *Syria*.

Mithridates had been ſent, as we have related above, into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to raiſe there what forces he could, and lead them into *Egypt*. In this commiſſion he acquitted himſelf with ſuch diligence and prudence, that he ſoon formed a conſiderable army, being greatly aſſiſted therein by *Antipater* the *Idumæan*, who not only joined him with three thouſand *Jews*, but prevailed upon *Hyrcanus*, who was then at the head of that nation, and the neighbouring princes of *Arabia* and *Cæle-Syria*, to ſend him conſiderable reinforcements. With theſe troops *Mithridates*, attended by *Antipater* in perſon, marched into *Egypt*; and on his arrival at *Peluſium*, took that important place by ſtorm. This advantage was chiefly owing to *Antipater*; for he was the firſt that mounted the breach, and thereby opened the way to the others. From *Peluſium* they advanced towards *Alexandria*; but as they approached the borders of the province of *Onion*, they found all the paſſes ſeized by the *Jews* who inhabited that part of *Egypt*; ſo that it was impoſſible for them to proceed any farther. This unexpected obſtruction would have rendered their deſign abortive, had not *Antipater*, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of *Hyrcanus*, from whom he brought letters to the *Jews*, prevailed upon them to embrace *Cæſar*'s party[y]. Their example was followed by the *Jews* of *Memphis*, and *Mithridates* was plentifully ſupplied by both. *Aſinius* the *Trallian*, who wrote an account of the civil war, tells us, that *Hyrcanus* himſelf invaded *Egypt* with *Mithridates*. As they drew near the *Delta*, *Ptolemy* detached a conſiderable body of troops to diſpute with them the paſſage of the *Nile*. This drew on a battle, in which *Mithridates* commanded one part of the army, and *Antipater* the other. *Mithridates*'s wing was ſoon obliged to give ground, being attacked by the *Egyptians* with incredible fury; but *Antipater*, who had defeated the enemy on his ſide, haſtening to his relief, the battle began anew, and the *Egyptians* were totally routed. The two victorious generals purſued the advantage, drove the enemy out of the field with great ſlaughter, and having taken their camp, obliged thoſe to repaſs the *Nile* who had the good luck to make their eſcape[z]. *Mithridates* immediately acquainted *Cæſar* with this victory, aſcribing with great ingenuity, if *Joſephus* is to be credited, the whole glory of it to *Antipater*.

The king, upon advice that the troops he had ſent were defeated, advanced with his whole army againſt *Mithridates* and *Antipater*. At the ſame time *Cæſar*, leaving the city in the night-time, marched with all poſſible expedition to join *Mithridates*, before the *Egyptians* could fall upon him. Accordingly he was the firſt who brought him intelligence of the king's deſign. The *Egyptian* army appeared ſoon after; whereupon a bloody engagement enſuing, moſt of the enemy's forces were cut in pieces, and the king himſelf drowned in the *Nile*, as he was attempting to make his eſcape in a boat. His body was afterwards thrown on the ſhore, and there known by the gold cuiraſs which the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt* uſed to wear, as *Julius Capitolinus* informs us[a]. He had reigned from the death of his father *Auletes* three years and eight months. In this engagement twenty thouſand *Egyptians* were killed in the battle and the purſuit, and twelve thouſand taken priſoners. On *Cæſar*'s ſide five hundred only were killed, and about a thouſand wounded. Among the latter was *Antipater*, who fought with incredible bravery, and had a great ſhare in the victory[b].

Cæſar, in confidence of this victory, returned to *Alexandria*, and entering that city without oppoſition, beſtowed the crown of *Egypt* on *Cleopatra*, obliging her to marry *Ptolemy* her younger brother. This was in effect giving it to *Cleopatra* alone, the young prince being then but eleven years old. The paſſion which *Cæſar* had conceived for that princeſs, was the ſole motive that prompted him to imbarque in this dangerous and

[x] Hirtius & Dio, ibid. [y] Hirtius, ibid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14 & 15. Dio, ibid.
[z] Hirtius & Joseph. ibid. [a] Hirtius & Dio, ibid. Liv. l. xii. Oros. l. vi. c. 16. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Eutrop. l. vi. [b] Joseph. l. xiv. c. 15.

a and infamous war; and therefore, having been attended with ſucceſs in ſo bold an enterprize, he took care that ſhe ſhould reap the advantages of his victory. The ſame paſſion detained him longer in *Egypt* than his affairs could well admit; for tho' he had ſettled all matters there in *January*, yet he did not leave that country till the latter end of *April*, paſſing his time in revels and banquets with *Cleopatra* and the *Egyptians* of her court. He took great pleaſure in diverting himſelf with her on the *Nile* in a large galley called *Thalamegos*, being attended by a fleet of four hundred ſail. *Suetonius* tells us, that he deſigned to ſail with her as far as *Æthiopia*, but that his troops refuſed to follow him [c]. He had even a mind to carry her with him to *Rome*, and there marry her, after having cauſed a law to paſs in the comitia, by
b which the *Roman* citizens ſhould be allowed to marry ſuch women, and as many, as they pleaſed. *Marius Cinna*, then tribune of the people, declared after *Cæſar*'s death, that, at his earneſt requeſt, he had prepared an harangue for the propoſing of the law to the people [d]. In this war *Cæſar* having taken *Arſinoe* priſoner, carried her to *Rome* with him, and there cauſed her to walk before his triumphal chariot, bound with chains of gold. After that ſhow was over he gave her liberty, but would not allow her to return to *Egypt*, leſt her preſence ſhould raiſe new troubles in that kingdom. The baniſhed princeſs took up her reſidence in the province of *Aſia*; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the requeſt of *Cleopatra* her ſiſter, cauſed her to be put to death [e]. Before *Cæſar* left *Alexandria*, in acknow-
c ledgment of the aſſiſtance he had received from the *Jews*, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed in that city, and commanded a brazen pillar to be raiſed, whereon all thoſe privileges were engraved, with the decree confirming them [f]. What made him at laſt take his leave of *Egypt* and his beloved *Cleopatra*, by whom he had a ſon called from his own name *Cæſarion*, was the war with *Pharnaces*, king of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, and ſon of *Mithridates* the laſt king of *Pontus*. The ſucceſs that attended that prince, in the recovery of his father's dominions, rouſed *Cæſar* out of the lethargy into which *Cleopatra*'s charms had lulled him, and put him again upon action. He left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protect *Cleopatra*, and with the reſt marched into *Syria*.

d After *Cæſar*'s departure, *Cleopatra* enjoyed the crown without the leaſt diſturbance, having all the power in her own hands during the minority of her brother; but the young prince no ſooner attained to the fourteenth year of his age, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to ſhare the royal authority as well as the name; but ſhe cauſed him to be poiſoned in the fourth year of his reign, and from that time governed *Egypt* [g] without a partner. Not long after *Cæſar* being killed at *Rome*, and the famous triumvirate formed between *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and *Octavius* to avenge his death, *Cleopatra* declared, without heſitation, for the triumvirs, and ſent to *Albienus*, the conſul *Dolabella*'s lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*'s armies, and part of the troops which *Cæſar* had left with her
e to guard *Egypt*. Theſe four legions were taken by *Caſſius*, who, by frequent meſſages, ſolicited *Cleopatra* to join him againſt the triumvirs; but ſhe being indebted to *Cæſar* for her crown, could, neither by ſolicitations nor menaces, be prevailed upon to aſſiſt his murderer. Hereupon *Caſſius* began his march towards the frontiers of *Egypt*, with a deſign to invade that kingdom; but being preſſed by *Brutus* to join him, he dropped that enterprize. *Cleopatra* being thus delivered from all apprehenſions of an invaſion, ſailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavius*; but falling ſick was obliged to return to *Egypt*, after having loſt a great number of her ſhips by a violent ſtorm [h].

Antony, after the battle of *Phillippi*, having paſſed over into *Aſia* to ſettle all mat-
f ters there for the intereſt of the conqueror, was informed that *Cleopatra*, or at leaſt ſome of her governors, had ſent ſuccours to *Caſſius* againſt *Dolabella*. Hereupon he ſummoned the queen of *Egypt* to appear before him at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, whither he was then going to ſettle the affairs of that province. *Cleopatra*, convinced of the great power of her charms, by the proof ſhe had already ſo ſucceſsfully made of them on *Cæſar*, did not doubt but ſhe ſhould eaſily captivate *Antony*, and the more, becauſe the former had been acquainted with her only when ſhe was very young, and had no knowledge of the world; whereas ſhe was going to appear before *Antony* at

[c] Sueton. in Julio. Appian. l. ii. de bell. civil. p. 484. Joseph. l. xiv. c. 17. & l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1963. [d] Sueton. ibid. [e] Cæs. Dio, Hirtius, Appian. &c. ibid. [f] Joseph. ubi ſupra. [g] Joseph. Antiquit. l. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. [h] Appian. l. iv. p. 625.

at an age, when women unite to the bloom of their beauty a ripeneſs of underſtanding, which qualifies them to treat of and conduct the greateſt affairs; for ſhe was then twenty-five years old, had a great deal of wit and humour, and was no leſs agreeable in her converſation than in her perſon. She provided herſelf with rich preſents, vaſt ſums of money, and above all with magnificent and ſumptuous habits and ornaments; and thus provided embarqued on a ſtately galley, and, attended with the reſt of her fleet, ſet ſail for *Cilicia*, croſſed the ſea of *Pamphylia*, and, entering the *Cydnus*, arrived at *Tarſus*, where *Antony* waited for her. Never had there been ſeen in thoſe parts a more ſplendid equipage than her's. Her galley was gilt all over, the ſails of purple, and the oars plated over with ſilver. The queen appeared under a canopy of cloth of gold, raiſed on the deck, in the ſame attire and attitude as *Venus* was then generally painted, being ſurrounded by a great many comely youths fanning her like *Cupids*, and beautiful virgins, repreſenting, ſome the *Nereids*, and others the *Graces*. The dales and hills ecchoed, as ſhe ſailed up the river, with the melodious ſounds of various inſtruments, with which the oars keeping time, ſeemed in a manner to double the harmony. The great quantity of perfumes that were burnt on the deck ſpread the odours, on each ſide of the river to a great diſtance, and filled the air with the moſt fragrant ſcents. As ſoon as it was known in the city that the queen of *Egypt* was drawing near, the citizens of all ranks and ages, abandoning their houſes and interrupting their moſt ſerious occupations, crowded out of the gates to meet her; inſomuch, that *Antony*, who was diſtributing juſtice and hearing cauſes in the forum, ſaw his tribunal all on a ſudden deſerted, not a ſingle perſon remaining with him but his lictors and domeſtics; and indeed no wonder, that the whole city flocked to ſee her, a rumor being ſpread all over *Tarſus*, that the goddeſs *Venus* was coming to pay a viſit to *Bacchus*, and confer with him about the good of *Aſia*. She was no ſooner landed, than *Antony* ſent to invite her to ſupper; but the queen anſwered, that, according to the rules of civility, he ought firſt to come to her, and that therefore ſhe expected to ſee him that very night in the tents, which would be ſoon ſet up on the banks of the river. *Antony* complied with her invitation, and was received and entertained with a magnificence not to be expreſſed. *Antony* invited her in his turn for the next day, and no expence was ſpared; but, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, he owned his entertainment far inferior to the queen's, and was himſelf the firſt to ridicule the parſimony and plainneſs of his own, when compared with the ſplendor and elegance of *Cleopatra*'s. The more *Antony* converſed with the fair *Egyptian*, the more he was charmed with her converſation, which, being attended with all poſſible ſweetneſs and gaiety, had attractions ſtill more irreſiſtible than her form and features. Little or no mention was made of the complaints which had been brought againſt her, and were indeed without foundation. She ſoon got ſo abſolute an aſcendant over her judge, that it was not in his power to refuſe her any thing ſhe aſked, however repugnant to the laws of juſtice, humanity, or religion [i]. At her requeſt aſſaſſins were diſpatched to *Miletus*, as *Appian* tells us [k], or to *Epheſus*, as *Joſephus* will have it [l], with orders to murder *Arſinoe*, which were accordingly executed in the very temple where ſhe had taken refuge. *Cleopatra*, to attach *Antony* the more to her perſon and intereſt, made daily entertainments during her ſtay at *Tarſus*, inviting him and the chief officers of his army to partake of them, and ſpending on thoſe occaſions immenſe ſums of money. In one of theſe banquets *Antony* expreſſing great ſurprize at the vaſt number of gold cups, enriched with jewels which were diſplayed on all ſides, the queen told him, that ſince he admired ſuch trifles, he was very welcome to them, and immediately ordered her ſervants to carry them all to his houſe. The next day ſhe invited him anew, and deſired him to bring a good number of gueſts along with him. He accepted her invitation, and came attended with all the chief officers at that time in *Tarſus*. When the banquet was over, and the numerous company ready to depart, *Cleopatra* preſented them with all the gold and ſilver plate which had been made uſe of during the entertainment [m]. In one of theſe feaſts happened what *Pliny*, and after him *Macrobius*, relates of *Cleopatra*'s magnificence, or rather profuſeneſs. The queen had at her ears two of the fineſt and largeſt pearls that ever had been ſeen, each of them being valued at fifty-two thouſand five hundred pounds of our money. One of theſe ſhe cauſed to be diſſolved

[i] Plut. in Anton. Appian. l. v. p. 671—676. Diodor. Sicul. l. xlviii. p. 371. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. [k] Appian. l. v. p. 676. [l] Joseph. l. xv. c. 14. [m] Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 158.

a in vinegar, and then ſwallowed it for no other end, but to ſhew the little account ſhe made of ſuch toys, and how much ſhe could ſpend on one draught. She was preparing in like manner to melt the other, when *Plancus*, who was preſent, ſtopt her, and ſaved the pearl, which was afterwards carried to *Rome* by *Auguſtus*, and, being by his orders cut in two, ſerved for pendants to the *Venus* of the *Julian* family [n].

In the mean time *Antony* being obliged by his affairs to leave *Tarſus*, *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as *Tyre*, and there taking her leave of him returned into *Egypt*. But the triumvir was ſo taken with her charms, that he could not now live without her; having therefore appointed *Plancus* to be his lieutenant in *Aſia Minor*, and *Saxa* in *Syria*, he haſtened after her to *Alexandria*, and there ſpent the whole b enſuing winter with her in ſports, banquets, and all kinds of diverſions, treating each other every day at an immenſe and incredible expence. *Cleopatra*'s whole ſtudy was to amuſe him, and make him paſs his time agreeably. She never left him day or night, but was continually contriving new diverſions, that he might not have leiſure to reflect, or entertain thoughts of leaving her. *Antony* took particular pleaſure in angling; but being one day attended with very bad luck, and much concerned to appear before the queen without his uſual addreſs and good fortune, he ordered the fiſhermen he had with him to dive ſecretly under water, and faſten to his hook ſome of the largeſt fiſhes which they had taken in their nets. His orders being punctually executed, *Cleopatra* expreſſed in appearance great ſurprize and admiration c every time he drew up his line, but, being well appriſed of the artifice, ſhe cauſed one of her own people to dive ſecretly under water, and faſten to the triumvir's hook a large dry fiſh of that kind that was brought from the *Euxine* ſea into *Egypt*. When *Antony* drew up his line the whole company was highly diverted at the ſight of the ſalt-fiſh, and could not help laughing at the triumvir's extraordinary good luck; but he putting on a ſerious air, the queen took him in her arms, and diſplaying all her charms, Leave, ſaid ſhe, good general, leave the angling line to us kings and queens of *Pharos* and *Canopus*; it becomes you to take cities, kingdoms, and princes.

While *Antony* was thus amuſing himſelf with childiſh and trifling diverſions, d *Labienus* at the head of the *Parthian* army made great conqueſts in *Syria*, which obliged him to take his leave of *Cleopatra* early in the ſpring. As he was on his march againſt the *Parthians* he altered his meaſures, and ſailed into *Italy* with two hundred ſhips againſt young *Octavius*, with whom he ſoon after reconciled himſelf, marrying by the advice of his friends his ſiſter *Octavia*, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus*. It was believed, this marriage would make him forget *Cleopatra*; but his paſſion for the *Egyptian* ſoon reviving, after he had ſpent the winter with his new wife at *Athens*, he haſtened back to *Alex-* e *andria*, where he gave himſelf up to the ſame looſe and ſcandalous way of living, which he had followed the winter two years before. On his removing from *Alex-* *andria* into *Syria* to purſue the war againſt the *Parthians*, he left her in *Egypt*; but before he ſet out on that expedition, he ſent for her into *Syria* againſt the advice of all his friends. On her arrival ſhe influenced him to commit ſuch flagrant acts of cruelty and injuſtice, as rendered his name and government odious to the whole nation. Many *Syrian* lords were on falſe pretences put to death, that ſhe might have their for- feited eſtates. Among theſe was *Lyſanias* the ſon of *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*, whom ſhe accuſed to *Antony* of having entered into an alliance with the *Parthians*. Upon this groundleſs accuſation, *Lyſanias* was condemned, and his dominions granted to her. The ſtay he made with her before he ſet out againſt f the *Parthians*, and the hurry he was in to return to her again, were the occaſion of the many misfortunes that befel him in that unhappy expedition. On his return into *Syria*, having with much difficulty got to the borders of *Armenia*, inſtead of putting his army there into winter quarters, as his officers adviſed him, being impatient to ſee *Cleopatra*, he obſtinately purſued his march, in the depth of winter, over that moun- tainous country then covered with ſnow, which, with the long march of three hundred miles he had made before he reached *Armenia*, ſo harraſſed his troops, that, on his arrival in *Syria*, he found that ſixty thouſand of them had periſhed in that deſtructive undertaking, moſtly by the hardſhips they had ſuffered on their long and fatiguing marches [o].

As

[n] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Arnob. l. iv. Anton. Dio. l. xlix. Flor. l. iv. c. 10.

[o] Liv. epit. l. cxxx. Strab. l. xi. p. 525. Plut. in Vellei Patercul. l. ii. c. 82.

As soon as *Antony* had got back into *Syria*, he retired to *Leucecome*, a castle in a
Phœnice, lying between *Sidon* and *Berytus*, and there, having sent for *Cleopatra*,
passed his time with her in feasting and revelling, without shewing the least concern
for the loss of his army. *Cleopatra* brought with her cloaths for the poor remains of
his shattered troops, which with a large donative in money were distributed among
the soldiers in *Cleopatra*'s name, though the money was given by *Antony*. Having
thus quieted the soldiery, and made them amends for the hardships they had suffered,
he returned with his beloved queen into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of the
winter, in all manner of luxury and voluptuousness [q]. In the mean time the kings
of *Parthia* and *Media* falling out about the division of the booty, which they had
taken from the *Romans*, the latter sent an embassy to *Antony*, offering to join him b
against the *Parthian* with all his forces. At the same time news was brought him,
that the *Parthians* had taken up arms against their king, and that all things were there
in the utmost confusion. Hereupon *Antony*, resolved to lay hold of so favourable an
opportunity of being revenged on that nation, hastened into *Syria*, with a design to
make the necessary preparations for a second expedition against that formidable enemy.
But *Octavia* being come as far as *Athens* in her way to *Antony*, *Cleopatra* was under
no small apprehension, lest by her virtue, wisdom, and the gravity of her manners
she should recover the affection of her husband, and therefore employed all her arts
to prevent their meeting. She affected to die for love, and having made herself lean
and pale, by taking little nourishment, she wrote to him, that his absence had cast her c
into a languishing condition, and that she must die unless he returned to her again.
This brought the credulous lover back to *Alexandria*, where *Cleopatra* with tears, caress-
es, reproaches, menaces, *&c.* prevailed upon him to put off his expedition into *Par-
thia*, and to order *Octavia* to proceed no further, but to wait for him at *Athens*.
This scandalous behaviour of *Antony* towards *Octavia* was highly resented by her
brother *Octavianus*, and became the first cause of that war, which ended in the ruin
of both these lovers [r].

Early in the spring, *Antony* set out for *Syria*, with a design to march from thence
into *Parthia*. *Cleopatra*, pretending that she could not live without him, agreed to
attend him to the banks of the *Euphrates*. To render his absence less grievous to her d
before he set out, he bestowed on her all *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Iturœa*, and
Phœnice, with great part of *Cilicia* and *Crete*. But these provinces and kingdoms
not satisfying her boundless ambition, she solicited him very earnestly to put to death
Herod king of *Judœa* and *Malchus* king of *Arabia Petrœa*, that their kingdoms
might thereupon be granted to her. But *Antony* would not by any means comply
with her request. However, to quiet her, he was forced to give her that part of *Mal-
chus*'s kingdom which bordered upon *Egypt*, and out of *Herod*'s the territory of *Je-*

richo, with the balsam-gardens. These large grants gave great offence to the *Ro-
man* people, and estranged their minds from *Antony* [s]. *Cleopatra* accompanied him
as far as the *Euphrates*, and, returning from thence by the way of *Apamea* and *Damascus*, e
came to *Jerusalem*, where she was splendidly entertained by *Herod*. During her stay
in that city, she pretended to be in love with the king, and employed all her charms
to draw him into a criminal conversation with her. The impudence of this attempt
raised in him an irreconcileable aversion to her, which, joined to the hatred he had
justly conceived against her for the ill offices she had done him with *Antony*, pro-
voked him to such a degree, that he resolved, now he had her in his power, to put her
to death. But his friends, whom he advised with, having laid before him the fatal
consequences that would unavoidably attend her death, he altered his mind, and con-
tinued to entertain her with all possible respect and splendor, so long as she staid with
him, and on her departure waited on her in person to the borders of her kingdom [t]. f

In the mean time *Antony*, having in defiance of the most sacred oaths and solemn
promises taken *Artabazus* king of *Armenia* prisoner, and thereupon reduced all that coun-
try, was preparing to return into *Egypt*. Before he left *Armenia* he agreed on a match
between *Alexander*, one of his sons by *Cleopatra*, and a daughter of the king of
Media, and then putting his army into winter quarters in *Armenia* and the neigh-
bouring countries, he hastened back to *Alexandria*, which city he entered in a tri-
umphal chariot, causing the booty, which he had taken, with king *Artabazus*, his
wife, and children, and other prisoners of distinction, to be carried before him in the
same

[q] Flor. l. iv. c. 18. Plut. ibid. [r] Dio. Cass. l. xlix. p. 411. Plut. ibid. [s] Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 13. Plut. & Dio. Cass. ibid. [t] Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5.

a ſame manner as was uſually done in the triumphs at *Rome*. *Cleopatra* waited for the triumphing conqueror in the forum, being ſeated on a golden throne, which was placed on a ſcaffold over-laid with ſilver, and ſurrounded by the chief lords of her court in their beſt apparel. To her, thus placed on her throne, was preſented the king in golden chains, and with him the other priſoners. They were all ordered to kneel down before her, but not one of them could be prevailed upon to ſubmit to an obeyſance ſo mean and degrading. When news of this triumph was brought to *Rome*, the *Romans*, who looked upon this ceremony as peculiar to their city, conceived an implacable hatred to *Antony*, for carrying it elſewhere to gratify a woman of a moſt infamous character [u].

b A FEW days after, *Antony*, having feaſted at an immenſe charge all the people of *Alexandria*, ſummoned them to meet in the gymnaſium, and there being ſeated on a throne of gold, and *Cleopatra* by him on another, he made an oration to that numerous audience, wherein he proclaimed *Cæſarion*, the ſon of *Cleopatra* and *Julius Cæſar*, king of *Egypt* and *Cyprus* in conjunction with his mother. As he himſelf had three children by the ſame *Cleopatra*, viz. *Alexander*, *Ptolemy*, whom he ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, and *Cleopatra*, at the ſame time he gave to *Alexander Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the reſt of the eaſtern countries from the *Euphrates* to *India*, when they ſhould be ſubdued; to *Cleopatra*, the twin-ſiſter of *Alexander*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*; and to *Philadelphus*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of *Aſia Minor* c from the *Euphrates* to the *Helleſpont*, conferring on each of them the title of *king of kings*. At the ſame time he obliged *Cleopatra* to take the name of *Iſis*, aſſuming to himſelf that of *Oſiris*; the former being the great goddeſs, and the latter the great god, of the *Egyptians*. From thenceforth they both affected to appear in public in the dreſs which was deemed peculiar to thoſe deities [w]. By theſe follies he leſſened his character among all wiſe and ſober men, and daily alienated more and more the affections of the *Romans* from his perſon and cauſe, which *Octavianus* made good uſe of to haſten his ruin.

Antony, as ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, marched into *Armenia*, and, having there rendevouſed his troops, began his march into *Parthia*, and advanced as far as the banks of the *Araxes*, when news was brought him that *Octavianus* had d ſtirred up the people of *Rome* againſt him, and was making the neceſſary preparations, as if he deſigned to come to an open rupture with him. Hereupon he dropt the *Parthian* expedition, and detaching *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, with ſixteen legions to the coaſts of the *Ionian* ſea, he himſelf haſtened after them to *Epheſus*, to be there ready at hand to act in caſe of a rupture, which there was great reaſon to expect. In this journey he carried *Cleopatra* with him, which proved his ruin. His friends earneſtly entreated him to ſend her back to *Alexandria*, there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, fearing leſt in her abſence *Antony* ſhould hearken to an accommodation with *Octavianus* and receive again *Octavia*, left no ſtone unturned to obtain leave to accompany him, and at laſt, having by rich preſents gained *Canidius* to ſpeak in her e favour, prevailed upon him to comply with her requeſt. Her chief argument was, that ſince ſhe contributed moſt to the expences of the war, for ſhe had advanced twenty thouſand talents towards it, it was but reaſonable that ſhe ſhould be allowed to accompany the perſon for whoſe ſake ſhe was at ſo great an expence. Beſides, *Canidius* repreſented, that her departure would diſcourage the *Egyptians*, who made up the bulk of his maritime forces, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior in prudence or capacity to any of the princes in the army, and that *Antony* might, with great ſafety, depend upon and follow her advice in the moſt important and difficult affairs. *Antony* was eaſily perſuaded, that *Cleopatra*'s preſence was neceſſary, and therefore repaired with her from *Epheſus* to *Samos*, whence he ſailed to *Athens*, and in both theſe places lived f after his uſual manner, ſpending great part of the year in luxury, pomp, and voluptuouſneſs [x]. As *Antony* was well acquainted with *Cleopatra*'s character, during their ſtay at *Athens*, he began to ſuſpect, notwithſtanding the paſſion ſhe profeſſed for him, that ſhe had a mind to poiſon him, and therefore would not touch any diſh at their banquets till it had been taſted by others. The queen being appriſed of his fears, in order to cure him of them, and at the ſame time convince him, that, if ſhe harboured deſigns of that nature, no precaution could guard him againſt them, cauſed the flowers to be dipt in poiſon, of which the garlands, uſed according to the cuſtom of

[u] PLUT. & DIO. CASS. ibid. [w] DIO. CASS. l. 1. p. 421. [x] PLUT. ibid, DIO. CASS. l. xlix. p. 416.

of thoſe times in public feaſts, were compoſed. When *Antony* began to be warm a
with wine, *Cleopatra* propoſed drinking the flowers of their garlands, and *Antony* in the height of his gaiety falling in with that frolick, threw ſome of them into his cup, and was on the point of ſwallowing them with his wine, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, told him that the flowers were poiſoned, and that ſhe, againſt whom he took ſuch might precautions, had prepared the poiſon, adding, that if ſhe could poſſibly live without him, ſhe could, in ſpite of all his care, find means to get rid of him. She then commanded a criminal, already condemned, to be brought in, and to drink the wine in *Antony*'s cup, which immediately put an end to his life [y]. This fully convinced him that his fears were ill-grounded, and made him thenceforth repoſe an intire confidence in her.

In the mean time *Antony*, being informed that *Octavianus* was ſtirring up the peo- b
ple of *Rome* againſt him, called together the chief men of his party, and by their advice declared war againſt his adverſary, and at the ſame time ſent a bill of divorce to *Octavia*, with meſſengers to drive her by force out of his houſe at *Rome*. *Antony*'s preparations for the war were ſo far advanced, that if he had attacked his rival without loſs of time, the advantage muſt have been unavoidably on his ſide, *Octavianus* not being then in a condition to make head againſt him, either by ſea or land. But *Antony* to gratify his luxury put off taking the field to the next year, and continued to banquet and revel at *Athens* with *Cleopatra*, as in the moſt peaceable times. He never appeared in public without her; even when he adminiſtred juſtice on his tribunal c
in the forum, *Cleopatra* was to be placed on a throne by him; when he ſpoke to her he gave her no other title but that of queen and ſovereign, and often followed her on foot among the eunuchs, while ſhe was drawn in a ſumptuous and ſtately chariot. The aſcendant ſhe had gained over him inſpired her with hopes of becoming one day queen of *Rome*; for we are told, that her uſual oath was, *As I hope to give law in the capitol* [z].

While *Antony* was thus trifling away his time at *Athens*, *Octavianus*, having got ready a conſiderable fleet and army, no longer delayed declaring war, but cauſed it to be decreed only againſt *Cleopatra*, to avoid offending *Antony*'s friends, who were very numerous and powerful at *Rome*. What chiefly provoked *Octavianus* was *Antony*'s d
declaring *Cleopatra* to have been married to *Julius Cæſar*, and conſequently *Cæſarion*, whom ſhe had by him, to be his lawful ſon; which tended to deprive *Octavianus* of the inheritance of *Julius Cæſar*, ſince he held it only as his adopted ſon. War being declared, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the two armies took the field, and the fleets put to ſea. After ſeveral encounters both by ſea and land, *Antony* was at laſt prevailed upon by *Cleopatra*, contrary to the advice of *Canidius* who had the chief command of the army, to put the whole to the iſſue of a ſea-fight. This was the worſt counſel that could be given him, his land-forces being far ſuperior both in number and bravery to the enemy's; whereas he had been obliged to burn many of his ſhips for want of rowers and mariners, and the reſt were but very indifferently e
manned. But *Cleopatra*, being well appriſed that, in caſe *Antony* ſhould be defeated, ſhe might with greater eaſe and ſafety make her eſcape by ſea than by land, perſuaded him to engage the enemy's fleet. This memorable battle was fought on the fourth of the nones of *September* at the mouth of the *Ambracian* gulph near the ſmall city of *Actium*, in ſight of both armies, the one being drawn up on the north, and the other on the ſouth, ſide of the ſtraits, there to wait the event of the action, which continued doubtful, till *Cleopatra*, frightened with the noiſe of the battle, which appeared very dreadful to her, betook herſelf to flight before ſhe was in any danger, and drew after her the whole *Egyptian* ſquadron, conſiſting of ſixty large ſhips. *Antony* ſeeing her fly, made after her, as if he had been quite deſtitute of his under- f
ſtanding, and by his flight yielded the victory to *Octavianus*, which till then he had diſputed with great vigor and reſolution. The particulars of this memorable battle we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of *Rome*, contenting ourſelves at preſent to touch upon ſuch circumſtances only as concern the affairs of *Egypt*.

The next day *Octavianus* detached a ſquadron of his beſt ſailors in purſuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but they, deſpairing to overtake them, ſoon returned to the fleet. In the mean time, the two fugitives, ſteering their courſe towards *Peloponneſus*, got ſafe to *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. *Antony* had been by *Cleopatra*'s orders taken

[y] Plin. l. xxi. c. 3. [z] Dio. Cass. p. 421, 422. Eutrop. l. 7.

taken on board her ſhip as ſoon as he came up with it, but had not ſeen her during this whole voyage. On his firſt entering her ſhip he ſat down in the prow; and there leaning his elbows on his knees and his head on both his hands, he continued in that poſture; reflecting with profound melancholy on his ill conduct, and the misfortunes he had brought on himſelf, till he got to *Tænarus*, where, by the interpoſition of *Cleopatra*'s women, being brought together again, they converſed and lived as uſual. For *Antony* was ſo bewitched to this woman, that he ſtill continued his fondneſs to her even at this time, when he had all the reaſon in the world to abhor and deteſt her, as having been the cauſe of his ruin in the manner we have related [a].

FROM *Tænarus Cleopatra* ſailed to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* to *Libya*, where he had left *Pinarius Scarpus*, with a conſiderable body of troops, to guard the frontiers of *Egypt* on that ſide. But on his landing he found, that *Scarpus*, with all the troops under his command, had revolted to *Octavianus*; which unexpected diſappointment threw him into ſuch deſpair, that he was with much ado prevented by his friends from putting an end to his unhappy life. The only reſolution therefore he could now take was, to follow *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*, where ſhe was arrived a little before [b]. That crafty princeſs, fearing ſhe might not be received by her ſubjects, were her misfortunes known, entered the harbour with crowns on the prows of her ſhips, as if ſhe had obtained ſome ſignal victory. By this means being admitted into her metropolis, ſhe put all thoſe to death, who were any ways averſe to her, to prevent the tumults which ſhe feared they might raiſe, when the true ſtate of her affairs ſhould be known [c]. *Antony*, on his arrival in *Egypt*, found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking. To avoid falling into the hands of *Octavianus*, who, ſhe foreſaw, would follow her into *Egypt*, ſhe undertook the carrying of her ſhips in the *Mediterranean* into the *Red-Sea*, over the iſthmus of ſeventy miles which lay between them. Theſe ſhips ſhe deſigned to join to thoſe ſhe had in the *Red-Sea*, and, putting all her treaſures on board of them, to go in queſt of ſome other place to ſettle in, out of the enemy's reach. But the *Arabians*, who inhabited that coaſt, having, at the inſtigation of *Q. Didius*, who had ſeized on *Syria* for *Octavianus*, burnt all the ſhips that were carried over, and the others ſhe had there before, ſhe was forced to drop this enterprize [d]. *Antony*, on his arrival at *Alexandria*, declined ſeeing *Cleopatra*, and ſhut himſelf up in a houſe, which he cauſed to be built on the ſhore, ſequeſtring himſelf from the company and converſation of all men. For, being forſaken by thoſe he moſt confided in, he pretended to act the part of *Timon the miſanthrope*, or *man-hater*; and therefore called this houſe his *Timonium*, there ſpending his time in ſolitude, and deteſting all men for the ſake of thoſe who had abandoned him, as if his misfortunes had been owing to them, and not to his own conduct and folly [e]. But he did not long reliſh this way of living; his paſſion for *Cleopatra* ſoon revived, and drew him from his retirement to the queen's palace, where he ſpent the remaining part of his life, in his uſual exceſſes of luxury, voluptuouſneſs, and folly.

IN the mean time, *Octavianus*, having ſettled the affairs of *Greece* and *Aſia Minor*, repaired to *Samos*, and there took up his winter-quarters. Early in the ſpring from *Samos* he paſſed over to *Rhodes*, where *Herod* king of *Judæa* came to offer him his aſſiſtance againſt *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. That prince had been greatly attached to the intereſt of *Antony*, had aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power, and continued faithful to him, till his caſe was grown abſolutely deſperate. On his return into *Egypt* he had ſent a ſpecial meſſenger to him with the beſt advice the ſtate of his affairs was then capable of; this was to kill *Cleopatra*, ſeize her kingdom, and with her treaſures raiſe a new army for the carrying on of the war. In caſe he followed his advice, he promiſed to ſtand by him to the utmoſt, and venture both his life and kingdom in his cauſe. But when he found that *Antony* would not hearken to his counſels, nor by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Cleopatra*, he thought it high time to take care of himſelf, and endeavour to make up matters with *Octavianus*, on the beſt terms he could [f]. From *Rhodes Octavianus* paſſed through *Aſia Minor* into *Syria*, with a deſign to invade *Egypt* on that ſide, while *Cornelius Gallus*, the famous poet, whom he had appointed to ſucceed *Scarpus* in *Libya* and *Cyrene*, entered it on the other. In the mean time *Antony* and *Cleopatra* tried, but without ſucceſs, to appeaſe *Octavianus*. They

[a] PLUT. in Anton. DION. CASS. ibid. [b] PLUT. ibid. EUTROP. l. vi. [c] DION. CASS. l. li. p. 446. [d] PLUT. ibid. DION. CASS. l. li. p. 447. [e] PLUT. ibid. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 794. [f] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 15.

They ſent three different embaſſies to him, and even went ſo far as to offer themſelves a
ready to reſign all, and live a private life in *Athens*, or any other place which he ſhould
appoint; the only thing they deſired was, that the kingdom of *Egypt* might be given
to *Cleopatra*'s children. Though *Cleopatra* joined her embaſſadors with *Antony*'s, yet
ſhe gave them inſtructions to treat ſeparately for herſelf, and ſent privately by them to
Octavianus a ſceptre, a crown, and a chair of gold, reſigning, as it were, all her power
and authority to him. *Octavianus* accepted *Cleopatra*'s preſents, and in public returned
her embaſſadors the following anſwer, *viz.* that if the queen of *Egypt* would lay
down her arms and reſign her kingdom, he ſhould then conſider, whether ſhe ought
to be treated with rigour or mercy; but privately he promiſed her impunity, and
even her kingdom, in caſe ſhe would put *Antony* to death [g]. As for *Antony*'s em- b
baſſadors, he would not ſo much as ſee them, though they delivered up to him, as a
preſent from their maſter, *Q. Turullius* a ſenator, one of *Cæſar*'s murderers and *An-*
tony's intimate friends. On the third embaſſy *Antony* ſent his own ſon with a great
ſum of money; which *Octavianus* took, but ſent him back his ſon without any anſwer,
though *Antony* had, among other things, offered to kill himſelf, provided *Octavianus*
would engage his word, that the kingdom of *Egypt* ſhould be given to *Cleopatra*'s chil-
dren [h]. As *Octavianus* was deſirous of having *Cleopatra*'s perſon and treaſures in his
power, the former for the adorning of his triumph, and the latter for the diſcharge-
ing of the debts he had contracted on account of this war, he ſent her ſeveral kind
meſſages, promiſing to treat her with great kindneſs, provided, ſhe would render her- c
ſelf worthy of his favour by killing *Antony*, who was the author of all her miſ-
fortunes. This ſhe could not be prevailed upon to do; but ſhe promiſed to deliver
both him and her kingdom into his hands. Agreeable to this promiſe, the ſtrong
and important city of *Peluſium* was by her private orders betrayed to *Octavianus*,
though in a condition to hold out a long ſiege. *Antony*, not apprehending any dan-
ger on that ſide, the place being well fortified and gariſoned, was gone to lay ſiege to
Peritonium, the key of *Egypt* on the weſtern ſide. As *Cornelius Gallus*, who held
that place for *Octavianus*, had no other forces with him but thoſe that had formerly
ſerved under *Antony*, he hoped that, on his appearing before the town, they would
again return to their former maſter, and deliver up the place to him. But when he d
approached the wall, with a deſign to exhort them to return to their duty, *Gallus*
cauſed all the trumpets to ſound, ſo that not one word was heard of what he ſaid.
After this *Gallus* made a vigorous ſally, repulſed his land-forces, and having by a
ſtratagem hemmed in all his ſhips in the port, deſtroyed his whole fleet, not one of
them having been able to eſcape [i]. *Antony* hearing after this defeat that *Peluſium* was
taken, and that *Octavianus* was advancing towards *Alexandria*, haſtened thither to de-
fend the capitol. On his arrival, *Cleopatra*, the better to conceal her treachery, cauſed
her jewels and moſt valuable effects to be removed from the palace to a monument of
an extraordinary height and wonderful ſtructure, which ſhe had formerly cauſed to
be built near the temple of *Iſis*. Thither likewiſe ſhe conveyed a great quantity of e
perfumes, aromatic wood, flax, *&c.* giving out, that, ſhould the town be taken, ſhe
would raiſe there a funeral pile, and conſume herſelf and her treaſures in the flames,
to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This ſhe did, that *Antony* might
not diſtruſt her as being of intelligence with *Octavianus*; but the latter, not know-
ing her real intentions, was greatly alarmed; and, apprehending that deſpair might
induce her to lay violent hands on herſelf and deſtroy her treaſures, ſent daily kind
meſſages to her, giving her great hopes of a friendly and generous treatment, and in
the mean time advanced with great marches towards the city [k]. On his arrival he
encamped in the hippodromus, hoping to make himſelf ſoon maſter of the city by
means of the intelligence he held with *Cleopatra*, on which he relied more than on his
troops. *Antony*, not miſtruſting *Cleopatra* in the leaſt, having made the neceſſary
preparations for a vigorous defence, ſallied out upon the enemy's horſe, before they
had time to refreſh themſelves after their march; and, having intirely defeated them, f
returned victorious into the city, and among the loud acclamations of the *Alexan-*
drians threw himſelf, armed as he was, at *Cleopatra*'s feet and kiſſed her hand,
recommending to her one of his ſoldiers, who on that occaſion had diſtinguiſhed
himſelf in a very eminent manner. The queen immediately ſent for the ſoldier, and
in the preſence of the whole people preſented him with an armour and helmet of pure
gold;

[g] Dio. Cass. l. li. p. 447. [h] Dio. Cass. ibid. p. 448. [i] Plut. & Dio. Cass. ibid. [k] Plut. ibid. & Dio. p. 449.

a gold; which he accepting, with great proteſtations of gratitude and loyalty, deſerted that very night to the enemy [l]. After this *Antony* made another ſally, but was repulſed with great loſs, the *Egyptians* having, by *Cleopatra*'s private orders, abandoned him in the heat of the engagement. Hereupon his friends, who had watched more narrowly *Cleopatra*'s conduct, told him in plain terms that ſhe betrayed him, and maintained a correſpondence with the enemy. This *Antony* was ſo far from believing, that he expreſſed great wrath againſt thoſe who ſeemed to ſuſpect her, telling them, that he might put a ſpeedy end to the war, if thoſe, who affected to be his friends, proved as faithful to him as his dear *Cleopatra*. Early next morning he went down to the harbour, and having drawn up his ſhips, he ſailed out with a deſign to

b attack the enemy's fleet. But the ſignal was no ſooner given for the engagement, than *Cleopatra*'s admiral, followed by all the *Egyptian* ſhips in compliance with her orders, went over to *Octavianus*. Hereupon *Antony* haſtened back to his land-army, which he had drawn up on ſome eminences within the city; but was greatly ſurprized, when he found that they had all to a man both horſe and foot deſerted to the enemy. This opened *Antony*'s eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity not knowing whom to confide in, and having no forces to oppoſe the enemy, he ſent to challenge *Octavianus* to a ſingle combat; but he, ſmiling at this new propoſal, anſwered, that if *Antony* was tired of his life, there were not wanting halters and daggers enow in *Alexandria*. The brave

c *Romans* looked upon ſuch challenges as the effect of deſpair, and not of valour. *Antony*, ſeeing himſelf thus ridiculed by his enemy, abandoned by his friends, and, what moſt of all grieved him, betrayed by his beloved *Cleopatra*, flew full of rage and deſpair to the palace, with a deſign to kill the perfidious queen. But ſhe by a timely flight eſcaped his fury, retiring to the abovementioned monument, with two of her maids and one of her eunuchs. There ſhe ſhut herſelf up, and cauſed it to be given out, that ſhe had killed herſelf to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. *Antony*, too credulous, did not allow himſelf time to examine a piece of news, which he ought not to have eaſily credited after *Cleopatra*'s late behaviour; but paſſing from an exceſs of rage to the moſt violent tranſports of grief, thought of nothing but fol-

d lowing her, by putting a ſpeedy end to his unhappy life [m].

HAVING taken this deſperate reſolution, he ſhut himſelf up in his apartment with a faithful ſlave called *Eros*, who had long before promiſed to kill him, when the deſperate ſtate of his affairs ſhould require that mournful office at his hands. Taking therefore his armour off, he put *Eros* in mind of his promiſe, and turning his back to him, commanded him to run him through with the ſword he put into his hand. But the ſlave, full of affection, reſpect, and fidelity for his maſter, ſtabbed himſelf with it, and fell dead at his feet. *Antony*, encouraged by his example, fell upon his ſword, and gave himſelf the wound, of which he afterwards died. But as he did not expire immediately, he begged ſome of his friends, who had broke into his

e apartment, to give him the laſt inſtance of their friendſhip and affection by completing what he had begun. But they all fled out of the room, leaving him wallowing in his blood. *Dercetæus*, one of *Antony*'s guard, concealing under his garment the ſword, with which he had given himſelf the mortal wound, haſtened to *Octavianus*, and, ſhewing him the ſword covered all over with blood, acquainted him the firſt with the death of his rival. *Octavianus* at the ſight of the ſword withdrew, without uttering a ſingle word, to the innermoſt part of his tent, and there with many tears lamented the unhappy fate of his collegue and relation. Having thus given, or pretended to give, vent to his grief, he called in his friends, and read to them the imperious and threatening letters, which *Antony* had wrote to him. He then ſent *Proculeius* into

f the city, ordering him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to get *Cleopatra* alive into his power [n].

IN the mean time, the tumult and noiſe, which the news of *Antony*'s death occaſioned all over the city, alarming *Cleopatra*, ſhe looked out from the top of the monument, and hearing that *Antony* had wounded himſelf, but was not yet dead, ſhe commanded *Diomedes* her ſecretary to bring him to her into the monument. *Diomedes* entering his room found him lying by the dead ſlave in a torrent of blood; but he no ſooner pronounced the name of *Cleopatra*, than he opened his dying eyes; and being

[l] PLUT. ibid. DIO. 450. [m] PLUT. & DIO. ibid. [n] DIO. CASS. p. 449, 450. LIV. l. cxxxiii. FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 87. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 793. SUETON. in Octav. c. 17. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 19.

being informed that she was still alive, and desirous to see him, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and caused himself to be carried by the hands of his slaves to the gate of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not suffer to be opened for fear of some surprize. However, she ordered her servants below to fasten him to the ropes, which hung from the top of the monument, and were made use of to pull up stones, that part not being yet finished. They obeyed her orders, and *Antony* being made fast to the ropes, *Cleopatra*, assisted by her two women, with much ado drew him up, her servants below raising him till he was out of their reach. Never was there a more moving sight. *Antony*, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the manner we have related, turning his eyes, and extending his arms to *Cleopatra*, as if he conjured her to receive his last breath; while she, bathed in tears, underwent a fatigue she had never been used to, for the poor satisfaction of taking her last farewell of him, and seeing him die in her arms. As soon as she had taken him in, she laid him on a bed; and there, after having expressed her grief and concern in the most tender and affecting terms, she cut off his hair, according to the superstition of the pagans, who looked upon this as a relief to those who died of a violent death. *Antony*, seeing *Cleopatra*'s affliction, called for some wine, and having by that means somewhat raised his drooping spirits, he endeavoured to comfort her in the best manner he could; he told her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms; that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, since it was no dishonour for a *Roman* to be overcome by a *Roman*; he advised her to consult her own interest, to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do it with honour; and lastly, to trust none of the friends of *Octavianus* except *Proculeius*. With these words he expired, and the same moment *Proculeius* arrived from *Octavianus*'s camp. But the queen kept in the monument, refusing to surrender herself to him, unless he would promise her in the name of *Octavianus* both the kingdom of *Egypt* and her liberty. These were terms which *Proculeius* could not grant; for *Octavianus*, having a great desire to carry her in triumph, had warned him not to promise her any thing, that could prevent him from treating her as a captive. However, they had a long conference, *Cleopatra* standing within, and *Proculeius* close to the gate without. In this conference she begged the kingdom of *Egypt* for her children, and insisted on having her liberty granted to her; on these two conditions she offered to deliver into his hands both her person and her treasures. But *Proculeius* exhorting her only in general terms to confide in *Octavianus*, and refer all things to his generosity and good-nature, she broke off the conference and retired. *Proculeius* made his report to *Octavianus*, who immediately sent *Cornelius Gallus*, a man of great learning and eloquence, to confer with her, being greatly afraid lest she should be driven by despair to lay violent hands on herself, and to destroy her treasures. While *Gallus* amused her with fine speeches at the gate of the monument, *Proculeius* having caused a ladder to be brought, scaled the wall, and, entering with two servants at the same place where *Antony* had been taken in, hastened down to the gate, where she was conferring with *Gallus*. When *Cleopatra* saw him unexpectedly appear, she drew a dagger, which she always carried about her, with a design to stab herself. But *Proculeius* flying to her took her in his arms, and forced the dagger out of her hands, before she could make use of it. He afterwards searched her, and shook her robes, lest she should have any weapon or poison concealed in them; and having exhorted her to be of good cheer, and to confide in the goodness and clemency of the conqueror, he sent one to acquaint *Octavianus*, that the queen of *Egypt* was his prisoner. *Octavianus*, overjoyed at this news, sent *Epaphroditus* one of his freedmen to guard her carefully, and prevent her from making any attempt upon her own life, injoining him strictly at the same time to treat her with all possible complaisance and respect [o].

In the mean time, *Octavianus* leaving his camp drew near the city of *Alexandria*, and finding the gates open entered it, talking with *Arius*, a native of the place, who had been his preceptor, and leaning upon him with an air of familiarity, that his countrymen might honour him the more, in seeing him thus honoured and favoured by their conqueror. He went directly to the gymnasium, and having ascended a tribunal, which he had caused to be erected there, he first commanded the inhabitants, who had fallen prostrate on the ground before him, to rise; and then in an elegant harangue told the multitude, that he freely pardoned them in regard of their god *Serapis*,

[o] Plut. ibid. Dio. l. li. p. 450, 451.

a *Serapis*,[p] on account of the beauty and greatneſs of their city, and for the ſake of *Arius* their fellow-citizen, for whom he had a great value and eſteem [p].

Octavianus, being now in poſſeſſion of *Alexandria*, ſent *Proculeius* to comfort the queen, and aſk her in his name, whether ſhe had any requeſt to make him? *Cleopatra* received him with great kindneſs, and, after returning many thanks to *Octavianus*, ſaid, that ſhe had but one favour to beg of him, which was, that he would give her leave to bury *Antony*. This he willingly granted, allowing her to perform the funeral obſequies with all poſſible ſplendor, and to ſpend on that occaſion what ſums ſhe pleaſed. And indeed ſhe ſpared no coſt to render the interrment magnificent, according to the *Egyptian* cuſtom; ſhe cauſed his body to be embalmed with the beſt
b perfumes of the eaſt, and placed it in the burying-place of the kings of *Egypt* [q]. As this mournful ceremony renewed her grief, ſhe was ſeized with a fever, which ſhe with great joy laid hold of as a pretence to abſtain from all food, and by that means put an end to her life. This her deſign ſhe imparted to *Olympus* her phyſician, who approved of it, and promiſed to bring her ſoon into a conſumption. But *Octavianus*, being informed of her indiſpoſition, ſent phyſicians to her, whom he could confide in, and, by uttering threats againſt her children, prevailed upon her to follow their preſcriptions. When ſhe was pretty well recovered, *Octavianus* ſent *Proculeius* to acquaint her, that he ſhould be glad to wait upon her, provided ſhe gave him leave; for he treated her with the utmoſt complaiſance, the better to conceal his deſign, which
c was to adorn his triumph with ſo noble and famous a captive. Though ſhe was greatly diſfigured by her illneſs and grief, yet ſhe did not deſpair of inſpiring the young conqueror with ſentiments of tenderneſs and love, as ſhe had formerly done *Cæſar* and *Antony*. She was therefore overjoyed to hear, that he intended to pay her a viſit, and as ſoon as he entered her room, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and afterwards, in laying before him the ſtate of her affairs, exerted all her charms, in hope of conquering her conqueror. But whether her charms had no longer the ſame power, or that ambition was *Octavianus*'s ruling paſſion, he was not affected either with her perſon or converſation; the whole time ſhe ſpoke he kept his eyes fixed on the ground; and when ſhe had done ſpeaking, he returned her the following *Laconic* anſwer: *Woman*, *be of good chear*; *you ſhall have no harm done you* [r]. She was far from being inſenſible
d of this coldneſs and indifference, which ſhe looked upon as no good omen; but, however, diſſembling her concern, ſhe thanked him for the honour he had done her, and told him, that in token of her gratitude ſhe deſigned to deliver up to him all the treaſures of the kings of *Egypt*. Accordingly ſhe put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. *Seleucus*, one of her treaſurers then preſent, accuſed her to *Octavianus* of having concealed part of her moſt valuable effects; which ſhe looking upon as an affront not to be bore, flew at him in a violent paſſion, and, taking hold of him by the hair, gave him ſeveral blows in the face; then turning to *Octavianus*, who could not help ſmiling, Is it not very hard, ſaid ſhe, ſince you have been ſo good as to viſit me in my preſent condition, that one of my own ſer-
e vants ſhould thus inſult me in your preſence? I have, 'tis true, reſerved ſome jewels, not to adorn my own perſon, but to make a preſent of them to your ſiſter *Octavia* and your wife *Livia*, that by their interceſſion you may treat an unfortunate princeſs with more favour and kindneſs. *Octavianus* was overjoyed to hear her talk in this manner, not doubting but ſhe had laid aſide all thoughts of deſtroying herſelf. He gave her leave to diſpoſe of the jewels ſhe had reſerved to whom and in what manner ſhe pleaſed; and having aſſured her, that ſhe ſhould be treated with more generoſity and kindneſs than ſhe expected, he withdrew, imagining he had deceived her, whereas he was deceived himſelf [s]. For *Cleopatra*, not doubting but *Octavianus* intended to make her ſerve as an ornament to his triumph, was firmly determined to avoid that
f ſhame by a voluntary death, and had no other thoughts than how to put her deſign in execution. She was narrowly watched by *Epaphroditus*, who never ſuffered her to go out of his ſight. In hopes therefore of finding ſome opportunity to deceive him, ſhe ſent one of her domeſtics to *Octavianus*, deſiring his permiſſion to pay her laſt duty at the tomb of *Antony*, and take her leave of him. *Octavianus* willingly complying with her requeſt, ſhe bathed the tomb with her tears, covered it with flowers, and with many ſighs and lamentations performed ſuch ceremonies as were practiſed

[p] Plut. in Anton. Dio ibid. p. 454. Julian. epiſt. 51. ad Alexand. Sueton. in Octav. c. 89. Senec. in lib. de clement. Oros. l. vi. c. 19. [q] Plut. & Oros. ibid. [r] Plut. ibid. Dio, l. v. p. 451. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. [s] Plut. ibid.

practiſed among the *Egyptians* on like occaſions. But *Epaphroditus* keeping cloſe to a
her the whole time, under colour of attending her, ſhe returned to her apartment,
without having had an opportunity of attempting any thing on her own life. On
her return ſhe was accoſted by a meſſenger from *Cornelius Dolabella*, who told her,
that her time was ſhort, *Octavianus*, who was to march by land through *Syria*, having
given orders, that ſhe and her children ſhould, within three days, be put on board
a veſſel which was ready in the harbour, and be conveyed by ſea to *Rome*. *Cornelius*
Dolabella was one of *Octavianus*'s intimate friends; but as he was in love with *Cleo-*
patra, he had promiſed to give her timely notice of all his deſigns with relation to
her perſon. Upon this meſſage *Cleopatra*, the better to amuſe *Epaphroditus*, com-
manded a noble entertainment to be prepared, and having invited to it ſome of her
friends, ſhe ſhewed a more than uſual chearfulneſs during the feaſt. In the height of b
the mirth ſhe roſe from table, and having wrote a letter to *Octavianus*, ſhe gave it
ſealed up to *Epaphroditus*, begging he would deliver it himſelf into his own hands,
ſince it contained matters of the utmoſt conſequence. This was only a pretence to
ſend *Epaphroditus*, who kept a watchful eye over her, out of the way. When he
was gone, ſhe withdrew to her room attended by *Nairas* and *Charmion*, two of her
women; and having there dreſſed herſelf in her royal robes, ſhe lay down on her bed,
and aſked for a baſket of figs, which one of her faithful ſervants had brought her in the
diſguiſe of a peaſant. Among the figs was concealed an aſp, a kind of ſerpent pecu-
liar to *Egypt* and *Libya*, and of a very venomous nature; for thoſe who were bit by
it fell immediately into a kind of lethargy, and died without any pain or uneaſineſs. c
This venomous inſect *Cleopatra* applied to her left arm, and that very inſtant fall-
Cleopatra's death. ing, as it were, aſleep, expired in the arms of her two maids [u]. Other writers tell
Year of the ſtud 2990. us, that *Cleopatra* having made a deep wound in her arm with her teeth, poured the
Year before Chriſt 9. poiſon of the aſp, which ſhe had prepared before-hand, into it, and gently expired [w].
In the mean time, *Octavianus* having received from *Epaphroditus* and read *Cleopatra*'s
letter, found from the contents of it that ſhe deſigned to lay violent hands on herſelf,
ſince the whole ſubject of it was to beg, that he would ſuffer her to be buried in the
ſame tomb with *Antony*. He therefore immediately diſpatched ſome of his friends
to ſee what had happened, and to prevent her, if ſtill alive, from attempting any
thing on her own life. Theſe found the guards ſtanding at the gate, and miſtruſting d
nothing; but when they entered her apartment, they to their great ſurprize ſaw her
lying dead, on a golden bed in her royal robes, one of her maids likewiſe dead at
her feet, and the other ready to expire. They immediately acquainted *Octavianus*
with what had happened, who haſtened to the queen's apartment, ſaw her body, and,
not believing ſhe was dead, tried all poſſible means to recover her. But finding that
all his endeavours were to no purpoſe, though he was very much grieved to ſee him-
ſelf thus deprived of the chief glory and ornament of his triumph, yet he granted
her laſt petition, and commanded her body to be buried with all poſſible pomp, and
laid in the ſame tomb with *Antony* [x]. Thus died *Cleopatra*, after ſhe had reigned from
the death of her father twenty-two years, and lived thirty-nine. She was a woman e
of extraordinary parts, for ſhe is ſaid to have been thoroughly ſkilled in *Greek* and
Latin, and beſides to have ſpoke with great eaſe and readineſs many other languages,
converſing with the *Ethiopians*, *Troglodites*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes*, and *Per-*
ſians without an interpreter, and always giving to ſuch of thoſe nations as had occaſion
to addreſs her an anſwer in their own language. She retained in the midſt of her
pleaſures a taſte for polite learning, and erected in the place where the famous library
ſtood a new one, no-ways inferior to the former, inriching it with the two hundred
thouſand volumes of the library of *Pergamus*, which *Antony* had preſented her with [y].
In her ended the family of *Ptolemy Lagus* the founder of the *Egyptian* monarchy, f
after it had ruled over *Egypt* from the death of *Alexander* two hundred and ninety-four
years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety-three and three months.
For from this time *Egypt* was reduced to a *Roman* province, and governed by a prætor
ſent thither from *Rome*. The firſt, on whom *Octavianus* conferred that dignity, was
Cornelius Gallus, the famous poet, who is the ſubject of *Virgil*'s tenth eclogue. *Caſa-*
rion,

[u] FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 87. DIO, l. li. p. 457. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 19. [w] PLUT. in Anton. GALEN. in lib. de theriac. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 795. DIO, 452, 453. [x] DIO ibid. SUETON. in Octav. c. 17. OROS ibid. PLUT. in Anton. [y] PTOL. in Can. PLUT. ibid. EUSEB. in Chron. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIGER, CLEMENS ALEXANDRIN. STROM. l. i.

a *rion*, *Cleopatra*'s ſon by *Julius Cæſar*, the conqueror cauſed to be put to death, becauſe he pretended to be the lawful heir, which the adopted ſon could not bear. Her children by *Antony* he treated with great kindneſs, as he did all her friends and ſervants. All the ſtatues of *Antony* he cauſed to be thrown down and broke to pieces, but left thoſe of *Cleopatra* ſtanding, having been prevailed upon by one *Archibilius*, who had been long in her ſervice and made him a preſent of a thouſand talents, to ſpare them. *Octavianus*, having thus reduced *Egypt*, returned to *Rome*, and in his triumph carried her image, ſince he could not her perſon, with an aſp fixed to her arm [z]. From this conqueſt of *Egppt* began the æra of the *Actiac* victory, by which the *Egyptians* afterwards computed their time, the *Philippic* æra, which commenced b from the death of *Alexander*, and the beginning of the reign of *Philippus Aridæus* his ſucceſſor, having been in uſe among them till the reduction of their country by *Octavianus*. Though this æra had its name from the *Actiac* victory, yet it did not begin till near a full year after it, that is, till *Egypt* was intirely reduced; for the *Actiac* victory was gained on the ſecond of *September*, and the æra of that victory commenced on the twenty-ninth of the enſuing *Auguſt*, which was then the firſt day of the *Egyptian* month. As this month was the firſt of their year, from whence they began all their calculations, they thought it the moſt proper time to begin ſuch alterations in their year and æra, as the *Romans* on the conqueſt of their country took upon them to make in both. This æra ought, properly ſpeaking, to have been called t the æra of the *Egyptian* conqueſt, ſince it had its beginning from that conqueſt. But the *Egyptians*, to avoid the ſhame of thus owning themſelves conquered, choſe rather to call it the æra of the *Actiac* victory, it being in their power, ſince this æra was uſed only in *Egypt*, to call it by what name they pleaſed [a].

[z] Plut. Dio. Flor. ibid. [a] Vide Macrob. Saturnal. i. c. 12. & Dio. Cass. l. li. p. 457.

CHAP. III.

The History of the Armenians.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Armenia.

a WHENCE the tract we commonly call *Armenia* borrowed its name is not determined. The *Greeks* will have it ſo called from one *Armenus*, who, after attending *Jaſon* in the *Argonautic* expedition, ſettled in this country. Others, tranſforming *Armenia* into *Aramia*, derive its name from *Aram* the ſon of *Shem*, or from one of the kings of *Armenia* bearing that name [a]. *Bochart* [b] takes *Armenia* to be a contraction or compound of *Aar*, ſignifying in *Hebrew a mountain*, and *Mini* the name of a province in this country mentioned by *Jeremy* [c], and placed by that prophet between *Ararat* and *Aſhchenaz*. This opinion ſeems to be ſupported by the *Chaldee* interpreters, who, both on this and a like paſſage in *Amos* [d], inſtead of *Mini* read *Armenia*; ſo that *Armenia* ſignifies *the mountain* or *mountainous part of Mini*, or *Name.*

[a] Moses Charen. Hiſt. Armen. p. 49. [b] Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. [c] Jerem. li. 27. [d] Amos iv. 3.

or *Mynias*, as *Nicolas* of *Damascus* calls it. The name of *Mini*, *Menni*, and *Mynias*, a
or *Mylias* was at first peculiar to one province; but in process of time became com-
mon to the whole country. As to the word *Mini* or *Menni*, it is thought to be ori-
Dicæon. ginally derived from an *Hebrew* word, signifying *metal*, seeing *Armenia* abounded
with mines, as is plain from *Procopius* [c].

Armenia was anciently divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser*, or *Armenia Major* and
Minor. *Armenia Major*, which we shall treat of in the first place, was, according to
Strabo [f], bounded on the south by mount *Taurus*, separating it from *Mesopotamia*; on
the east by both *Medias*, *viz.* the *Great Media*, and that which was known under
the name of *Atropatia*; on the north by *Iberia* and *Albania*, or rather that part of
the *Caucasus* which surrounds them both; on the west by *Armenia Minor*, or the moun- b
tains *Paryadres*, by some *Pontic* nations, and the *Euphrates*. *Ptolemy* divides all *Ar-*
menia into three districts, as we may call them; the first comprehending that part
which lies between the *Cyrus* and the *Araxes*; the second those provinces which extend
westward to the bending of the *Euphrates*; and the third all the country lying between
the springs of the *Tigris* and that part of the *Euphrates* which separates *Commagene*
from *Armenia Major*. *Ptolemy* enumerates in his first division the following provinces;
Catarzene towards the *Moschick* mountains, probably the same as *Strabo*'s *Chorzene*;
Ossarene and *Motene*, both on the banks of the *Cyrus*; *Colthene* on the banks of the
Araxes; *Soducene*, *Sibacene*, and *Sacapene*; these two last provinces extend to the
mountain *Paryadres*. The second division comprehends the following provinces; e
Basilissene, *Bolbene*, *Arseta*, *Acilisene*, *Austanitis*, and *Sophene*. In the third division
Ptolemy places *Azetene*, *Thospitis*, *Corinea*, *Bagrauandene*, *Gordene*, called also *Gor-*
duene, *Gordyene*, and *Corduene* from the *Gordyæan* mountains. To these we may add
Gorgodylene, which *Strabo* [g] mentions as lying under the mountain *Niphates*; *Chalo-*
betena mentioned by *Stephanus* and *Bochart* [h], who conjectures it to have been so called
from *Chul*, the son of *Aram* and *Shem*'s grandson; *Taurantium*, mentioned by *Tacitus* [i]
and other ancient writers, *&c.*

Cities. *Ptolemy* enumerates a great many cities in *Armenia*, which we find mentioned by no
other geographer or historian, and therefore shall take no notice of them here, but
describe such only as we can give some tolerable account of. Among these the fol- d
lowing are the most considerable; *Artaxata*, the metropolis of all *Armenia*, and from
its foundation the residence of the *Armenian* kings. This city, as *Strabo* informs us [k],
was built upon a plan which *Hannibal* gave to king *Artaxas* or *Artaxias*, who made
it the capital of *Armenia*. It was situated upon an elbow of the river *Araxes*, which
forms a kind of peninsula, and surrounded the town like a wall, except on the side
of the isthmus; but the isthmus was secured by a rampart and a broad ditch. This
is the account *Strabo* gives us of that strong town. But *Cornelius Nepos* in his life of
Hannibal does not mention his journey into *Armenia*; he only says, that after the defeat
of *Antiochus* he withdrew first to *Crete*, and from thence to *Bithynia*, where he died.
Plutarch, however [l], seems to confirm what *Strabo* advances, saying, that *Hannibal*, e
after the overthrow of *Antiochus* by *Scipio Asiaticus*, fled into *Armenia*, where he assisted
king *Artaxas* with his advice, and persuaded him to build the city of *Artaxata* in
a very advantagious situation. *Lucullus*, after having defeated the *Armenians* under
the command of their king *Tigranes* in two battles, would not venture, notwith-
standing the enemies were not able to keep the field, to lay siege to *Artaxata*,
which he looked upon as impregnable. But *Pompey*, who succeeded him in the com-
mand of the army, pressed *Tigranes* so hard, that he was obliged to deliver up his
capital without striking a blow. *Pompey* spared both the city and the inhabitants; but
in *Nero*'s reign, *Corbulo*, the commander in chief of the *Roman* forces in the east,
having forced *Tiridates* to yield up *Artaxata*, levelled it with the ground. *Tiridates*, f
having thus lost his metropolis and with it his kingdom, went to *Rome* to throw him-
self at *Nero*'s feet; who not only restored him the diadem, but also gave him leave
to take workmen with him to assist him in rebuilding *Artaxata*, which by way of
acknowledgment he called *Neronia* from the name of his benefactor. The ruins of
this city, according to the tradition of the *Armenians*, are still to be seen at a place
called *Ardachat*. The inhabitants of this place, says a late traveller [m], call the town
Ardachat from the name of *Artaxias*, whom in the east they call *Ardechier*. There
are

[c] Procop. l. i. de Bell. Persic. [f] Strab. l. xi. p. 363. [g] Strab. l. xi. p. 363. [h] Bochart. Phaleg. l. xi. c. 9. [i] Tacit. l. xiv. c. 23. [k] Strab. l. xi. p. 363, 364. [l] Plutarch in Lucullo. [m] Chardin. voyag.

Septentrio

40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80

Occidens

Oriens

Meridies

45 40 35 30 25 20 15

S. CYTHIÆ PARS

PONTI EUXINI PARS

MARE CASPIUM

MARE ARAL

SOGDIANA

GABAZA

Cyropolis Ext.

Alexandria ult.

Iaxartes R.

Alexandria

Bazaria

Maracanda

Alexandria Polytimetus R.

MARGIANA

BACTRIANA

Bactra

Oxus R.

Cyropolis

Batana sive Batane

Ecbatana

Orosa

Gazæ

Tigranocerta

Artagerae

Artaxata

Vera

Phasis

Pityus

Trapezus

Harmozica

Albana

Gitara

Iasonia

Madia

Colchis

Iberia

Albania

Armenia Minor

Armenia Major

Atropatia

Media Magna

Media Adiabene

Assyria

Gallogræcia

Paphlagonia

Pontus

Cappadocia

Phrygia

Leucosyri

Sophene

Lycaonia

Cataonia

Cilicia

Isaurus

Amanus M.

Antiochia

Cyprus

Syria

Phœnicia

Palmyra

Zeugma

Armosata

Taurus M.

Nisibis

Amida

Edessa

Carræ

Mesopotamia

Ur

Eleia

Vicephorum

Singara

Gauga mela

Gordiene

Gabena

Heraclea Tabæ

Rhagæ

Arsacia Apamea

Cibina

Raphan

Parthia seu Parthiene

Rhapsa

Hecatompylus

Parætacene

Sittacene

Ctesiphon

Susiana

Susa

Cossæi

Pylæ Susidis

Apa

Vxii

Media Atropatia

Caspii

Araxes fl.

Cyrus fl.

Gimirai

Scythæ

Paropamisus Mons falso Caucasus

Parapamisus

Alexandria

Nisæa

Peucelaotis

Peucela

Bancani

Massaca

Ora

Assaceni

Arsaces fl.

Suastus fl.

Hydaspes fl.

Bucephala

Arsinas fl.

Oxydracarum

Hyarotis fl.

Sangala

Hypasis sive Hyphasis fl.

Imaus Mons

Ganges fl.

Athenagurum

Erannoboa fl.

Palibothra

Sogdorum regio

Alexandria

Oxentius Mons

Carthinaga

Calydna

Parisara

Aganagora

Musicani

Præsti

Urbs Præstorum

Sabi regnum

Sabaræ

Gangaridæ

Padæi

Indus Fluv.

Arabitæ

Xylenopolis

Patala

Barce

Pasira

Arbis

Oritæ seu Ori

Ichthyophagi

Alexandria

Carmana metropolis

Chodda

Nipista

Pasargadæ

Granis fl.

Anamis fl.

Andanis fl.

Harmozia sive Armoza

Jabis

Omira

Oscana

Musarna

Prophthasia

Ariaspe

Euergetæ

Arachosia

Alexandria

Arachotus

Bubacene

Indus fl.

Arabius fl.

Carmania Deserta

Carmania

Gedrosia

Ariaspæ

Persia

Thaspis

Persepenaus fl.

Araxes fl. Araxis

Euphrates fl.

Tigris fl.

Choaspes fl.

Eulæus fl.

Pasitigris fl. Oroates

Elymais

Characene

Charax

Apamia

Seleucia

Babylon

Babylonia

Chaldæa

Bethana

Edon

Petra

Idumæa

Arabia Petræa

Arabia Deserta

Judæa

Galilæa

Samaria

Iturea

Trachonitis

Ammon

Bostra

Moab

Kedar

Thamudæni

Saraceni

Midianitis

Nabathæi

Thamydeny

Hippos mons

Hippos vicus

Iamnia portus

Salma

Cephar

Zabram regia

Macoraba

Carman regia

Maocosmus

Hara

Nagara

Lar Flu.

Regama promontorium

Solis promontorium

Cryptus portus

Maepha metropolis

Arabia Felix

Sabæi

Badeo regia

Sabe

Maraba

Panchaia

Thurifera regio

Saphar

Pudni

Sabatha

Ascitæ

Prion flu.

Mare Erythræum

Sinus Arabicus

Sinus Persicus

Mura emporium

Arabia emporium

Ocelis emporium

Sanina

Homerite

Madoa

Oceanus Indicus

The KINGDOMS of ARMENIA, PONTUS, CAPPADOCIA, MEDIA &c.

Barigaza emporium

Supara

Simulla empor.

Hippocura regia

Calligeris

Vitriæ

Muziris emporium

Modura

Vertex Taprobanæ

Scopotura

Sinus Gangeticus

Chersonesus Aurea

Tacola

Leftarum regio

Maspus

J. W. Sculpt.

are here ſome remains of a ſtately palace, which the *Armenians* take to be the palace
a of *Tiridates*, who reigned in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*; one front of this building is but half ruined, a great many pillars of black marble and of an extraordinary ſize are ſtill ſtanding, and many other fine antiquities, which the inhabitants call *Taſt-Tardat*, that is, *the throne of Tiridates*. *Tavernier* alſo [m] mentions the ruins of *Artaxata*, between *Erivan* and mount *Ararat*, but does not ſpecify them. The ancient geographers mention another city bearing the ſame name, and likewiſe ſituated on the *Araxes*, but in the northern part of *Media*, known among the ancients by the name of *Atropatia*. This ſome moderns have confounded with the metropolis of *Armenia*.

b THE other cities of note in ancient times were, *Sebaſtia*, ſeated on the banks of the *Euphrates* not far from the mountain *Taurus*, ſo called from *Auguſtus*, whom the *Greeks* ſtyled *Sebaſtos*. *Armoſata* or *Arſamoſata*, once a very conſiderable city, and of the greateſt note after *Artaxata*. It was ſituated between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, which has made ſome place it in *Meſopotamia* [n], though *Pliny*, *Polybius*, and *Tacitus* call it in expreſs words a city of *Armenia*. *Tigranocerta* built by *Tigranes* in the time of the *Mithridatic* war, and ſo named from its founder, the word *Certa* in the *Parthian*, *Armenian*, and *Syriac* languages, ſignifying *a city*. It was ſeated in the ſouthern part of *Armenia*, on the top of a ſteep hill, between the ſprings of the *Tigris* and the mountain *Taurus*. This city *Tigranes* peopled with the inhabitants of divers
c nations which he had conquered, and inriched, we may ſay, with the wealth of all *Armenia*; for there was not one *Armenian* from the higheſt to the loweſt that did not contribute towards the embelliſhing of it. *Lucullus* took it without great reſiſtance, the inhabitants, as being of different nations, not agreeing among themſelves; and found in it, beſides an immenſe quantity of other valuable things, no leſs than eight thouſand talents in ready money. *Artagera*, where the emperor *Caius* received the wound of which he died [o]. *Carcathioserta* called by *Strabo* [p] the metropolis of *Sophene*, which province is waſhed by the *Euphrates*, but placed by *Pliny* [q] near the *Tigris*. *Colonia* the ſtrongeſt place of all *Armenia*, when poſſeſſed by the *Romans*. In latter ages *Theodoſiopolis*, built by the emperor *Theodoſius*, of whom it borrowed
d its name. It was a great and wealthy city, and in thoſe days accounted impregnable (A). *Chorſa* placed by *Ptolemy* on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and taken by ſome for the preſent city of *Cars*, which made *Sanſon* place the city of *Cars* on the *Euphrates*, though that river runs at a great diſtance from it (B).

As

[m] TAVERNIER voyage au Levant. [n] LUCAS HOLSTENIUS in annot. ad Ortelium. [o] VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 102. ZONARAS, Tom. 2. p. 167. [p] STRAB. l. xi. p. 363. [q] PLIN. l. vi. c. 9.

(A) 'Tis generally believed, that *Erzeron* is the ancient city of *Theodoſiopolis*, which a late judicious traveller (1) does not think improbable, provided we ſuppoſe, that the inhabitants of *Artze* retired to *Theodoſiopolis* after the demolition of their own city, which ſuppoſition is not ill-grounded. For *Cedrenus* informs us, that in the reign of *Conſtantine Monomachus*, who died about the middle of the eleventh century, *Artze* was a great and wealthy borough, inhabited by the merchants of different nations, who, confiding in their numbers and ſtrength, would not retire with their effects to *Theodoſiopolis*, during the wars between that emperor and the *Mohammedans*. By theſe the place was beſieged, and the inhabitants made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the general of the *Mohammedans* apprehending the town might be relieved, cauſed it to be ſet on fire on all ſides, ſacrificing the booty to his reputation. *Cedrenus* tells us, that an hundred and forty thouſand ſouls periſhed in the ſiege by fire or ſword. The huſbands, ſays he, leaped into the flames with their wives and children in their arms. The conqueror found abundance of gold arms, which the fire could not conſume. As the town was reduced to aſhes, it is not unlikely, that the few inhabitants, who outlived the deſtruction of their country, retired with the foreign merchants to *Theodoſiopolis*, which, according to *Cedrenus*, was ſituated cloſe by it. The *Turks*, thinking perhaps *Theodoſiopolis* too long and troubleſome a name, gave it that of *Artzerum*; that is, *Artze* of the *Greeks* or *Chriſtians*; from *Artzerom* comes *Erzeron*. We muſt not confound this city of *Theodoſiopolis* with another of the ſame name on the river *Abhorras* in *Meſopotamia*, which the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, as *Procopius* informs us, fortified with ſtrong walls. 'Tis commonly believed, that *Orthogul*, father of the famous *Othoman*, the firſt emperor of the *Turks*, took *Erzeron*; but it is certain, that the *Armenians* had a king of their own, even in the reign of *Selim* the firſt. Some writers, miſled by the ſimilitude of names, take *Erzeron* to be the city of *Aziris* placed by *Ptolemy* in *Armenia Minor*.

(B) *Cars* is the laſt town of *Turky* towards the frontiers of *Perſia*. It is built on a riſing ground, expoſed to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. It is defended by a caſtle built on a ſteep rock, and has behind it a deep valley watered by a river, which not far from thence diſembogues itſelf into the *Arpagi*, without ever coming near the city of *Erzeron*, contrary to the deſcription *Sanſon* has given us of it. Theſe two rivers joined together are known by the name of *Arpagi*, and ſerve as a frontier to the two empires. *Sanſon* places *Cars* at the conflux of the two imaginary branches of the *Euphrates*, which, according to him, form a conſiderable river that waters *Erzeron*. The *Arpagi* falls into *Araxes*, or *Aras*, as the *Turks* and *Perſians* call it.

(1) *Tournefort. Voyage au Levant.*

Rivers. As to the rivers of this country, *Strabo* enumerates six of great note among the ancients, *viz.* the *Lycus* and *Phasis* falling into the *Pontus*; the *Cyrus* and *Araxes* discharging themselves into the *Caspian* sea; and the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which disembogue themselves into the *Persian* gulf. The *Lycus*, the *Phasis*, and the *Cyrus*, though they rise in *Armenia*, yet are more properly reckoned by most of the ancient geographers rivers of *Pontus*, *Colchis*, and *Albania*, since the two former wash but the skirts of *Armenia*, and the latter springs from the hills of *Iberia*, which separate that country from *Armenia*, whence it is by some accounted a river of *Iberia*, but by the generality of geographers after *Ptolemy* of *Albania*; where, being increased with several others, it becomes a very considerable stream. The *Araxes*, or, as the *Turks* call it, the *Aras*, springs from the same mountain as the *Euphrates*. This mountain *Strabo* [r] calls *Abus*, and places it between the mountain *Niphates* and *Nibarus*; *Domitius Corbulo*, who had been upon the spot, gives it the name of *Aba*; *Nutianus*, who had also visited the country, calls it *Capotes*; and *Eustathius* with *Dionysius Periegetes* style it *Achos*. Springing from this mountain, which is part of mount *Taurus*, it continues its course eastward to the city of *Atropatene*; from thence bending its course north-westward, it flows close by *Azara* and *Artaxata*, and falls at length into the *Caspian* sea (C). It is too rapid to bear a bridge, and carried away those which the masters of the world built over it. On the banks of this river have appeared the most famous warriors of antiquity, *Xerxes*, *Alexander*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Mithridates*, &c. The modern geographers, who make this river flow from mount *Ararat*, must certainly mistake the river which runs near *Ascourlon* for the *Araxes*. The *Euphrates* springs from the same hill as the *Araxes*, and immediately divides itself into two branches, which the ancient historians call the sources of the *Euphrates*. The first flows from east to south, and running between the mountains, at the foot of which the town of *Erzeron* is situated, continues its course southward to a little borough called *Mommacotum*. The other stream flows northward to the town of *Elijah*, and thence bending westward along the road to *Tocat*, is obliged by the disposition of the ground to turn southward at *Mommacotum*; where it joins the other branch, which is far more considerable. The town of *Erzeron* is not seated on the banks of the *Euphrates*, as the modern geographers place it, but in a peninsula formed by the two branches of the *Euphrates*, the first of which runs a day's journey distance from *Erzeron*, and the other a day and a half, or rather two days journey. But we have already described the whole course of this river [s] (D). The *Tigris*, according to *Strabo* [t], rises on the south side of mount *Taurus*; according to *Pliny* [u], in a great plain of *Armenia*, which he calls *Elegosine*, runs through the lake *Arethusa*, and meeting with mount *Taurus* buries itself underground, and appears again on the other side of that mountain. This breaking out of the river *Strabo* evidently mistook for its first rise, for in all the rest he agrees with *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. This river runs with an incredible rapidity, whence it had the name of *Tigris*, which in the language of the *Medes* signifies *an arrow*. It continues its course, after it has passed under the huge bulk of mount *Taurus*, washing the eastern skirts of *Mesopotamia*, which it divides from *Assyria*, till, mixing with its fellow-traveller the *Euphrates* at *Apamea* in *Chaldea*, it falls at length into the *Persian* gulf. Many writers take these four rivers, *viz.* the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Phasis*, and the

[r] Strab. l. xi. p. 363. [s] Hist. Univers. l. i. p. 909. [t] Strab. l. xi. p. 259. [u] Plin. l. vi. c. 27.

(C) *Strabo* and many others (2) say, that the *Araxes* falls into the *Caspian* sea near the mouth of the *Cyrus*; but *Pliny* (3), *Plutarch* (4), and *Appianus* (5), make it discharge itself into the *Cyrus*. *Ptolemy* (6) divides the *Araxes* into two branches, and describes one joining the *Cyrus*, the other he makes fall into the *Caspian* sea. All our modern maps make the *Araxes* disembogue itself into the *Cyrus*.

(D) *Procopius* seems to have known nothing of the two branches of the *Euphrates*. For he calls one of the branches the *Tigris*, and the other the *Euphrates*. There is, says he, a mountain in *Armenia* five miles and a half from *Theodosiopolis*, whence issue two great rivers; that which flows to the right is called the *Euphrates*, the other the *Tigris*; whereas *Strabo* tells us in express words, that the springs of these two rivers are two hundred and fifty miles distant from each other. *Pompey*, as we are informed by *Florus*, was the first that built a bridge over this river, which he did in pursuing *Mithridates*. This bridge in all likelihood was built near the elbow, which this river makes, after its two branches are joined at *Mommacotum*. For our modern travellers seem to agree in this, that the battle between *Pompey* and *Mithridates* was fought in the plain of *Erzeron*, and *Mithridates* is said to have passed by the sources of the *Euphrates* on his retreat into *Colchis*, a few years before *Lucullus* had sacrificed a bull to this river in order to obtain a favourable passage.

(2) *Strab. l.* xi. *c.* 346. (3) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 9. (4) *Plutarch. in Pomp, p.* 634. (5) *Appian. Mithridat. p.* 401. (6) *Ptolem. l.* 5. *c.* 13.

a the *Araxes* to be the four rivers mentioned by *Moſes*, as coming out of the terreſtrial paradiſe. They ſuppoſe the *Phaſis* to be the *Piſon*, and the *Araxes* or *Aras* the *Gihon*. But of this ſubject, and the various ſuppoſitions and opinions relating thereunto, we have treated elſewhere at large [w] (E). Beſides theſe rivers there were ſeveral others of leſs note, namely, the *Muſis* mentioned by *Pliny* [x], as diſcharging itſelf into the *Araxes*; *Nicephorius* running, according to *Tacitus* [y], between *Tigranocerta* and *Artaxata*, and falling into the *Euphrates*; *Niphates* mentioned by *Lucan* [z] and *Silius Italicus* [a], and ſpringing from a mountain of the ſame name.

Mountains.

THE moſt conſiderable mountains of this country are the *Moſchick* mountains, ſeparating the weſtern parts of *Armenia* from *Colchis*; ſome writers will have them ſo
b called from *Meſech* or *Moſoch* the ſon of *Japhet*. *Paryadræ* extending from the *Moſchick* mountains to the borders of *Armenia Minor* and *Pontus*. *Maſius* bounding the province of *Sophene* to the ſouth, as *Antitaurus* does to the north. *Niphates* well known to the poets, and famous for the ſprings of the *Tigris*. *Abus* from which iſſues the *Euphrates*. The *Gordyæan* mountains, which ſeparate, according to *Strabo* [b], the province of *Sophene* and the reſt of *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia*. Of the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark reſted, we have treated elſewhere [c].

The ſoil.

THIS country is very hilly and mountainous, but the hills are here and there interſperſed with fruitful and moſt beautiful dales and valleys. All ſorts of grain are but very indifferent in *Armenia*; in moſt places it yields but four-fold. If they had
c not the conveniency of watering their lands, they would be almoſt barren. What the country produces is almoſt intirely owing to the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually water it by hand, or dig trenches and other conveniences of that kind, for the fecundation of their fields. The wine of this country is cried down by the generality of our modern travellers. One of theſe [d] has ſtarted an objection which tends to overthrow the tradition of the ark's reſting on one of the mountains of *Armenia*: for the olive, ſays he, is not found thereabouts, nor in any part of *Aſia* beyond *Aleppo*, except one ſingle place near *Caſbin* in *Perſia*. However, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe anciently, for we are told by *Strabo* [e], that the olive grew in *Gogarene*, a province of *Armenia*. The cold is ſo extraordinary here, that all kinds of fruit
d are more backward than in moſt of the northern countries. The hills are covered with ſnow the whole year round, and it ſometimes falls even in the month of *June*. *Lucullus*, when appointed to command the *Roman* army in *Armenia*, was greatly ſurprized to find the whole country covered with ſnow at the autumnal equinox, to ſee moſt of the rivers frozen up, and vaſt numbers of the horſes of his army dying every day by reaſon of the coldneſs of the waters. *Alexander Severus* was no better pleaſed with this country, having loſt on his march through it great part of his army, the cold being then ſo exceſſive, that many of the ſoldiers, as *Zonaras* informs us, were frozen under their tents, and others loſt their hands and feet, being obliged to incamp in the ſnow. A modern traveller tells us [f], that even in the middle of *July* he often
e found ice about the ſprings before the riſing of the ſun, notwithſtanding it was exceeding hot in the day-time; this cold keeps every thing ſo back, that the corn, as the ſame traveller obſerved, was not at that time of the year a foot high, and the other fruits of the earth ſcarce ſo forward as they are about *Paris* at the end of *April*. Their method of plowing the land is ſomewhat ſurprizing, for they uſually put to one plough ten or twelve yoke of oxen, each yoke having a driver, and this to make deeper furrows, experience having taught them, that it was neceſſary to go very deep, either to mix the upper ſoil, which is too dry, with that which lies beneath and is leſs ſo, or to preſerve the ſeed from the hard froſts; for were it not on ſome ſuch conſideration, they would not be at ſuch an expence. Notwithſtanding all this, we are

[w] Hiſtor. Univerſ. Vol. I. p. 53. & ſeq. [x] PLIN. l. vi. c. 9. [y] TACIT. l. xv. c. 24. [z] LUCAN. l. iii. v. 245. [a] SILIUS ITALIC. l. xiii. v. 765. [b] STRAB. l. xi. p. 359. [c] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. I. p. 168. [d] TOURNEFORT. Voyage, lett. 7. [e] STRAB. l. xi. p. 800. [f] TOURNEFORT. ubi ſupra.

(E) The commentators on the book of *Geneſis*, even thoſe who are moſt confined to the literal ſenſe, do not think it neceſſary, in order to fix the ſituation of *Eden*, to find a river, which divides itſelf into four branches, conſidering the great alterations that may have been occaſioned by the flood; but think it enough to ſhew the heads of the rivers mentioned by *Moſes*, namely, the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Piſon* and *Gihon*. And thus, taking the *Phaſis* for *Piſon* and the *Araxes* for *Gihon* they come to place the terreſtrial paradiſe in the beautiful vales of *Georgia*, and namely in the country of the *Three Churches* about ſixty miles diſtant from the ſprings of the *Euphrates* and *Araxes*, and about as many from thoſe of the *Phaſis*. The extent of *Eden* muſt at leaſt have reached to the ſprings of theſe rivers, and thus comprehended all *Media* and part of *Armenia* and *Iberia*.

are told, that the corn would be quite burnt up were not the fields frequently watered either by hand, or by trenches dug for that purpoſe. Perhaps great plenty of water a is neceſſary to diſſolve the ſalt and nitre, wherewithal the ſoil in moſt parts of *Armenia* is impregnated, and which would burn up the roots, if the clods were not well moiſtened with a proportionable quantity of liquid.

Antiquity. As to the origin of the ancient *Armenians*, *Herodotus*, and after him *Stephanus*, derives them from the *Phrygians* by reaſon of ſeveral *Phrygian* words that were crept into the ancient language of the *Armenians*; but this may be aſcribed to the communication they had, as merchants, with the *Phrygians*, as they likewiſe had with other neighbouring nations. And we are moreover told, that a colony of the *Aſcanians*, who were *Phrygians*, ſettled in *Armenia*, which the prophet *Jeremy* ſeems to b inſinuate in joining *Ararat* (that is, *Armenia*, as it is agreed on all hands) with *Aſchenaz*, who is generally believed to have been the founder of the *Phrygian* nation, and therefore is taken for the *Phrygians*, ſeeing the name of the founder is commonly uſed in ſcripture for the nation he founded. Other writers ſuppoſe *Hull* or *Chul* the ſon of *Aram* and *Meſech* the ſon of *Japhet* to have been the progenitors of the ancient *Armenians*; which opinion has no better foundation than the ſmall ſimilitude we find between *Meſech* and *Moſchick*, between *Chul* and *Cholna* the name of a town in *Armenia*. *Beroſus* tells us, that the ark reſted in *Armenia*, and that *Noah* going from thence left his mother, his wife, and ſeveral of his deſcendants to people the country, ſuppoſing thereby *Noah* to have remained many years after the flood in *Armenia* [i]. c *Strabo* takes them to be originally *Syrians*, or rather conſiders the *Syrians* and *Armenians* as two tribes of one and the ſame nation. This opinion *Bochart* [k] looks upon as the moſt probable, finding a great agreement between theſe two nations both in manners and language. In proceſs of time many foreigners ſettled among them, namely *Phrygians*, *Greeks*, and *Perſians*, as *Strabo* [l] and *Ptolemy* [m] witneſs.

Government. *Armenia* was advanced very early to the honour of a kingdom. *Beroſus* makes one by name *Scytha* the firſt king thereof, and *Barzanes* his ſucceſſor, which *Barzanes*, he informs us, was conquered and driven out by *Ninus*; wherein he is greatly miſtaken; for beſides that the word *Scytha* was never heard of till many ages after, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, *Barzanes* was not conquered by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* d informs us, but, having made a peace and alliance with him, joined his forces againſt the *Bactrians*. Some writers by *Scytha* underſtand *Hul*, and will have him ſucceeded by *Barzanes*: After the death of *Barzanes*, they tell us, that *Armenia* was divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which is vouched alſo by *Pliny* [n]. *Plutarch* mentions one *Araxes* king of *Armenia* [o], who in a war with the *Perſians* being aſſured by an oracle that he ſhould return home loaded with ſpoils, provided he ſacrificed his two daughters, cauſed the two daughters of one *Mieſalcus*, a nobleman of his court, to be ſacrificed in their ſtead, flattering himſelf that he had thereby complied with the oracle. But *Mieſalcus* did not fail to revenge the death of his daughters by that of the king's daughters, and purſued the prince himſelf ſo cloſe, that he was drowned in endea- e vouring to ſave himſelf by ſwimming over the river then called *Helmus*, but ever after by the king's name *Araxes*. The *Armenians* were in proceſs of time ſubdued by the *Medes*, to whom they were made, as we read in *Xenophon*, tributaries by *Aſtyages*. However, they continued to be ruled by kings of their own country; for *Tigranes* and *Sabaris*, in whom we are told the royal family of the *Armenian* kings was extinguiſhed, were the ſons of that king whom *Cyrus* afterwards ſubdued. We find no mention of kings, but only of prefects appointed by the kings of *Perſia*, during the whole time they continued ſubject to that empire; whence we may conclude, that after the death of *Tigranes* and *Sabaris* *Armenia* became a province of *Perſia*. *Alexander the Great*, having poſſeſſed himſelf of *Armenia*, made *Mithrines* f governor of both *Armenias*; *Mithrines* was ſucceeded by *Phrataphernes*, and he by *Orons*, both appointed by *Perdiccas*. After the death of *Orons* the *Armenians*, if we believe *Diodorus*, ſhook off the *Macedonian* yoke, and ſet up kings of their own; one of theſe, according to him, was *Ardoates*, who with a powerful army aſſiſted *Ariarathes* III. king of *Cappadocia*; the ſame author mentions another king of *Armenia* contemporary with *Nicomedes* I. king of *Bithynia*. Theſe two princes may, for aught we know, have ſeized on the crown of *Armenia*; but we are very ſure, that the country was again brought under ſubjection by the *Macedonians*, there being nothing more

[i] Beroſus, l. iii. [k] Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 9. [l] Strab. l. 16. [m] Ptolem. l. v. c. 13.
[n] Plin. l. vi. c. 9. [o] Plutarch. de fluviis.

more certain, than that *Armenia* was held by *Antigonus*, and after him by *Seleucus* and
a his posterity to the time of *Antiochus the Great*; that is, to the sixth generation.
During the minority of *Antiochus*, *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, governors of *Armenia*,
joining their forces together, seized on the country they had been set over, and adding
some of the neighbouring provinces to it, while *Antiochus*'s troops were employed
elsewhere, erected not one, but two kingdoms, *viz.* that of *Armenia Major*, which
Artaxias kept for himself; the other of *Armenia Minor*, which fell to *Zadriades*. Of
these two kingdoms only our intent is to write here, seeing whatever is said of the
more ancient kings of *Armenia* is altogether uncertain, and over-cast with such a
mist, that it is impossible to give any tolerable account of them. The *Armenians*
b tell us of *Haikh*, *Amasia*, and a great many others, which, as we find them men-
tioned by no authors of any credit, we hardly think it worth our while to take any
notice of. What the primitive government of *Armenia* may have been we know
not; but under the later kings it was absolute and arbitrary, their princes being,
as appears from history, quite uncontroled by the subject.

Laws and religion.

We have no system of their laws, and scarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them; but we are not so much at a loss for what concerns their religion; for *Strabo* tells us, that the *Armenians*, *Medes*, and *Persians* worshipped the same deities, and of the religion of the ancient *Persians* we have already given a very particular and distinct account. However, the chief deity of the *Armenians* seems to have been
c the goddess *Tanais*, or, as some stile her, *Anaitis*. To her several temples were erected all over *Armenia*, but more especially in the province of *Acilesina*, where she was worshipped in a particular manner. Here she had a most rich and magnificent temple, with a statue of solid gold and inestimable workmanship. This temple was plundered by the *Roman* soldiers in *Mark Antony*'s wars with the *Persians*; on which occasion it was reported, and universally believed, that the first, who laid sacri-
legious hands on the treasure and sacred utensils, was struck blind by the deity of the place, and so terrified that he died soon after. But many years after *Augustus* being entertained at *Bononia* by an old commander, who had served in the *Persian* war, and inquiring about the truth of this report, the officer frankly owned, that he was the
d man, and added, that the only evil that happened to him on that occasion was a plentiful estate, which was altogether owing to that sacrilege. In honour of this goddess, and in her temple the *Armenians* used to prostitute their daughters, it being a custom among the young women to consecrate their virginity to *Tanais*, that is, to her priests. *Baris* was another deity peculiar to the *Armenians*, and had a stately temple erected to him, as *Strabo* informs us; but after what manner he was worshipped we find no-where mentioned. *Juvenal* [p] charges them with foretelling future events, by examining the entrails of pigeons, of dogs, and sometimes of children. Others tell us, that they used human sacrifices, which seems to be in some degree confirmed by what we have related above out of *Plutarch*.

Their learning and arts.

e We can say nothing particular of their learning and arts, but what we have from writers of no great credit. *Berosus* [q] tells us, that *Noah* instructed here his posterity in all manner of human and divine sciences, and committed to writing many natural secrets, which the priests alone were allowed to learn, no-body else being suffered to see those writings. He adds, that he left among the *Armenians* books of religious ceremonies, that he taught them astronomy and the distinction of years and months, and that he was on this account stiled by them *Olybama* and *Arsa*, that is, *heaven and sun*; that they dedicated many cities to him, and even worshipped him under the name and title of *Jupiter Sagus*, accounting him the soul of the heavenly bodies. The *Armenians* tell us, that *Noah* taught them husbandry and the planting of vines, and
f shew to this day some vines which they pretend to be of *Noah*'s planting; for they suppose him to have been their first king, and in quitting *Armenia* to have left behind him his mother, his wife, and several of his descendants to people the country. These and many such-like fables are looked upon by the present *Armenians* as truths not to be called in question.

The language of the ancient *Armenians* was, according to *Strabo*, much the same with that of the *Syrians*; at least it is very plain from *Polyænus* [r], that they used the *Syriac* characters. The modern *Armenians* use two languages, the vulgar and the learned; the latter, if we believe them, has no affinity with the other oriental languages,

[p] Juvenal. Satir. 6. [q] Berosus, l. iii. [r] Polyænus, l. iv.

guages, is very expreſſive, and inriched with all the terms of religion, and of arts and ſciences; which, if true, ſhews that the *Armenians* were formerly men of much greater learning than they are at preſent. This language is to be found only in their ancient manuſcripts, and is uſed in divine ſervice. To underſtand it well is reckoned a great accompliſhment, and is all that is requiſite to be admitted into the order of the *Vertabiets*, who make ſuch a noiſe among the *Armenians*. The *Vertabiets* are doctors, and their province is to preach and inſtruct the people; when they once underſtand the learned language, and have got by heart a few ſermons of *Gregory Altenaſi*, a great maſter of it, and, as we may call him, their chief claſſic, they are abundantly qualified for that eminent degree (F). a

Their trade. THOUGH the modern *Armenians* are perhaps the greateſt traders on the earth, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by them in ancient times. *Sha-Abbas the Great*, king of *Perſia*, is ſaid to have been the firſt, who, conſidering the œconomy and indefatigable induſtry of this people, put them upon trade, and ſettled a colony of *Armenians* at *Julfa*, the famous ſuburb of *Iſpahan*, deſcribed by moſt of our modern travellers. This place contains at preſent above thirty thouſand inhabitants, all *Armenians* and merchants (G). Though none of the ancients have mentioned the trade of the *Armenians* in former ages, yet the eaſy and ſafe navigation of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and the example of their next and moſt induſtrious neighbours the *Syrians*, may perhaps have induced them to carry on a trade, as well for their own growth as for foreign production; neither do we ſee by what other means they could acquire the great wealth they enjoyed under ſome of their kings. But as we find no mention of their trade in ancient hiſtory, we ſhall take no farther notice of it. b c

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Armenia Major.

Artaxias. OUR intent is to write of thoſe kings only that reigned in *Armenia* after that people had ſhaken off the *Macedonian* yoke, which happened in the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, when *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, whom he had appointed governors or prefects of *Armenia*, entering into a conſpiracy and uniting their forces, ſtirred up the *Armenians* to a revolt, and cauſed themſelves to be proclaimed kings of the provinces which were under their juriſdiction. As *Antiochus* d

was

(F) The *Vertabiets* are ordained, but their proper function is to preach. Their ſermons generally turn upon very ill contrived parables, upon paſſages of the ſcripture, ill underſtood and worſe explained, and upon ridiculous traditions: however, they deliver themſelves with a great deal of gravity, and theſe diſcourſes procure them as much credit and authority as the patriarch himſelf has. They challenge the ſole power of excommunicating. After exerciſing themſelves for ſome time in the villages and boroughs, they are with abundance of ceremonies admitted to the degree of doctor by an old *Vertabiet*, who puts into their hands a paſtoral ſtaff, which they are allowed to hold while they preach, and alſo to ſit; whereas the biſhops, who are not *Vertabiets*, are obliged to preach ſtanding. They live on the gatherings that are made for them after their ſermons, which, we are told, are very conſiderable, eſpecially in places where the caravans ſtop. They obſerve celibacy, and faſt very rigorouſly three quarters of the year, abſtaining not only from meat, but alſo from fiſh, eggs, and milk.

(G) *Sha-Abbas*, by ſettling a numerous colony at *Julfa*, and other colonies of *Armenians* in divers other parts of the kingdom, had two things in view, namely to ſecure his dominions from being attacked by the *Turks*, and to enrich them by trade and commerce. As *Armenia* was the chief place where the *Turks* uſed to make their attempts to penetrate into *Perſia*, he unpeopled it ſo as to make it impoſſible for them to maintain an army in that country. The inhabitants of *Julfa*, the moſt populous and greateſt city of *Armenia*, were ordered to retire with their effects to *Iſpahan*, from whence they were ſoon after removed to the other ſide of the river *Zenerou*, to ſeparate them from the *Mohammedans*, who deſpiſed them on account of their religion. This new ſettlement they called *Julfa* in memory of their ancient habitation, the ruins whereof are to be ſeen to this day on the banks of the *Araxes*, between *Erivan* and *Tauris*. The inhabitants of *Nacſivan* alſo were diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and above twenty thouſand *Armenian* families tranſplanted into the ſingle province of *Guilan*. The king, having thus ſecured his frontiers, employed the *Armenians* in carrying on the ſilk trade, truſting them at firſt with a great many bales, to carry by caravans into foreign countries, on condition they ſhould pay at their return for each bale a certain price ſettled by perſons of judgment before their departure. For their greater encouragement, he allowed them by way of reward for their pains and induſtry whatever they could get above the price agreed on, which was very reaſonable. The ſucceſs anſwered the hopes both of the king and the merchants, and ſilver and gold, which to that time had been very ſcarce in *Perſia*, began to appear in great plenty at the return of the caravans. To that expedient the wealth of *Perſia* is owing even to this day.

a was then very young, and his troops employed againſt other rebels, their attempts were attended with ſucceſs beyond expectation, which encouraged them to purſue their conqueſts, and extend the boundaries of their new, but ſmall, kingdom. Accordingly, invading with a conſiderable army the neighbouring countries, they took from the *Medes* the provinces of *Caſpiana*, *Phaunitis*, and *Baſoropida*; from the *Iberians Chorzena* and *Gogarena* on the other ſide of the *Cyrus*; from the *Chalybes* and *Moſſineci Pareneta* and *Xerxena*, which bordered on *Armenia Minor*. By theſe new acquiſitions, *Armenia* from a ſmall province became all on a ſudden ſo conſiderable a kingdom, that *Juſtin*, in enumerating thoſe of his time, gives it the preference in wealth, power, and extent to any other, that of *Parthia* alone excepted. The b conquerors, having thus inlarged their new territories, divided their conqueſts into two kingdoms; and on this occaſion the diviſion of *Armenia* into the *Greater* and *Leſſer* was firſt introduced. *Zadriades* kept for himſelf that part which lay next to *Cilicia*, calling it the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*, and yielded the far greater part to *Artaxias*, which began to be known under the name of *Armenia Major*. *Antiochus* did not fail to lead a powerful army againſt them, but was not able to recover one ſingle province of the many they had uſurped. Wherefore, after many unſucceſsful attempts, he at laſt concluded a peace with them, deſigning to fall upon them again after he had ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, which was then rent into ſeveral parties. But they in the mean time entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, ſecured to themſelves and c their poſterity the provinces which they had uſurped. *Artaxias* built the famous city of *Artaxata*, the metropolis of *Armenia* and the ſeat of the kings of that country: Some ſay, as we have hinted above, that he followed therein the direction of *Hannibal*, whom they ſuppoſe to have fled into *Armenia*, after the defeat of *Antiochus* by *Scipio Aſiaticus*. But it is not at all probable, that *Artaxias*, who owed, we may ſay, his crown to the *Romans* and reigned under their protection, would entertain a ſworn enemy of theirs. *Artaxias* enjoyed his kingdom peaceably to the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, by whom his army was cut in pieces, and himſelf made priſoner, and put in irons[r]. We read of an embaſſy ſent by him, four years after this misfortune, to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, ſoliciting that prince to put to death *Mithrobuzanes*, d one of the two ſons of *Zadriades*, who had fled to him for ſhelter, and to aſſiſt him in the recovering of his kingdom. But *Ariarathes* ſharply rebuked the embaſſadors, and was ſo far from complying with their requeſt, that he reſtored *Mithrobuzanes* to his father's kingdom; and moreover declared, that he would give no manner of aſſiſtance to one who could think him capable of committing ſuch an infamous piece of treachery.

Artaxias *defeated by* Antiochus Epiphanes. *Year of the flood* 2834. *Year before Chriſt* 165.

By whom *Artaxias* was ſucceeded is uncertain, the *Armenian* hiſtory being interrupted here with a chaſm of about ſeventy years, for ſo many paſſed between the defeat of *Artaxias* and the reign of *Tigranes the Great*; which interruption may perhaps be owing, not to the want of writers, but of any thing worth writing performed by the e intermediate princes. All we know of this time is, that *Tigranes* was by his father delivered up to the *Parthians* as an hoſtage, whence it is plain, that the *Armenians* had warred with the *Parthians* to their diſadvantage. The *Parthians* ſet *Tigranes* at liberty upon the news of his father's death, having firſt obliged him to yield up to them a conſiderable part of his kingdom by way of ranſom[s].

Tigranes. *Year of the flood* 2904. *Before Chriſt* 95.

Tigranes being thus reſtored to his father's kingdom, was prevailed upon in the beginning of his reign by *Mithridates Eupator*, to enter into an alliance with him againſt the *Romans*, whoſe power began to give jealouſy to all the princes of *Aſia*. One of the articles of agreement between theſe two kings was, that *Mithridates* ſhould have the conquered cities and countries, and *Tigranes* the captives and plunder. In virtue f of this treaty, *Tigranes* was to invade *Cappadocia*, which *Mithridates* had been lately obliged by a decree of the ſenate of *Rome* to give up to *Ariobarzanes*. But before either of the princes took the field, a marriage was ſolemnized, with all poſſible pomp and magnificence, between *Tigranes* and *Cleopatra* daughter to *Mithridates*. As ſoon as the nuptial ſolemnities were over, *Mithridates* ſent his elder brother *Socrates* to invade *Bithynia*, and drive from that throne *Nicomedes*, whom the *Romans* had appointed king; and *Tigranes*, according to his engagement, ordered *Mithridates* and *Bagoas*, his two chief commanders, to fall upon *Cappadocia*, which they reduced without the leaſt oppoſition; *Ariobarzanes*, who was but a very mean-ſpirited prince, having abandoned

Invades Cappadocia.

[r] Appian. Syriac. p. 117. & 131. Porphyr. apud Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11. [s] Strab. l. xi. p. 537. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syriac. p. 118.

doned his kingdom and fled to *Rome*, upon the first news of their march. *Tigranes* a
having thus got possession of *Cappadocia*, enriched himself with the booty, but yielded
the country to *Ariarathes*, *Mithridates*'s son, whom he caused to be proclaimed with
Tigranes *is chosen king of* Syria. great pomp, and universal satisfaction of the people [t]. In the mean time the *Syri-*
ans, being harassed with a long and intestine war of the *Seleucidæ*, who could not agree
among themselves, invited *Tigranes* to take possession of their country, which he did
accordingly, driving out the *Seleucidæ*, who were not in a condition to oppose him,
and obliging *Antiochus Pius* not only to yield that part of *Syria* which he possessed,
and extended from the *Euphrates* to the sea, but likewise great part of *Cilicia*. *Tigranes*
must have made peace with the *Romans* soon after his expedition into *Cappadocia*,
and left *Mithridates* in the lurch; for in the council of the *Syrians*, after they had b
resolved to call in a foreign king, three princes being proposed, namely *Mithridates*
king of *Pontus*, *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*; the latter
was unanimously chosen, and *Mithridates* rejected for no other reason but his being
at war with the *Romans* [u]. *Tigranes* enjoyed *Syria*, without the least disturbance, for
the space of eighteen years, till he was driven out by *Pompey*, and *Syria* reduced
to the form of a *Roman* province. With this new addition of strength *Tigranes*,
giving the reins to his aspiring and unbounded desire of power, invades *Armenia*
Minor, kills king *Artanes*, who met him on the frontiers at the head of a consider-
Reduces Armenia Minor, *and other countries.* able army, disperses his troops, and in one campaign reduces the whole kingdom.
From *Armenia Minor* he marches his victorious army against the *Asiatic Greeks*, the c
Adiabenians, the *Assyrians*, and the *Gordians*, carrying all before him, and obliging
the people, where-ever he came, to acknowledge him for their sovereign. From
this second expedition he returned loaded with an immense booty, which he soon
after increased with the spoils of *Cappadocia*, invading that kingdom the second time
at the instigation of *Mithridates*, who had been obliged by the *Romans* to withdraw
his forces from thence. From *Cappadocia Tigranes*, besides the other booty, brought
back into *Armenia* no fewer than three hundred thousand captives, having surrounded
the country with his numerous army in such manner that no one could escape him. These,
together with the prisoners he had taken in his two first expeditions, he employed
to build, and afterwards to people, a large and noble city, which he founded in d
the place, where the crown of *Armenia* had been first put upon his head, calling
it from his own name *Tigranocerta*, that is, *the city of Tigranes* [w]. In the mean
time *Mithridates*, who had concluded a peace with the *Romans*, but with no other
design than to gain time and strengthen his party, sent a solemn embassy to *Tigranes*,
inviting him to enter into an alliance against the common enemy. *Metrodorus Scepsius*
was at the head of this embassy, a man had in such respect and veneration by *Mithridates*,
that he was commonly called the king's father: he was at first a philosopher of great
note, and afterwards raised by the king to the dignity of a judge, with such an un-
bounded authority, that it was not lawful to appeal from his sentence to the king
himself. So great was the opinion *Mithridates* had of his honesty. *Tigranes* before e
he returned any answer to this embassy, pressed *Metrodorus* to tell him honestly,
whether he thought it advisable for him to enter into a war with the *Romans*. *Me-*
trodorus at first declined giving any answer to such an unseasonable question, but
being at last prevailed upon by the pressing instances of the king, replied, As I am
an embassador, I advise you to join your father-in-law against the *Romans*; as a
counsellor, I am for your living in peace and amity with so powerful a people. *Ti-*
granes informed the king of what he had said, supposing he would not take it amiss,
nor entertain a worse opinion of his embassador on the score of his sincerity. But
it fell out otherwise, as was commonly believed, *Metrodorus* dying on the road as
he was returning home, not without suspicion of poison. *Tigranes*, who had betrayed f
him, to express his concern, caused his body to be interred with the utmost magni-
ficence. This prince at first refused to join *Mithridates* against the *Romans*, but in
Sends supplies to Mithridates. the end was prevailed upon by the importunity of his wife *Cleopatra*, to send him
considerable supplies [x], though he never came heartily into that war, not caring to
provoke the *Romans*, who on their side kept fair with him, taking no notice, for
the present, of the supplies he had sent to *Mithridates*. This unfortunate prince was
soon after, upon the defeat of his army by *Lucullus*, forced to fly for shelter into
Armenia, where he met with a very cold reception from his son-in-law, who would
neither

[t] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 176. [u] Justin. l. xl. c. 1, 2. [w] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 216. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. [x] Strab. l. xii. p. 609, 610.

neither treat with him, nor see him, nor acknowledge him for his relation; how-
a ever, he promised to protect his person, and allowed him, in one of his castles, a princely retinue, and a table suitable to his former condition [y]. This total overthrow of *Mithridates* might well have made *Tigranes* open his eyes, and oppose with all his might the growing power of so formidable an enemy. But instead of that, leaving the *Romans* to pursue their conquests, he marches at the head of a very numerous army against the *Parthians*, with a design to recover the seventy vallies which the *Parthians* had extorted from him before they set him at liberty. Those he easily retook, and not satisfied with what had formerly belonged to the crown of *Armenia*, added to them all *Mesopotamia*, the countries that lay about *Ninus* and *Arbela*, and the fruit-
b ful province of *Mygdonia*, with the great and strong city of *Nisibis*, called by the *Greeks Antiochia Mygdonica*, the *Parthians*, though at that time a mighty people, flying every-where before him [z]. From *Mesopotamia* he took his march towards *Syria* to quell a rebellion which had been raised there by *Cleopatra*, surnamed *Selene*, who, after the death of her husband *Antiochus Pius*, reigned jointly with her sons in that part of *Syria* which *Tigranes* had not seized on. The malecontents were quickly reduced, that part of *Syria* which *Cleopatra* possessed, brought under subjection, and the queen herself taken prisoner, and confined to the castle of *Seleucia*, where she was soon after put to death by *Tigranes*'s order [a]. From *Syria* he passed into *Phœnice*, which he subdued either intirely, or in great part, spreading far and
c wide the terror of his arms; insomuch, that all the princes of *Asia*, except those that were joined in alliance with the *Romans*, either in person, or by their deputies, submitted and paid homage to the conqueror. Among the others, *Alexandria* queen of *Judæa*, upon a report that *Tigranes* with an army of five hundred thousand men was ready to fall upon her kingdom, dispatched embassadors, loaded with rich presents, to assure him, that she and the whole nation of the *Jews* coveted nothing more than the friendship of so powerful a prince, which they were willing to cultivate by all the good offices that lay in their power. The king, who was then employed in the siege of *Ptolemais*, which city not long after surrendered, commended them for undertaking so long a journey to do him homage, and bidding them be of good chear,
d sent them back into *Judæa* [b]. *Appian* tells us, that *Tigranes* over-ran all the *Syrian* nations on this side of the *Euphrates* on the borders of *Egypt* [c]; and *Lucullus* in *Plutarch* expressly says, that he made himself master of *Palestine*. But on the other hand, *Eutropius* [d] and *Josephus* [e] write, that he stopt in *Phœnice*, and was master but of part of that country. And now *Tigranes*, elated with a long and uninterrupted series of victories and prosperous events, began to look upon himself as invincible, and far above the level of other crowned heads: he assumed the haughty title of *king of kings*, and had many kings waiting upon him in the nature of menial servants: he never appeared on horseback without the attendance of four kings running by his horse in livery: and when he gave answers to the nations that applied themselves to
e him, they stood on either side of the throne with their hands clasped together, that attitude of all others being accounted then among the orientals the greatest acknowledgment of vassalage and servitude [f].

Reduces Mesopotamia.

Phœnice.

And all Syria *to the borders of* Egypt.

By this time *Lucullus*, having intirely reduced the kingdom of *Pontus*, and wanting a pretence to fall upon *Tigranes*, sent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, with the character of embassador, to demand of him *Mithridates*, who, as we have hinted before, had retired into *Armenia*, and lived there under the protection of his son-in-law *Tigranes*. *Appius* on his journey persuaded several princes, and among the others *Zarbienus*, king of the *Gordians*, to side with the *Romans* in case of a rupture between them and *Tigranes*. The embassador not finding the king at *Epidaphne*, or *Antioch*,
f he being gone from thence a few days before his arrival to reduce some cities of *Phœnice*, and being ordered to wait there till he returned, employed that time in soliciting the neighbouring cities to shake off the *Armenian* yoke, and join the *Romans* assoon as their army should appear in those parts, which they did accordingly. *Tigranes* being at last returned to *Antioch*, *Appius* in the audience which he had, told him abruptly, that he was come to demand *Mithridates*, as belonging to *Lucullus*'s triumph; and, in case he did not readily comply with his demand, to proclaim war against him. *Tigranes*, though no ways accustomed to such freedom of speech, answered with a great

Lucullus *sends* Appius Claudius *to demand of him* Mithridates.

[y] Memnon. c. 48. Appian. ibid. [z] Plutarch. in Lucullo. Strab. l. xi. p. 533. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 24. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. [a] Strab. l. xvi. p. 749. [b] Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xiii. c. 24. [c] Appian. in Syriac. p. 118. [d] Eutrop. l. vi. [e] Joseph. ubi supra. [f] Plut. in Lucull.

great deal of temper, that he had not himself approved of *Mithridates*'s proceedings; but yet could not help having some regard for a man so nearly related to him; that all the world would condemn him, if he delivered his father-in-law into the hands of his sworn enemies; he was therefore unalterably resolved to stand by him, and protect him in his adverse fortune; and if the *Romans* should on that score make war upon him, or invade his dominions, he was in a condition to pay them back in their own coin. He was greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letter did not give him the title of *king of kings*, and therefore in his answer would not so much as give him the title of *general*. He offered great presents to *Appius*, both for himself and *Lucullus*; but he accepted only of a gold cup, fearing the king might take it amiss, if he rejected them all [e]. In the mean time *Tigranes* being informed that *Zarbienus* king of the *Gordians* had entered into a private alliance with the *Romans*, put him, his wife and children to death; and returning into *Armenia*, received with the greatest pomp and magnificence imaginable his father-in-law *Mithridates*, whom to that time he had not admitted to his presence, though the unhappy prince had resided a year and eight months in his dominions; they held several private conferences, and in the end *Mithridates* was sent back into *Pontus* with ten thousand horse to make a diversion by raising there what disturbances he could [f].

Whom he refuses to deliver up.

a

b

On the other hand *Lucullus*, hearing of the king's resolution, performed at *Ephesus* the vows which it was customary for the *Roman* generals to perform after having subdued a powerful enemy; so confident was he of success. From *Ephesus* he marched back into *Pontus*, and from thence, after reducing the strong city of *Sinope* he began his march to *Armenia* with two legions only and three thousand horse, having left *Sornatius* in *Pontus* with six thousand men to keep that kingdom in awe, and defeat the designs of *Mithridates* [g]. He took his rout through *Cappadocia*, where his army was abundantly supplied with all manner of provisions by *Ariobarzanes*, whom he had lately restored to that kingdom; and arrived in a few days at the *Euphrates*, which he passed without the least opposition, where it separates *Cappadocia* from *Armenia* (H). Having now entered the enemy's country, he detached two parties, one to besiege a city, wherein he was informed that *Tigranes*'s concubines and great part of his treasures were kept; the other under the command of *Sextilius* to block up *Tigranocerta*, in hopes of drawing the king to a battle. But *Tigranes*, after having put to death the scout that brought him the first intelligence of the *Romans* arrival, made towards mount *Taurus*, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous [h]. *Lucullus* dispatched *Muræna* in pursuit of the king, who having overtaken and engaged him in a narrow pass, put the *Armenians* to flight, and, besides all the king's baggage and carriages, carried back with him a great many prisoners, the king having fled in the beginning of the skirmish. *Sextilius* was attended with the like success against a large body of *Arabians*, which he fell in with, as they were marching to join the king; for *Lucullus* had sent out several parties to scour the country, and prevent the innumerable forces that were in full march on all sides, from drawing into one body. But notwithstanding all the diligence *Lucullus* could use, the king's army daily increased to a great degree, the *Gordians*, *Medes*, *Arabians*, *Adiabenians*, *Albans*, *Iberians*, and most of the inhabitants of the neighbouring kingdom flocking to him in great bodies, not so much out of any affection to the king, as upon a strong persuasion, that the *Romans* were come into those quarters with a design to ransack the country, and plunder their wealthy temples: this opinion, which was industriously spread abroad by *Tigranes*, armed, we may say, all *Asia* against *Lucullus* [i]. With these supplies the king's army, before he left mount *Taurus*, consisting according to *Plutarch*'s [k] computation, of twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-

Lucullus *marches into* Armenia.

c

d

e

[e] Strab. l. xvi. p. 749. Memnon. c. 48. [f] Memnon. c. 57. & Plut. in Lucul. [g] Sallust. histor. l. iv. apud Nonium. Memnon. c. 58. Plut. Appian. ibid. [h] Plutarch. in Lucull. Appian. ubi supra. [i] Plutarch. ubi supra. Cic. in orat. pro lege Manilia. [k] Plut. ubi supra.

(H) *Plutarch* informs us (7). that the *Euphrates*, being at that time swelled to an extraordinary height by reason of the winter rains, upon the arrival of *Lucullus* began to abate, insomuch that the waters being reduced by the next morning within their banks, afforded him an easy and safe passage. Whereupon the inhabitants began to look upon him as a god, and were confirmed in their opinion by what they reckoned a great prodigy; for no sooner had he passed the river, but one of the oxen consecrated to the *Parian Diana*, though wild, and never caught without great difficulty by the barbarians, came of its own accord to offer itself to *Lucullus* for a sacrifice. He offered also a bull to the deity of the river in thanksgiving for his safe passage.

(7) *Plutarch. in Lucull.*

fifty-five thouſand horſe, and a hundred and fifty thouſand foot, all armed cap-a-pe, a beſides thirty-five thouſand pioneers. But *Lucullus* was ſo far from being under any apprehenſion on account of the enemies number, that on the contrary the only thing he feared was, that *Tigranes* ſhould follow *Mithridates*'s advice which was not to engage the *Romans*, but by ravaging the country, diſtreſs them for want of proviſions, a leſſon he had learnt the year before at his own expence, ſince *Lucullus* by that means had made his army moulder away; and then carried ſeveral ſtrong places without ſtriking a blow. To divert the king from this reſolution, *Lucullus* determined to decamp, and joining *Sextilius* at *Tigranocerta*, to carry on the ſiege of that place in good earneſt, perſuading himſelf, that *Tigranes* at the head of ſo numerous an army would never ſit ſtill, and ſuffer his wealthy metropolis to be taken and plun- b dered under his eyes. As *Lucullus* imagined, ſo it fell out; for *Tigranes* having ſummoned a council of war, it was there unanimouſly reſolved to attack the *Romans*, and relieve the place, before the enemy could receive any new ſupplies; and *Taxiles*, whom *Mithridates* had ſent to diſſuade the king from venturing a battle, was in danger of loſing his head for diſapproving their reſolution. Purſuant to this determination, while the *Romans* were buſied in carrying on their attacks before *Tigranocerta*, the king's army all on a ſudden appeared on the top of the neighbouring hills, and was welcomed with loud ſhouts and acclamations by thoſe who were in the city, the hills and dales echoing on all ſides, *victory*, *victory*. The *Armenians* within the town flocking to the walls, menaced from thence the *Romans*, ſhewing them the king's c forces on the hills. *Lucullus* finding by the enemies motions that they were reſolved to come to an engagement, left *Muræna* with ſix thouſand foot to continue the ſiege, and marched himſelf with ten thouſand foot only and about a thouſand horſe, to meet the king, who upon a view of the *Roman* camp, turning to thoſe who attended him, *If theſe men*, ſaid he, *come as embaſſadors, there is enow of them; but if they come as enemies they make but a very indifferent appearance*[l]. As *Lucullus* was drawing up his forces to paſs a river which parted the two camps, and to attack the enemy, one of his officers ſuggeſted to him, that that day was marked in the kalendar as unlucky, the *Romans* under the conduct of *Cepion* having been defeated on that very day by the *Cambrians*: the general replied calmly, *It is therefore incumbent upon us* d *to behave ourſelves with more galantry, that ſo diſmal a day may henceforth become a day of joy and mirth for the people of* Rome[m]. The *Armenians* ſuffered *Lucullus* to ford the river without the leaſt moleſtation, which he had no ſooner done, than charging the enemy in perſon at the head of his ſmall army, to encourage his men, who were under no ſmall apprehenſion, he forced the right wing to give ground, and with great ſlaughter of the enemies penetrated to the very centre. The *Romans*, thus encouraged by the example of their general, plied the *Armenians* ſo warmly with their javelins, that the whole army began to give way, and ſoon after betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. The *Romans* purſued them a hundred and twenty furlongs, trampling all the way on heaps of dead bodies, till night coming on, obliged e them to give over the dreadful carnage[n]. In this battle *Lucullus* performed the duty both of an experienced commander, and a gallant ſoldier; whereas *Tigranes* behaved himſelf in a moſt cowardly manner, having quitted the field in the very beginning of the engagement, and, attended only by a hundred and fifty horſe, ſaved himſelf in one of his caſtles[o]. *Plutarch* informs us[p], that on the enemies ſide there fell a hundred thouſand of the foot, and that but few of the cavalry eſcaped; whereas of the *Romans* five men only were killed, and a hundred wounded. *Antiochus* the philoſopher, mentioning this fight[q], ſays, that the ſun never beheld the like; and *Livy*, that the *Romans* never fought at ſuch a diſadvantage as to numbers, the conquerors f not equalling the twentieth part of the conquered (I). *Tigranes* on his flight meeting his

Tigranes *defeated by* Lucullus.

[l] Memnon. c. 59. Plut. ubi ſupra. Appian. Xiphilin. ex Dione. [m] Plut. ubi ſupra. & in Camill. & in Apophthegmat. [n] Memnon. c. 59. Appian. in Mithridatic. [o] Memnon. & Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. & Xiphilin. in epitome Dionis. [p] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [q] Antioch. Philoſoph. in comment. de diis.

(I) *Phlegon* ſays, that of the *Armenians* five thouſand only were ſlain, and a great many made priſoners. *Oroſius* on the other hand writes (8), that thirty thouſand were ſlain in the battle, and a great many in the flight. *Plutarch*'s account ſeems to be greatly exaggerated, conſidering that the *Romans* were but eleven thouſand, or at moſt according to the computation of *Eutropius*, *Sextus Rufus*, and *Jornandes*, eighteen thouſand.

(8) *Oros. l.* xvi. c. 3.

his ſon in as forlorn a condition as himſelf, reſigned to him, not without many tears, his diadem and royal robes, bidding him ſhift for himſelf, and ſave thoſe royal enſigns; the young prince delivered them to a truſty friend, who, being taken by the *Romans*, conſigned them to *Lucullus*[r]. a

In the mean time *Mithridates* having levied a conſiderable army, was marching to join *Tigranes*; when he received the diſmal account of his overthrow, and ſoon after met the king himſelf quite diſheartened, and in a great dread of being taken by the *Romans*. *Mithridates* no ſooner ſaw him, but diſmounting from his horſe, he tenderly embraced him, and condoling his misfortune, reſigned to him his own retinue, and royal apparel. Having by this friendly treatment cheared him up, he encouraged him, inſtead of bewailing unfruitfully his preſent diſaſter, to rally his troops, raiſe new ſupplies, and with freſh vigour renew the war, not queſtioning but by a prudent conduct he might eaſily repair in another campaign all the loſſes he had ſuffered in that. *Tigranes* was ſo taken with this obliging deportment, that he not only promiſed to follow *Mithridates*'s advice, but moreover committed the whole management of the war to his conduct[s], owning him fitter to deal with the *Romans* than himſelf. This conference was no ſooner over, but *Tigranes* diſpatched meſſengers to all his prefects, enjoining them to raiſe what forces they could: *Magdates*, who had been governor of *Syria* for the ſpace of fourteen years together, was ordered to abandon that kingdom, and haſten with his army to the king's aſſiſtance: embaſſadors were ſent in the joint names of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* to the neighbouring princes, particularly to *Arſaces* king of *Parthia*, ſoliciting them to riſe up in arms againſt the common enemy, whoſe unbounded ambition aimed at nothing leſs than the empire of all *Aſia*[t] (K). b c

While the confederate kings were thus preparing to renew the war with more vigour than ever, *Lucullus* was employed in reducing the ſtrong-holds of *Armenia*. From the field of battle he marched back to *Tigranocerta*, which town was a few days after delived up to him by the *Greek* mercenaries that were then in garriſon. Theſe *Mancœus*, governor of the place, diſtruſting their loyalty, had not only diſarmed, but was moreover going to ſeize them, which the *Greeks* ſuſpecting, provided themſelves with cudgels, and wrapping their garments about their arms inſtead of bucklers, fell upon the *Armenians*, and ſtripping thoſe they knocked down, enabled themſelves with their army to attack and gain ſome of the forts, which they immediately delivered up to the *Romans*, and thereby put them in poſſeſſion of the town (L). d

Tigranocerta *taken by* Lucullus.

From

[r] Memmon, Plutarch. Oros. Xiphilin. ubi ſupra. [s] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.. Mesmos. c. 59. [t] Appian. in Syriac. 118, 119, 133.

(K) Among the remains of the fourth book of *Salluſt*'s hiſtory, we read the entire letter of *Mithridates* to *Arſaces* on this occaſion; he extenuates the late victory, aſcribing it rather to the raſh and imprudent conduct of *Tigranes*, who engaged the enemy in narow places, than to the *Roman* valour. Then addreſſing *Arſaces*, "But you, ſays he, who are lord "of the great city of *Seleucia*, and the powerful "kingdom of *Perſia*, who poſſeſſes immenſe riches, "and are one of the greateſt potentates of *Aſia*, can "you think the *Romans* will ever ſuffer you quietly "to enjoy what the gods have liberally beſtowed "upon you? They are at war with all mankind, "but exert their cruelty chiefly on thoſe who "have wherewithal to glut their avarice. They "pillage kingdoms, ſell the inhabitants for ſlaves, "plunder the temples of the gods, acknowledging "no other law but their own arbitrary will and "pleaſure. However, we are ſtill in a condition, "with your aſſiſtance, to defeat their impious de"ſigns. By ſhutting up the paſſes which lead from "*Armenia* into *Meſopotamia*, you may eaſily make "their army moulder away for want of proviſions, "and thereby gain to yourſelf the glory of ſuppreſſing great robbers, and relieving great kings. And "this is what I earneſtly intreat you to do, unleſs "you had rather increaſe one day with the addition of your own kingdom the power of the common enemy, than by your friendſhip become a "conqueror yourſelf". However *Arſaces*, or rather *Pacorus*, (for *Arſaces* was a name common to all the *Parthian* kings) could not be prevailed upon to come into *Mithridates*'s meaſures, having promiſed to the embaſſadors of *Lucullus* a ſtrict neutrality.

(L) So *Plutarch* and *Appian* (9), who agree in each particular. But *Dio* (10) informs us, that the inhabitants, moſtly *Cilicians*, upon a difference that aroſe between them and the *Armenians*, let the *Romans* into the town by night. *Memnon* ſays, that *Tigranes*'s commanders, having no hope of relief, procured good conditions for themſelves, and ſurrendered the town to *Lucullus*, who, beſides many other things of great value, found in the king's coffers eight thouſand talents in ready money: he allowed the ſoldiers to plunder the city, and moreover gave to each of them eight hundred drachmas; having found many players, gathered together from all parts by *Tigranes*, who was about to dedicate a new theatre, he employed them in interludes, which he exhibited for the diverſion of the ſoldiery (12): the wives of the chief officers he ſent back untouched to their husbands, and by that means gained them over to his ſide: the *Greeks* he ſent to their own country, giving them wherewithal to defray the expences

(9) *Plutarch. in Lucull. & Appian. in Mithridatic.* (10) *Dio, l.* xxxv. (11) *Memnon. c.* 59. (12) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

a From *Tigranocerta* *Lucullus* marched into the ſmall kingdom of *Gordyene*, where he celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence the obſequies of king *Zarbienus*, whom *Tigranes* had put to death for entering into a private alliance with the *Romans*. *Lucullus* himſelf after a ſhort ſpeech in commendation of the deceaſed, put fire to the funeral pile, which was the moſt ſtately and ſumptuous that ever had been ſeen in *Aſia*, being adorned with all the enſigns of royalty, and the richeſt ſpoils that were found in *Tigranocerta*. In this kingdom *Lucullus* found, beſides immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver, ſuch ſtore of proviſions, as enabled him to purſue the war without putting the republic to any manner of charges [t].

In the mean time the two confederate kings, having levied new forces, were taking b the field, and had appointed their troops to rendezvous in the ſpacious plains on the other ſide of mount *Taurus*: Whereupon *Lucullus*, leaving *Gordyene*, began his march; and paſſing the *Taurus*, encamped cloſe by the enemy. There happened ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the parties that were ſent out to forage, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; but *Lucullus* could by no means draw them to a general engagement. Whereupon he reſolved to decamp and lay ſiege to *Artaxata*, where *Tigranes* had left his wife and children with the greater part of his treaſures. But he had ſcarce formed his camp when the enemy appeared, and ſat down cloſe by him, with the ſmall river of *Arſimia* between the two camps. *Lucullus* did not allow them time to fortify their camp, but immediately drawing out his forces, paſſed the river, and charged the *Mardian* and *Iberian* horſe, in whom *Tigranes* chiefly confided, c with ſuch vigour, that after a faint reſiſtance they betook themſelves to flight, and put the whole army in confuſion. The *Romans* purſued them all night with great ſlaughter, took the chief officers priſoners, and returned the next day to the ſiege loaded with an immenſe booty. In this battle there fell on the enemy's ſide more officers and perſons of diſtinction than in the former, though the ſlaughter was not near ſo great. *Mithridates* being under great apprehenſion of falling into the *Romans* hands, fled in the very beginning of the battle, and his example was ſoon followed by *Tigranes*, who withdrew into the moſt remote parts of his dominions. The *Romans*, however, could not prevail upon the governor of *Artaxata*, either by threats d or promiſes, to ſurrender the city; and in the mean time great quantity of ſnow falling, and the cold growing very ſevere, though it was no later in the year than the autumnal equinox, the ſoldiers requeſted *Lucullus* by their tribunes to break up the ſiege, and allow them to retire into winter quarters; which he rejecting with indignation, the whole army having cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, retired in the dead of the night from before the city, and abandoned the enterprize, notwithſtanding all *Lucullus* could ſay or do to put them in mind of their duty. However he prevailed upon ſome of the legions to follow him into *Mygdonia*, a warm and fruitful country, and there in hopes of a great booty to lay ſiege to *Niſibis* or *Antiochia Mygdonica* [n]. This city was built by the *Macedonians*, as *Joſephus* informs us [w], and had e been taken ſome years before from the *Parthians* by *Tigranes*, who had placed there many things of great value. It was very ſtrong of itſelf, and defended by a numerous body of choſen troops commanded by *Guras* brother to *Tigranes*, having under him *Callimachus*, who was famous for his ſkill in fortification, and had lately defended the city of *Amiſus* with incredible bravery. The *Romans* met with a warmer reception than they expected, but nevertheleſs after ſome months carried the place, having by the favour of a dark and ſtormy night, which had obliged the centinels to abandon their poſts, got over the ditch, and ſcaled the wall, without being perceived by the enemy. Thoſe who fled into the caſtle, ſurrendered upon terms, among whom *Guras*, who was treated very generouſly by *Lucullus*; f but *Callimachus* he loaded with chains for having ſet on fire the city of *Amiſus* after the *Romans* had got poſſeſſion of it, and thereby deprived him of an opportunity of obliging the *Greeks* by preſerving it, as he intended to do. *Callimachus* promiſed to diſcover great ſums of gold which lay hid under ground, provided he would give him his liberty; but could not by any means appeaſe his reſentment [x]. Here *Lucullus*

Tigranes and Mithridates defeated by Lucullus.

The Roman ſoldiers mutiny againſt Lucullus.

Niſibis taken by the Romans.

[t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [w] Joseph. l. xx. c. 2. [x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. & Dio.

expences of their journey: he gave alſo leave to the *Cappadocians*, *Cilicians*, *Iberians*, &c. who had been tranſplanted thither againſt their will, to return to their reſpective homes; and thus by the ruin of one, many cities, recovering their inhabitants, were reſtored to their antient ſplendor, and ever afterward looked upon *Lucullus* as their founder.

cullus passed the winter to the great satisfaction of the soldiery; but as he was preparing a
early in the spring to take the field, and march out against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, who had again invaded *Cappadocia*, the legions refused to follow him, nor could he bring them to a sense of their duty, though he went in person from tent to tent, embracing the most refractory, and entreating them with tears in his eyes to serve but one campaign more, which, he assured them, would put an end to the war, and inrich the conquerors with the spoils of two wealthy kingdoms. But all was to no purpose; the mutineers, throwing their empty purses at his feet, replied, that as he had inriched himself alone, so he should carry on the war by himself. Thus was that great commander forced to sit still, and suffer the enemy to plunder before his eyes the allies of the *Roman* people, and recover in great part the countries which b
he had taken from them. This sedition was stirred up and fomented by *P. Clodius*, brother to *Lucullus*'s wife, a man of a restless and mutinous temper, and whom *Lucullus* for his base behaviour had turned out of a commission, which he himself had given him. *Clodius* was supported by *Pompey*'s party at *Rome*, where *Lucullus* was charged with spinning out the war in order to be continued in the command of the army, which he employed, said his enemies, not in subduing kings, but in plundering their countries, and inriching himself with the booty. The charge perhaps was not ill-grounded; for had *Lucullus* after the first and second battle pursued *Tigranes*, he might very easily have prevented his raising a new army, and thereby have put an end to the war; but the hopes of booty made him after both battles abandon the c
enemy, and attack those places in which he had heard the king's treasures were kept; and truly the riches, which he heaped up in this and the *Mithridatic* war, are almost inconceivable. This gave his enemies a plausible pretence to stir up the people against him, having employed the forces of the republic in carrying on a war for his own private ends. Whereupon a law was at last published by *C. Manlius*, tribune of the people, whereby *Lucullus* was injoined to resign to *Pompey* the legions and provinces under his command, together with the whole management of the war against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. This law was greatly opposed, but to no effect, by the nobility, who, though they did not approve of *Lucullus*'s conduct, yet could not help thinking him highly injured by the people; since *Pompey* was sent rather to d
take possession of the spoils of a conquered enemy, than to carry on a war, and to triumph rather than to fight [y]. *Lucullus* met *Pompey* at the castle of *Danala* in *Galatia*, and endeavoured to persuade him to return, since *Pontus* and *Armenia* were already as good as conquered, and the kings not in a condition to oppose the *Roman* forces; but *Pompey* answering that he could not do otherwise than obey the orders of the republic, a quarrel arose between them, *Lucullus* upbraiding *Pompey* with an unbounded ambition, and *Pompey Lucullus* with an insatiable avarice; and neither could be said, as *Velleius Paterculus* observes, to lay any thing to the other's charge that was not true [z]. At last *Pompey* removed his camp, forbidding under severe penalties any one to come near *Lucullus*, or obey him; and *Lucullus* set out on his e
journey to *Rome*, where he was received by the senate with all the possible mark of honour and esteem. He brought along with him great store of valuable books, with which he furnished his library, that was always open to men of learning [a].

Pompey *sent to succeed* Lucullus *in the command of the army.*

The son of Tigranes *takes up arms against his father.*

In the mean time *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* had over-run *Cappadocia*, and recovered all *Armenia*, with great part of *Pontus*, and would have gained greater advantages, had not *Tigranes*'s son, by name also *Tigranes*, taking up arms against his father, obliged him to divide his troops. The father and son coming to a pitched battle, the latter was put to flight, and forced to save himself in *Parthia*, where being joined by the discontented *Armenians*, he persuaded *Phrahates* king of the *Parthians* to declare war against his father, and invade *Armenia*; which he did at the head of f
a very numerous army, laying siege to *Artaxata*, and obliging *Tigranes* the elder to hide himself in the mountainous parts of his kingdom [b]. *Phrahates*, finding the city in a condition to stand a long siege, left part of his forces with *Tigranes* the younger, and returned home; which *Tigranes* the father hearing, he immediately abandoned the straitnesses of the mountains, and falling upon his son at the siege of *Artaxata*, dispersed the rebels with great slaughter, and entered his metropolis in triumph. *Tigranes* the son fled first to *Mithridates*, but finding him reduced to great straits, having been overcome a few days before by *Pompey* with the loss of forty thousand men,

[y] Plutarch. ubi supra. [z] Velleius Pater. l. ii. c. 33. Plutarch. In Pompeio. [a] Isidor. Origin. l. vi. c. 3. & Plutarch., in Pompeio & Lucullo. [b] Liv. l. c. Appian. p. 242. Dio, l. xxxvi.

men, he went over to the *Romans*, and led them into *Armenia* againſt his father, as an ally of *Mithridates*. By his advice *Pompey* marched againſt *Artaxata*, where the king then reſided, who hearing of his march, diſpatched deputies to him, offering to ſurrender the city upon certain conditions, which *Pompey* rejected at the inſtigation of *Tigranes* the younger, tho' the deputies brought along with them in chains the embaſſadors that *Mithridates* had ſent to ſolicit ſuccours againſt the *Romans*. Hereupon the king being quite diſpirited, and not in a condition, after the revolt of his ſon, to withſtand the enemy, took a reſolution to go and meet *Pompey* in perſon, and, as he had a great opinion of his clemency and good-nature, to put himſelf, without any reſerve, into his hands, and acquieſce to ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to grant him. Accordingly he ſet out for the camp, which was within fourteen miles of the city, and was met at ſome diſtance by a party of *Roman* horſe detached from the army to eſcort him. As he entered his works, two lictors ſent by *Pompey* deſired him to diſmount, no-body being allowed to come into the *Roman* camp on horſeback. The king readily obeyed, and unbuckling his ſword, delivered it into their hands. As ſoon as *Pompey*, who went on foot to meet him, appeared, pulling off his diadem, he threw himſelf at his feet; but *Pompey* embracing him, raiſed him up, and with his own hand put the diadem again on his head. He afterwards conducted him to his tent, and there gave him audience, ſitting between him and his ſon, who did not ſo much as riſe up when his father came in, nor take any notice of him [c]. The king expatiated in commendation of *Pompey*, ſaying, that he was come not to propoſe, but to accept whatever conditions he ſhould think fit to offer him; that he did not look upon it as any diſparagement to his royal dignity to own himſelf conquered by one whom fortune had raiſed above the reſt of mankind, and that he had ſuch an opinion of his juſtice, honour, and generoſity, as to think himſelf ſafer in his camp than he could be in his own metropolis. *Pompey* afterwards invited them both to ſupper; but the ſon abſented himſelf, which was the firſt thing that made *Pompey* conceive ſome jealouſy of him [d]. The next day *Pompey*, after hearing both parties, (for *Tigranes* had appealed to him for juſtice againſt his ſon) reſtored the kingdom of *Armenia* to the father, with the greateſt and beſt part of *Meſopotamia*; but ſet a fine upon him of ſix thouſand talents for making war upon the people of *Rome* without cauſe. To the ſon he gave the government of the provinces of *Gordyene* and *Sophene*; but the treaſures that were kept in the latter he adjudged to the father, becauſe, without them, he could not pay the fine. The ſon being thus diſappointed, endeavoured firſt to make his eſcape, and afterwards, by private meſſengers, ſolicited the inhabitants of *Sophene* not to deliver the treaſures to his father; which *Pompey* taking very much amiſs, cauſed him to be kept in irons, and even then he found means to ſtir up *Phrahates* king of the *Parthians*, whoſe daughter he had married, againſt the *Romans*, and to form a conſpiracy againſt his father's life; whereupon *Pompey* ſent him in chains to *Rome*, where he was kept in the houſe of *L. Flavius* a ſenator, till the tribuneſhip of *P. Clodius*, who, being bribed with a large ſum of money, ſet him at liberty in ſpite of *Pompey* and the ſenate [e]. The father willingly yielded to the *Romans* *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and that part of *Phœnice* which he poſſeſſed, contenting himſelf with his paternal kingdom, and not only paid the fine laid upon him, but moreover made large preſents to *Pompey*, and to all the officers and ſoldiers of his army, which gained him the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people [f]. He afterwards waged war with *Phrahates* II. king of the *Parthians*, by whom he was overcome, and would have been driven out of his kingdom, had not a peace been ſoon concluded between them by the mediation of *Pompey* [g]. He ever afterwards cultivated a ſtrict friendſhip and amity with the *Romans*; inſomuch, that he not only refuſed to receive *Mithridates*, who fled to him after he had been routed by *Pompey* near mount *Stella*, but even offered a reward of one hundred talents to any one that ſhould put him to death. His ſecond ſon alſo, by name *Sariaſter*, took up arms againſt him; but, by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, that rebellion was ſoon quelled. He died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Artuaſdes*, called by *Joſephus* [h] *Artabazes*, by *Oroſius* [i] *Artabanes*, and by others *Artoadiſtes*.

a *And leads Pompey into Armenia.*

b *Tigranes puts himſelf into Pompey's hands.*

c

d *Who reſtores him to the kingdom of Armenia.*

e

f

Tigranes dies.

Artuaſdes

[c] Cicero pro Sextio. Eutrop. l. vi. Dio, Appian. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Pomp. & Lucull. [d] Vel. Patercul. l. ii c. 37. & Dio, ubi ſupra. [e] Plut. & Dio, ubi ſupra. Cic. in orat. pro domo ſua. [f] Plut. ubi ſupra. Strabo, l. xi. p. 530. Vel. Pater. l. ii. c. 37. [g] Dio, l. xxxvii. Plut, ubi ſupra. & Appian. 244. [h] Joseph. l. i. bell. Judaic. c. 13. & l. xv. c. 5. [i] Oros. l. xv. c. 19.

Artuaſdes. *Year after the flood* 2962. *Before Chriſt* 37.

Artuaſdes I. out of a private grudge he bore to *Artavaſdes* king of *Media*, adviſed *Marc Antony*, as he was marching at the head of a powerful army againſt the *Parthians*, to invade *Media*, offering to ſerve him in perſon as a guide, and to aſſiſt him with all his forces. *Marc Antony*, followed his advice; but in the mean time *Artuaſdes* being privately reconciled to the king of *Media*, he led the *Roman* army a long way about, over mountains, and thro' roads that were almoſt impracticable; inſomuch, that they were obliged to leave behind them moſt part of their baggage, and all their warlike engines. At laſt he brought them into the province of *Atropatene*, where *Statianus*, who commanded a body of twenty thouſand *Romans*, being ſet upon by the *Medes* and *Parthians*, while his men were tired with their long and tedious march, was killed, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Polemo* king of *Pontus*, who had joined the *Romans*, was taken priſoner, and with him a great many commanders of diſtinction, who were come to ſerve in the *Roman* army; but of the *Romans* themſelves not one out-lived that battle. After this overthrow *Artuaſdes* marched back with his forces into *Armenia*, leaving *Marc Antony* at the ſiege of *Phraata* in *Media Atropatena*, which he was ſoon after obliged to raiſe, and make a precipitate retreat into *Armenia*, being cloſely purſued the whole way by the joint forces of *Parthians* and *Medes*. After twenty-ſeven days march he paſſed the *Araxes*, which divides *Media Atropatena* from *Armenia*; and having here muſtered his army, found, that he had loſt in that expedition twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, with all the military engines and baggage of the army [k]. He was met on the frontiers of *Armenia* by *Artuaſdes*, whom he was ſo far from upbraiding with his treachery, that, on the contrary, he received him with greater demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs than ever he had done before. Thus he diſſembled his reſentment for the preſent (and no-body was a greater maſter of the art of diſſembling than he) for fear of provoking the king, who had a powerful army on foot; whereas the *Romans* were in extreme want of all things, and no-way in a condition either to face an enemy or purſue their march. He prevailed upon *Artuaſdes*, what by promiſes, what by his obliging behaviour, to allow his troops winter-quarters in *Armenia*; which being granted, he haſtened to the caſtle of *Leucocome*, between *Berytus* and *Sidon*, where he had appointed *Cleopatra* to meet him. During his ſtay here he invited *Artuaſdes* into *Egypt*, pretending to have ſome affairs of great moment to impart to him; but the king, ſuſpecting his real deſign, excuſed himſelf, as tho' the affairs of his kingdom required his preſence. *Antony* ſuſpecting that the king miſtruſted him, to remove all jealouſy, ſent *Q. Dellius* to him, with the character of embaſſador, to propoſe a match between the king's daughter and his ſon *Alexander*, whom he had by *Cleopatra*; and then removed, as it was now the beginning of the ſpring, to the city of *Nicopolis* in *Armenia Minor*. From *Nicopolis* he diſpatched meſſengers to *Artuaſdes*, inviting him as an ally of the *Roman* people, and a friend in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, to come and aſſiſt him with his advice in the war which he was about to undertake againſt the *Parthians*. The king again excuſed himſelf at firſt, but was in the end prevailed upon, partly by his friends, partly by *Antony*'s promiſes and repeated expreſſions of friendſhip and kindneſs, to wait upon him in his camp, where he was immediately ſeized, and by *Antony*'s order loaded with chains, and forced, thro' fear of a more ſevere treatment, to diſcover his treaſures, which *Antony* appropriated to himſelf. The *Armenians*, upon the news of the king's captivity, placed his eldeſt ſon *Artaxias* on the throne, who, having ventured a battle with the *Romans*, was defeated, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf among the *Parthians*, leaving his new kingdom a prey to the inſatiable avarice of *Antony*, who returning into *Egppt* with a great booty, entered *Alexandria* in triumph, *Artuaſdes*, with his wife and children, being led by his chariot in golden chains. He afterwards preſented them to *Cleopatra* ſitting in a chair of gold; but neither the king, nor any of the *Armenian* captives, could be induced to give her the title of queen, tho' *Antony* had commanded her to be honoured by all with the title of *queen of kings*. *Antony* beſtowed the kingdom of *Armenia* on *Alexander* his ſon by *Cleopatra*, whom he married to *Jotape* the daughter of *Artavaſdes* king of the *Medes*. As for *Artuaſdes* king of *Armenia*, he was not long after put to death by *Antony*'s orders, and his head ſent as a preſent to his rival the king of *Media* [l].

a

b

c

d

e

f

Artuaſdes *treacherouſly taken, and put in irons by* Marc Antony.

Is put to death.

Artaxias,

[k] DIO. p. 407. VELLEI PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 8. PLUT. in Anton. LIV. l. cxxx. p. 475. JOSEPH. l. xv. c. 5. OROS. l. vi. c. 11. PLUT. in Antonio.

[l] DIO, l. xlix.

Artaxias II. *Year after the flood* 2957. *Before Christ* 32.

a *Artaxias*, the eldeſt ſon of *Artuaſdes*, was by the *Armenians* proclaimed king upon the firſt news of his father's captivity; but being overcome by the *Romans*, as we have mentioned above, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and fly into *Parthia*, from whence he ſoon returned at the head of a numerous army of *Parthians* and *Armenians*, and having defeated the *Medes* who were joined in alliance with *Alexander*, recovered his paternal kingdom; but did not long enjoy it, being ſtrangled, as *Tacitus* informs us [m], by the treachery of his neareſt friends, or driven from the throne, as we read in *Joſephus* [n], by *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* and *Claudius Tiberius Nero* afterwards emperor.

Tigranes II. *Artaxias* II. being put to death, or, as others will have it, driven from the throne,
b the kingdom of *Armenia* was by *Tiberius*, whom *Auguſtus* had ſent to ſettle the affairs of the eaſt, beſtowed on his younger brother *Tigranes*. *Tiberius* himſelf put the crown on his head, honouring him with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people [o]. *Tigranes*, after a ſhort reign, was by *Tiberius*'s orders put to death, without any regard to the intimate friendſhip that had once paſſed between them, for keeping a private correſpondence with the enemies of *Rome*. He was ſucceeded, if we believe *Tacitus*, by his ſons [h], who performed nothing worth mentioning, the *Armenian* kings being now mere deputies of the *Roman* officers who governed the eaſtern provinces.

Artuaſdes II. After the death of *Tigranes* and his ſons, the kingdom of *Armenia* was given by
c *Auguſtus* to *Artuaſdes*, whom ſome will have to have been the ſon of *Artaxias* II. but the *Armenians*, already tired with the *Roman* yoke, drove him out, and called in *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*, chuſing to live in ſubjection to the *Parthians* rather than to the *Romans* [i]. This revolt gave great uneaſineſs to *Auguſtus*, who, as he was now ſtricken in years, could neither head the army in perſon, nor had he any one whom he could truſt with the command of it, *Tiberius* having withdrawn himſelf from all public affairs. At laſt he pitched upon *Caius*, whom he had not long before adopted, a youth of no experience, and quite unfit for ſuch an expedition, being then only in the nineteenth year of his age; however, at the approach of the *Roman* army, which was commanded, under *Caius*, by *Marcus Lollius*, whoſe daughter or niece
d *Caius* had married, *Phrahates* withdrew his army from *Armenia*, and ſued for peace, which *Caius* readily granted him, on condition that he ſhould give no manner of aſſiſtance to *Tigranes*, who, on the retreat of the *Parthians*, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king [r]. *Caius* having now to deal with *Tigranes* alone, drove him in a few days out of *Armenia*; from whence, the war being ended there and *Artuaſdes* reſtored to the throne, he marched into *Syria*. In the mean time *Artuaſdes*, or, as ſome ſtile him, *Artabazes*, being dead, *Tigranes* ſent embaſſadors to *Auguſtus* with Tigranes III.
rich preſents, begging of him the kingdom of *Armenia*. As in his letter to *Auguſtus* he did not write himſelf king, the emperor accepted the preſents, and in his anſwer
e enjoined him, not without giving him hopes of obtaining his requeſt, to wait upon *Caius*, who was at that time in *Syria* [s]; but *Tigranes* truſting more to his ſword than the emperor's fair words, having raiſed a conſiderable body of *Armenians*, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong holds, and thereby got poſſeſſion of great part of *Armenia*. This obliged *Caius* to quit *Syria*, and march his army back into the countries which he had left a few months before as quite ſettled. On his arrival, having put to flight and diſperſed *Tigranes*'s army, which was not in a condition to make head againſt him, he ſat down before the caſtle of *Artagera*. The governor of the place, not at all daunted at the ſight of ſo powerful an army, invited *Caius* to a private conference, as if he deſigned to betray the caſtle; and having inſenſibly
f drawn the unwary prince cloſe to the wall, dangerouſly wounded him, and got ſafe into the city. This treachery incenſed the *Romans* to ſuch a degree, that betaking themſelves to their arms, they carried the place by aſſault, and levelled it with the ground, after having put all the gariſon to the ſword (M). The other cities of *Armenia*

[m] Tacit. l. ii. Annal. c. 3. [n] Joseph. l. xv. c. 5. [o] Sueton. in Octav. c. 9. Dio. l. liv. p. 526. [p] Tacitus, ubi ſupra. [q] Flor. l. iv. c. 12. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 100. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 3. Dio, in Zonara & excerpt. a Fulv. Urſino. Sext. Ruf. in breviario. [r] Dio, legat. 39. in excerpt. ab Urſin. edit. [s] Dio, in excerpt. legat. a Fulv. Urſin. edit. Sextus Ruf. in brev.

(M) *Florus* relates the fact thus (13): *Domitius*, whom *Tigranes* had made governor of *Artaxata*, feigning a revolt, fell upon *Caius* while he was peruſing a paper which he had given him, as containing

(13) *Flor. l.* iv. *cap. ult.*

Armenia submitted to the conqueror, and *Tigranes* being again driven out, *Ariobarzanes*, a *Mede* by birth, was, at the requeſt of the *Armenians*, placed by *Caius* on the throne [t]. After the reduction of *Armenia*, *Caius*, falling into a lingering diſtemper occaſioned by his wound, reſigned the command of the army, and begged *Auguſtus* to give him leave to lead a private life in ſome remote corner of the earth, and not oblige him to ſhew himſelf at *Rome*, ſince the indiſpoſition of his body had, in no ſmall degree, likewiſe affected his mind. *Auguſtus* intreated him to return at leaſt into *Italy*; and he, with great reluctancy, undertook the journey, but died at *Limyra* a city of *Lycia* [u]. a

Ariobarzanes. *Ariobarzanes* did nothing worth mentioning. He was ſucceeded by *Vonones*, whom
Vonones. the *Armenians* choſe for their king, he being driven by his own ſubjects from the b
kingdom of *Parthia*, which *Auguſtus* had beſtowed upon him. *Vonones*, was ſoon
Orodes. obliged to abandon his new kingdom by *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, who had turned him out of his own. In his room he placed his ſon, by name *Orodes*, who was not long after overcome by *Germanicus*, and forced to yield the crown to *Zeno* the ſon of *Polemo* king of *Pontus*, who, after his acceſſion to the crown, was called *Artaxias*, from the city of *Artaxata*, where he received the crown from *Ger-*
Artaxias III. *manicus* [w]. *Artaxias* enjoyed the crown peaceably for the ſpace of ſixteen years, and
Arſaces. was ſucceeded by *Arſaces*, whom his father *Artabanus* ſent, upon the news of *Artaxias*'s death, to invade *Armenia*. *Arſaces*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Medes* and *Parthians*, without much trouble, got poſſeſſion of that kingdom; but was treache- c
rouſly murdered in the firſt year of his reign by his own ſervants, at the inſtigation of *Mithridates Iberus* and his brother *Pharaſmenes* king of *Iberia*, whom *Tiberius* had ſtirred up againſt him. *Artabanus* hearing of his ſon's death, ſent back his other ſon *Orodes* into *Armenia*, at the head of a numerous army, which was routed by *Pharaſmenes*, who ſingled out *Orodes* himſelf, dangerouſly wounded him, and would have diſpatched him, had not his guards come timely to his reſcue. *Pharaſmenes* being maſter of the field, took ſeveral cities by ſtorm, and amongſt others *Artaxata*, which he diſmantled. The *Parthians* being thus again driven out of *Armenia*, that kingdom was given by *Tiberius* to *Mithridates Iberus* [x].

Mithridates Iberus. In the beginning of his reign, *Artabanus*, having recovered his own kingdom, d
Year of the flood 2971. invaded *Armenia* the third time, and reduced great part of it, without any regard
Year before Chriſt 28. to the menaces of *Tiberius*; nay, in his anſwer to the emperor's letter commanding him to withdraw his forces from *Armenia*, he upbraids him with his parricides, murders, cruelty, incontinence, and lazineſs; adviſes him to put an end to his ſcandalous and worthleſs life, and rid the world of ſuch an abominable monſter, by laying violent hands on himſelf; and adds, that as he had invaded *Armenia*, ſo he deſigned, after the reduction of that kingdom, to fall upon *Syria* [y]; but his deſign was prevented by the governor of *Syria*, who not only oppoſed his entering into that kingdom, but drove him out of *Armenia*. In the mean time *Caligula*, who had ſucceeded *Tiberius*, conceiving ſome jealouſy of *Mithridates Iberus*, cauſed him to be ſent in chains to e
Rome, where he was kept cloſe priſoner till the reign of *Claudius*, by whom he was reſtored to his kingdom [z]. During his impriſonment at *Rome*, the *Parthians* had ſeized on moſt of the ſtrong holds of *Armenia*, which he ſoon recovered with the aſſiſtance of his brother *Pharaſmenes* and the *Roman* legions. The *Romans* reduced the forts and cities, while the *Iberians*, under the command of *Pharaſmenes*, kept the field to make head againſt *Demonactes* general of the malecontent *Armenians*, who, having ventured a battle, was ſlain, and his whole army cut in pieces. This victory put

[t] Tacit. Annal. l. i. [u] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 102. Zonar. ex Dion. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 3. Sueton. in Octavio. [w] Joseph. l. xviii. c. 3. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 4. Suet. in Tiberio, c. 49. [x] Tacit. Annal. l. vi c. 31 & 33. Joseph. l. xviii. c. 6. Dio, l. lviii. p. 638. [y] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 66. Dio, l. lix. p. 661. [z] Dio, l. lx. p. 670.

ing an account of the treaſures lodged in the city. He was wounded, adds *Florus*, but ſoon recovered. The *Romans*, having carried the place by aſſault, ſet fire to it, into which the governor, who was wounded, throwing himſelf, gave with his death ſatisfaction to *Cæſar*, who out-lived him. *Sextus Ruſus*, in his breviary, follows *Florus*; but as this had been tranſacted in *Parthia*, and not in *Armenia*, ſubjoins, that the *Parthians*, to atone for ſuch a piece of treachery, did then, for the firſt time, give hoſtages to *Octavianus Cæſar*, and reſtored the enſigns which they had taken in the *Caſſian* war. He confounds what *Suetonius* (14) wrote of the *Parthians* with what others relate of the *Armenians*, miſtaking all along *Claudius* for *Caius*, which led *Jornandes* into the ſame miſtake, and alſo *Georgius Syncellus* in his *Greek* chronicle.

(14) *Sueton. in Octaviano, c. 21.*

Mithridates.

a put *Mithridates* in poſſeſſion of all *Armenia*[a]; but he did not long enjoy his king-
dom, being taken off by a ſtorm, which broke out from a quarter whence he leaſt
expected it. The fact is thus related by *Tacitus*[b]; *Pharaſmenes* had a ſon, by name
Rhadamiſtus, a daring young man, of extraordinary parts, and no leſs beloved by
his own countrymen for his obliging behaviour, than eſteemed by the neighbouring
nations in regard of his military exploits. The uncommon affection which the *Ibe-
rians* of all ranks ſhewed him, joined to the eager deſire which he had betrayed on
ſeveral occaſions of aſcending the throne, gave his father, who was advanced in years,
no ſmall uneaſineſs. To divert him therefore from attempting any thing upon his
own perſon or kingdom, he cunningly turned his thoughts upon *Armenia*, telling
b him, that that kingdom belonged of right, not to *Mithridates*, but to himſelf, who
had reſcued it from the *Parthians*; and that the world might very juſtly condemn
him as a mean-ſpirited prince and an unkind father, ſhould he ſuffer his brother to
enjoy quietly a kingdom that was due to his own ſon. Having thus inflamed the
young man's ambition, they both agreed that the ſafeſt way to compaſs their deſign
was at firſt to uſe policy; and that *Rhadamiſtus*, pretending to fall out with his father,
ſhould fly to his uncle *Mithridates*, as not being able to brook the ill-treatment he
met with at home from his father and ſtep-mother. *Mithridates* pitying his condition,
received and entertained him as if he had been his own child; but this kindneſs did
not prevent *Rhadamiſtus* from privately ſtirring up to ſedition ſuch of the chief men
c as he found diſaffected to *Mithridates*; whom after he had gained and diſpoſed for a
revolt, feigning a reconciliation with his father, he returned home, and acquainted
him to what paſs he had brought matters by policy. *Pharaſmenes* thinking it now
neceſſary to employ force, under pretence that *Mithridates* had diſſuaded the *Romans*
from lending him any aid againſt the *Albanians*, ſent his ſon at the head of a power-
ful army to invade *Armenia*, and take revenge of ſuch an unnatural proceeding. This
unexpected irruption, and the revolt of ſeveral chief lords of *Armenia*, obliged *Mi-
thridates*, not knowing whom to truſt, to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *Gorneas*, a
place looked upon as impregnable, and defended by a *Roman* gariſon, *Cælius Pullio*
being governor, and *Caſperius*, a man of no leſs honeſty than courage, his centurion.
d *Rhadamiſtus* having attempted in vain to reduce the place by force, and tired out his
men without making any progreſs in the ſiege, had recourſe to another method, which
was to offer the governor, whom he knew to be venal, a large ſum of gold, on con-
dition he delivered *Mithridates* into his hands. *Pullio* ſhewed no diſinclination to this
propoſal; but *Caſperius* openly proteſted, that no bribes ſhould ever prevail upon
him to betray an ally of *Rome*, or ſuffer the kingdom of *Armenia*, a gift of the
Roman people, to be ſhamefully ſold; however, he agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms,
with a deſign to try in the mean time, whether he could perſuade *Pharaſmenes* to call
home his ſon, and, in caſe of refuſal, to acquaint *T. Venidius Quadratus* governor of
Syria with the poſture of affairs in *Armenia*. *Caſperius* was ſcarce departed, when
e *Pullio*, lying now under no check, began openly to treat with the enemy, and, being
gained with large ſums, forced, rather than perſuaded, *Mithridates* to conſent to an
interview with his nephew. The time and place being appointed for the conference,
Mithridates went out of the caſtle, attended by a ſmall guard, and was received with
all the marks of friendſhip and reſpect by *Rhadamiſtus*, who falling down at his feet,
embraced them, giving him, with great ſhew of tenderneſs, the title of father, and
ſwearing by all the gods, that he ſhould not receive any hurt at his hands, either by
the ſword, or by poiſon. Afterwards he invited him into a neighbouring grove,
pretending he had cauſed a ſacrifice to be got ready there, that the peace might be
confirmed, and their ancient friendſhip renewed in the preſence of the gods. It was
f a cuſtom among the orientals in thoſe days, in concluding a peace, or ſtriking an
alliance, to join their right-hands, and bind together the thumbs of the contract-
ing parties with a running knot, which, by one of the company, was drawn ſo tight,
as to make the blood ſtart out at the leaſt prick. This blood they mutually licked,
deeming their friendſhip ever after ſacred and inviolable, as being ratified by each
other's blood. The perſon who was to perform this ceremony between *Mithridates*
and *Rhadamiſtus*, taking hold of *Mithridates* unawares, threw him down on the
ground, and others running in, loaded him with chains, and hurried him away, his
wife and little children filling the air with their cries, till they were alſo apprehended,
and

[a] Tacit. Annal. l. xi. c. 8 & 9. [b] Idem, Annal. xii. c. 10.

and all thrust into covered waggons, where they were kept under a strong guard, till *Pharasmenes*'s pleasure was known. That wicked prince, without any regard to the ties of friendship or blood, ordered his brother and daughter, who was wife to *Mithridates*, to be put to death without delay; which order was executed by his sons, who, mindful of the oath he had taken not to hurt them by poison or the sword, caused them to be laid on the ground, and pressed to death. *Mithridates*'s children, who were very young, underwent the same fate, tho' *Rhadamistus* had received no such orders, because they bewailed their father's misfortune. The whole family of *Mithridates* being thus extinct, *Rhadamistus* took possession of the kingdom of *Armenia*; which when *Quadratus* governor of *Syria* understood, he summoned a council of the chief officers, to advise with them about the measures that were to be taken on such an extraordinary emergency. He himself was for pursuing with fire and sword the authors of so cruel and treacherous an action; but most of the counsellors were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of the death of *Mithridates*, alledging, that it was not their business to discountenance, but rather to promote, all manner of wickedness and treachery among the barbarians, that being odious to each other, and divided among themselves, they might the more easily be kept in awe and subjection to *Rome*. They added, that the *Roman* princes, being well apprised of this policy, had bestowed *Armenia* sometimes upon one, and sometimes upon another family, with no other view than to raise jealousies among the enemies of *Rome*, and set them together by the ears. This opinion prevailed; but however, lest they should forego their right to the disposal of *Armenia*, they dispatched messengers to *Pharasmenes*, injoining him to withdraw his troops from that kingdom. In the mean time *Julius Pelignus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, a noted coward, and no less contemptible for his person than infamous for his vices, but highly in favour with the emperor *Claudius*, with whom he had formerly lived in great intimacy, having drawn together the auxiliaries of the provinces, as if he designed to recover *Armenia*, began to ravage and plunder the neighbouring provinces, without distinction of friend or foe. At last being abandoned by his own people, he had recourse to *Rhadamistus*, whom he encouraged, being gained by rich presents, to assume the title of king of *Armenia*, and assisted in person at his coronation; which when the governors of the neighbouring provinces heard, that the ignominy of such an infamous action might not redound upon them, they sent *Helvidius Priscus* with a legion into *Armenia*, to compose the unsettled state of affairs in that kingdom; but were obliged to recal him before he could execute his commission, being informed that *Tiridates*, at the head of a formidable army of *Parthians*, was already arrived on the frontiers, with a design to assert the ancient right of his family to that crown.

Tiridates was brother to *Vologeses* king of *Parthia*, who, tho' he laid claim to the kingdom of *Armenia* as held by some of his ancestors, and had even named his younger brother *Tigranes* to that crown, as soon as he ascended the throne of *Parthia*, yet, as he did not care to engage in a war with the *Romans*, had kept quiet at home during the reign of *Mithridates Iberus*, whom they had placed on the throne; but when he heard that *Rhadamistus*, by the murder of that prince and destruction of his family, had usurped a crown to which he had no imaginable right or title, he then assembled all his forces, and heading them in person, marched into *Armenia*, to ascertain his claim by dint of arms. *Rhadamistus*, not daring to face so formidable an enemy, retired with his *Iberians* in proportion as the *Parthians* advanced. The cities of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta* voluntarily submitted, and the other strong holds were ready to follow their example; but in the mean time winter coming on, which proved very severe, and a great scarcity of provisions ensuing, such a mortality began to rage in the *Parthian* army, as obliged *Vologeses* to abandon the enterprize, and in all speed return home.

Upon their departure, *Rhadamistus* again invaded *Armenia*, now more outrageous and bloody than ever, as incensed against a people that had already abandoned him, and were still ready to revolt on the first occasion; insomuch, that the *Armenians*, tho' inured to slavery, could not brook his tyrannical government. Having therefore formed a conspiracy, they rose up in arms, secured the king's guards, and invested the palace, with a design to retaliate upon him his cruelty towards *Mithridates*; but both he and his wife *Zenobia* found means to make their escape on horseback. *Zenobia*, who was big with child, being soon tired with the violence of the motion, and not able to keep up with her husband, begged him to deliver her by an honourable

Mithridates *treacherously murdered by his nephew* Rhadamistus.

Rhadamistus.

Rhadamistus *driven out by the* Parthians.

Returns but is driven out again by the Armenians.

a honourable death from an ignominious captivity. At first he embraced her with great tenderness, and encouraged her to bear the fatigue of the flight a little longer; but at last, finding that she was ready to faint away, and being struck with fear, lest, if he left her, some other might possess her, he drew his scymetar, and having wounded her, dragged her to the banks of the *Araxes*, committing her body to the water. He himself pursued his flight full speed, till he reached *Iberia* the kingdom of his father. In the mean time some shepherds finding the body of *Zenobia* floating near the shore, with manifest signs of life, and gathering from her beautiful aspect that she was of no mean rank, bound up her wound, and carried her to *Artaxata*; from whence, her name and misfortune being known, she was conveyed, at the b expence and care of that city, to *Tiridates*, who received and entertained her as a queen [b].

Not long after *Rhadamistus* returned again into *Armenia*, at the head of a power- Tiridates. ful army of *Iberians*; but was anew driven out by the *Parthians*, who being soon obliged, by their intestine broils, to return home, that unhappy kingdom was the fourth time invaded by *Rhadamistus*, and he the same year forced by the *Parthians*, after they had settled their own affairs, to abandon it. The *Armenians* being thus harassed, and their country near quite destroyed by the *Parthians* and *Iberians*, resolved to send a solemn embassy to *Rome*, to lay the state of their desolate nation before the emperor *Nero*, and beg him to give them a king that could deliver them c from the unexpressible calamities they groaned under. Hereupon the emperor appointed *Domitius Corbulo* to settle the affairs of *Armenia*, and divided the forces of the east, so that part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were to remain in *Syria*, under the command of *Numidius Quadratus*, governor of that province, and an equal number of allies and *Romans* was assigned to *Corbulo*, with an addition of the cohorts and other troops which wintered in *Cappadocia*. The confederate kings were ordered to make ready their forces, and obey either, according to the exigences of the war. The legions were completed, and posted on the borders of *Armenia*; bridges were made on the *Euphrates*, and all things got ready to invade the *Parthian* territories; however, both *Corbulo* and *Quadratus* thought fit, before they began hostilities, to d exhort *Vologeses* by messages to prefer peace to war, and, by the delivery of hostages, to maintain that reverence towards the *Roman* people which his ancestors were wont to pay. *Vologeses*, to gain time, and to remove, under the name of hostages, such as might aspire to the crown, delivered up the most illustrious of the family of the *Arsacides*. They were received by *Histeius* a centurion, whom *Quadratus* had dispatched to the king for this very end; which *Corbulo* no sooner heard than he sent *Arrius Varus*, prefect of a cohort, to take them; and hence a quarrel arose between the centurion and the prefect. The decision of the difference being referred to the hostages themselves and the deputies who conducted them, they preferred the pretensions of *Corbulo* (N) [c].

e In the mean time, *Vologeses* having, with the utmost expedition, drawn together his troops, openly declared, that he would neither suffer his brother *Tiridates* to be driven from a kingdom which he himself had conferred upon him, nor to hold it as a gift from any other power. On the other side, *Corbulo* was resolved to recover what had been formerly gained by *Lucullus* and *Pompey*; and moreover, the *Armenians* implored the protection both of the *Romans* and *Parthians*, tho' they were, generally speaking, more addicted to the latter, as being linked with them in marriages, and not unlike in manners. To *Corbulo* it proved a far greater labour to bring his troops under discipline than to subdue the enemy; for the legions brought out of *Syria*, by a long peace grown lazy and idle, bore with much impatience the toils of war. f There were many veterans among them that had never stood centry, nor had ever seen a camp or intrenchment, having fulfilled the time of their service in cities, where they gave themselves up to all manner of debauchery. *Corbulo* therefore, having discharged such as were unfit for military duties, caused levies to be made in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, and to these was added a legion from *Germany*, with some troops of horse,

[b] Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 10.

[c] Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 2.

(N) This occasioned a misunderstanding between the generals: *Quadratus* complained, that he had been unjustly deprived of what he had compassed by his own counsels; and *Corbulo*, on the contrary, maintained, that the king had shewn no inclination to deliver hostages, till he himself, being appointed general, had changed his hopes into fear. *Nero*, to put an end to their jarrings, ordered by an edict, that, for the successful conduct of *Quadratus* and *Corbulo*, the laurel should be annexed to their fasces.

horſe, and a detachment from the cohorts. To inure the ſoldiery to hardſhips, he kept the army encamped in the open fields all the whole winter, tho' the froſt was ſo violent, that they could not, without much labour, break the ground in order to pitch their tents. Many loſt the uſe of their limbs by the cold; and ſome, as they ſtood centry, were frozen to death. The fate of one ſoldier was very remarkable; for his hands, as he carried a bundle of wood, mortified, and, as he ſtill claſped the burden, dropped from his arms as if they had been cut off. *Corbulo* himſelf, in a thin habit and bare-headed, whether they marched or worked, was continually encouraging them, more by his example than by ſpeeches. As many, refuſing to bear the rigour of the ſeaſon, began to deſert, he had recourſe to ſeverity; for he did not proceed as in other armies, where the firſt and alſo the ſecond offence was forgiven; but inſtantly put to death ſuch as deſerted their colours. *Corbulo* had poſted his cohorts in convenient places, under the command of *Pactius Orphitus*, whom he warned not to engage the enemy under any pretence whatſoever, but to keep within his trenches and wait for greater forces; but he, upon the arrival of ſome few troops of horſe, who raſhly demanded battle, having engaged the enemy, contrary to the general's orders, was ſhamefully put to flight. This event gave great concern to *Corbulo*, who, after having bitterly reproached *Pactius* and the other commanders, expelled them all from the camp, ordered them to lie without tents or defence, and kept them under this ignominious puniſhment, till they were releaſed at the interceſſion of the whole army.

Corbulo, having thus brought his ſoldiers under good diſcipline, early in the ſpring invaded *Armenia*; but could by no means draw *Tiridates* to a battle, tho' his army was ſuperior in number to that of the *Romans*. Having therefore divided his forces, he ordered his ſeveral lieutenants to attack at once divers quarters; and at the ſame time directed king *Antiochus* to fall upon that part of *Armenia* which bordered upon his dominions. *Pharaſmanes* too, king of *Iberia*, having put to death his ſon *Rhadamiſtus*, and thereby freed himſelf from all apprehenſion of diſturbances at home, ravaged thoſe parts of *Armenia* which lay contiguous to his kingdom. The *Inſechians*, a nation never before confederate with the *Romans*, being gained over by *Corbulo*, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and from thence infeſted, with continual incurſions, ſuch as adhered to the *Parthians*. *Tiridates*, being thus ſurrounded on all ſides by enemies, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Corbulo*, to expoſtulate, in his own name and that of the *Parthians*, upon what ſcore it was, that, after he had ſo lately delivered hoſtages to the *Romans*, and renewed with them his former friendſhip, he muſt yet be driven out of *Armenia*, a kingdom ſo long enjoyed by his anceſtors. He added, that his brother *Vologeſes* had not as yet taken up arms, becauſe they both deſired to put an end to all differences by the way of accommodation, rather than by the ſword; but if war were ſtill to be obſtinately purſued by the *Romans*, he hoped that the *Arſacides* would not find themſelves forſaken by that courage and fortune, which their enemies had often tried to their coſt. *Corbulo*, who was well informed, that not a deſire of peace, but the revolt of *Hyrcania* was what kept *Vologeſes* from aſſiſting his brother in perſon, in his anſwer to this embaſſy, adviſed *Tiridates* to recur to the emperor, and acknowledge his ſovereignty, by accepting the crown as a gift of the people of *Rome*, aſſuring him, that, by cloſing with the meaſures which he ſuggeſted, he ſhould enjoy the kingdom of *Armenia*, without any diſturbance from the *Romans*. Hereupon *Tiridates* propoſed an interview with the *Roman* general; for which the time and place being appointed, *Tiridates* declared, that he would come attended only by a guard of a thouſand horſe, but would not reſtrain *Corbulo* to any number of troops, provided they came diſarmed, as a proof of their diſpoſition to peace. From this propoſal *Corbulo* was fully convinced, that nothing but ſnares could be intended; however, diſſembling all his apprehenſions, he returned anſwer, That matters which concerned the intereſt of both nations, would be more properly diſcuſſed in preſence of both armies, and accordingly choſe a place fit for drawing up his forces. On the day appointed, he advanced with his troops in battle array; but *Tiridates* did not appear till it was very late, and at ſuch a diſtance that he could hardly be heard; ſo that *Corbulo* ordered his men to retire to their ſeveral camps; and ſoon afterwards dividing them into three bodies, invaded *Armenia*, and reduced moſt of the ſtrong holds held by *Tiridates*. He ſtormed in perſon the fort of *Volandum*, and put to the ſword all that were arrived to full age, without the loſs of one man. Equal ſucceſs attended the other commanders, who,

Tiridates *driven out by* Corbulo.

in

a in one day, took three caſtles by ſtorm; inſomuch, that all the others voluntarily ſubmitted. Such a ſeries of good fortune encouraged the *Roman* general to attempt the ſiege of *Artaxata*; which *Tiridates* having in vain endeavoured to prevent, the citizens opening their gates, made an unreſerved ſurrender; whereby their perſons were ſaved, but the city was fired, and laid level with the ground, the walls being of ſuch a wide circuit, that they could not be defended without a numerous gariſon, which *Corbulo* could not ſpare, and at the ſame time proſecute the war. After the demolition of *Artaxata*, he marched his army againſt *Tigranocerta*, which not only ſubmitted to the conqueror, but moreover preſented him with a golden crown, as a token of hoſpitality and friendly reception; whereupon the town was ſpared, and the inhabitants were left in the full enjoyment of their former privileges.

b *Corbulo* having thus ſubdued all *Armenia*, *Tigranes* was preferred by *Nero* to that crown. He was the ſon of that *Alexander* who was put to death by his father *Herod the Great*, and of *Glaphira* daughter to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*. Upon the new monarch *Nero* beſtowed a guard of a thouſand legionary ſoldiers, three cohorts, and two wings of horſe, to ſupport him in maintaining his new kingdom. As he had lived many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hoſtage, he was intirely addicted to the *Roman* intereſt, and aſſumed no more power than if he had been one of their deputies. Several parts of *Armenia* were ſubjected to the neighbouring kings, *Pharaſmanes*, *Polemon*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Antiochus*, by way of reward for their ſervices againſt *Tiridates* and the *Parthians*. *Corbulo*, having thus ſettled the affairs of *Armenia*, withdrew c into *Syria*, which province was aſſigned to him upon the death of *Numidius Quadratus* the late governor. In the mean time *Vologeſes*, hearing that his brother was driven from the throne, and a ſtranger eſtabliſhed king of *Armenia*, raiſed two powerful armies, one of which he ſent into *Armenia* under the conduct of *Moneſes*, an experienced officer; and the other he headed in perſon, with a deſign to make an irruption into the *Roman* provinces; but *Moneſes* being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Tigranocerta*, and *Corbulo* having in time diſpoſed his troops along the banks of the *Euphrates*, ſo as to obſtruct the enemy's march into *Syria*, which province *Vologeſes* intended to invade in perſon, the *Parthians* ſued for peace, and, at the threats of *Cor-* d *bulo*, withdrew their forces from *Armenia*; however, *Vologeſes*, that he might not ſeem to give up his claim to that kingdom, ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to beg it of the emperor for his brother *Tiridates*; but the embaſſadors returning unſucceſsful, *Vologeſes* concluded a peace with the *Hyrcanians*, and turned all his forces againſt the *Romans*, with a deſign to recover *Armenia*, and ſettle his brother on that throne at any rate. *Cæſennius Pætus*, whom *Nero* had charged with the affairs of *Armenia*, having notice of his deſign, marched with two legions to the aſſiſtance of *Tigranes* (O); but was ſoon obliged to return for want of proviſions. He took indeed a few forts, but could not hold them, the *Parthians* having laid waſte all that part of the country. In the mean time *Vologeſes* having raiſed a formidable army, took his rout towards *Syria*, e which province he deſigned to invade, and thereby oblige the *Romans* to withdraw their troops from *Armenia*; but finding the banks of the *Euphrates* carefully guarded by *Corbulo*, he gave over all thoughts of making an inroad into *Syria*, and turned all his hopes and efforts towards *Armenia*. Here he beſieged *Pætus* in his winter-quarters, who, not having courage enough to hold out till the arrival of *Corbulo*, who was in full march to join him, deſired a conference with the king. *Vologeſes* refuſed to come in perſon, but ſent *Vaſaces*, his general of horſe, to hear what *Pætus* had to propoſe. In this interview, after a long debate, it was agreed between them, that the *Romans* ſhould be releaſed from the ſiege; that with all their forces they ſhould depart the territories of *Armenia*, and deliver up all their fortreſſes and ſtores f to the *Parthians*, who, after a complete performance of theſe articles, ſhould have free privilege to ſend embaſſadors to *Rome*. In the mean time *Pætus* laid a bridge over the river *Arſanias*, which flowed cloſe to his camp, under colour of marching off that way; but it was in reality a work injoined him by the *Parthians*, as a monument

Tigranes king of Armenia.

The Romans, *under the command of* Pætus, *ſhamefully driven out of* Armenia, *by* Vologeſes *king of* Parthia.

(O) *Tacitus* informs us (15), that an unlucky omen accompanied his entrance into *Armenia*; for in paſſing over the *Euphrates*, which he croſſed upon a bridge, the horſe which carried the conſular ornaments, took all on a ſudden a fright, and fled back. Moreover, a victim which ſtood by the works as they were fortifying their quarters againſt winter, broke violently through, leaped quite over the pales, and fled. He adds, that the ſoldiers javelins took fire of themſelves, which ſeemed the more ominous, becauſe the *Parthians*, whom they were marching againſt, uſed no other weapons.

(15) *Tacitus Annal.* l. xv. c. 2.

ment of their victory, for the *Romans* took a different rout. Before the *Roman* army decamped, the *Armenians*, in an insulting manner, entered their works, beset all the avenues, challenged and carried away whatever the *Romans* had got by plunder; nay, they even stripped the *Romans* of their cloaths, and seized their arms, the soldiers yielding whatever the enemy thought proper to take, to cut off all occasion of a quarrel. *Vologeses* raised a pompous heap of all the arms and bodies of the slain, as a monument of his victory; and *Pætus* withdrew into *Cappadocia*, marching forty miles a day, and every-where dropping and forsaking his wounded, as if he had been close pursued by the enemy. On his return to *Rome*, *Nero* upbraided him with his shameful behaviour; but immediately added, that he freely forgave him, lest the apprehension of punishment, as he was of so fearful a temper, should throw him into some dangerous distemper [c]. *Vologeses*, after the defeat of *Pætus*, sent embassadors to *Corbulo*, desiring him to withdraw his several garisons from beyond the *Euphrates*, and let the river remain, as formerly, the common boundary to both empires. *Corbulo* too insisted, that all the *Parthian* garisons should evacuate *Armenia*; which the king complying with, all the fortifications raised by *Corbulo* on the other side of the *Euphrates* were demolished. Thus, both by the king and *Corbulo*, the *Armenians* were left to their own disposal; for *Tigranes* died soon after the invasion of the *Parthians*. In the mean time, the embassadors of *Vologeses* arrived at *Rome*, desireing that the kingdom of *Armenia* might be bestowed upon *Tiridates*, and a peace concluded between the *Parthians* and *Romans*. They expatiated on the clemency and moderation which *Vologeses* had shewn to *Pætus* and the legions, in dismissing them free and unhurt, when it was in his power to have made them all slaves, or put them all to the sword; and added, that *Tiridates* would not refuse coming to *Rome* to receive there the crown; but that, as he was a *Magian*, the religious laws of his priesthood with-held him. He was ready, however, to address himself to the *Roman* ensigns and the images of *Cæsar*; and there, in the presence of the legions, receive the investiture of the kingdom. The embassadors being heard, it was unanimously resolved in a council of the chief men of the city, that war should be made upon the *Parthians*, and the whole management thereof committed to *Corbulo*, who, by the experience of so many years, knew both the soldiery and the enemy. The embassadors were therefore dismissed without obtaining their suit, but loaded with rich presents, thence to give hopes, that, were *Tiridates* to ask in person, he would not ask in vain. The government of *Syria* was committed to *Sistius*, and to *Corbulo* were granted all the forces, which were increased by the fifteenth legion, led by *Marius Celsus* from *Pannonia*. Orders were also sent to the kings and tetrarchs in the east, and to all the governors and superintendents of the neighbouring provinces, to pay intire obedience to the orders of *Corbulo*, who was trusted with the same extensive and unlimited authority, which the *Roman* people had conferred upon *Pompey*, in his expedition against the pirates. *Corbulo* having, in the beginning of the spring, drawn together all his forces, entered *Armenia*, took and razed some castles, and with his very name struck terror into the whole country; insomuch, that *Tiridates* sent embassadors to demand a cessation of arms, and to agree with him on a day and place for a conference; which being appointed, *Corbulo* sent one *Tiberius Alexander*, an illustrious *Roman* knight, and *Vivianus Annius*, his own son-in-law, to the camp of *Tiridates*, under colour of paying him a visit, but in reality to remove from him all apprehension of treachery or unfair dealings, which he could not well fear so long as he was possessed of such hostages [d]. The king and *Corbulo* took each twenty horse, and advanced to the place of the interview. As soon as *Corbulo* appeared, the king leaped from his horse, and *Corbulo* returning the compliment, both on foot joined their right hands. The general commended the prudence and wisdom of *Tiridates* for preferring peace to war, and chusing rather to compose their differences by way of treaty than by dint of arms. The king at first expatiated on the nobility and splendor of his family; but pursued the rest of his discourse with a great deal of modesty and condescension, saying, that he would travel to *Rome*, and there present a new subject of glory to *Cæsar*, a prince of the *Arsacides* his suppliant, and that at a time when the *Parthians* were rather victorious, than daunted by any misfortune. It was then agreed, that he should resign the royal diadem before the image of *Cæsar*, never to resume it more except from the hand of *Nero*; and thus ended the conference.

Corbulo *invades* Armenia

A conference between him and Tiridates.

[c] Tacitus Annal. l. xv, c. 4.

[d] Tacitus Annal. l. xv. c. 6. & 7.

a ence. A few days after the two armies met with great parade and oſtentation. On one ſide ſtood the *Parthian* horſe, ranged into troops, and diſtinguiſhed by the ſtandards of their ſeveral nations. On the other were poſted the legions with their enſigns diſplayed, and the figures of the deified emperors repreſented like deities in a temple. In the centre was placed a tribunal, which ſupported a chair of ſtate with *Nero*'s image. To this *Tiridates* approached, and having, according to cuſtom, offered ſacrifices, pulled off his crown, and laid it at the feet of the ſtatue. The ceremony being over, *Corbulo* entertained the king with a ſumptuous banquet, who ſeemed to be greatly taken with the *Roman* cuſtoms. The next day he deſired time to viſit his brothers and his mother before he undertook ſo long a journey; and in the b mean time left his daughter as an hoſtage, with letters of ſubmiſſion to be ſent to *Nero*. Thus he departed, and found *Pacorus* his younger brother in *Media*, and his elder brother *Vologeſes* at *Ecbatana*, who, not unmindful of *Tigranes*'s concerns, had, by a ſpecial embaſſy, deſired of *Cobulo*, that his brother might bear no marks of ſlavery, nor be obliged to ſurrender his ſword, nor be debarred from embracing the governors of provinces, nor ſtand waiting at their gates for admittance; and that in *Rome* the ſame honour ſhould be paid him as was paid to the conſuls[e]. He was received at *Rome* by *Nero* with the utmoſt magnificence, and entertained during his ſtay in that city, at the expence of above ſix thouſand pounds a day. On the day appointed for his inauguration, the emperor appeared at the roſtra, ſitting in a curule c chair, attired with a triumphal habit, and ſurrounded by his guards and their cohorts, with their enſigns diſplayed, and their colours flying. *Tiridates* approaching his chair, fell down at his feet; but the emperor immediately raiſed him with his right-hand, and honoured him with a kiſs. Then *Tiridates* pronounced his ſpeech, wherein he begged *Nero* to beſtow upon him the kingdom of *Armenia*, which he ſhould always acknowledge as a gift of *Rome*. Having ended his ſpeech, which was interpreted to the vaſt crowds of ſpectators by a *Roman* of the pretorian rank, and pulled off his tiara, *Nero*, with his own hand, placed the diadem on his head. From the roſtra they proceeded to the theatre, where the emperor placed *Tiridates*, after he had renewed his ſupplication, on his right-hand. After he had been for ſome time entertained in e *Rome* at an incredible expence, *Nero* diſmiſſed him, and, on his departure, preſented him with a ſum to the amount of near eight hundred thouſand pounds to defray the expences of his journey[f]. He not only allowed him to rebuild the city of *Artaxata*, which *Corbulo* had demoliſhed; but moreover ordered ſuch *Roman* builders and artificers as the king deſired, to attend him into *Armenia*. By the direction and aſſiſtance of theſe he reſtored that city to its former ſplendor, and by way of acknowledgment called it *Neronia*, from the name of his benefactor. He was ever after faithful to the *Romans*, who aſſiſted him in recovering great part of his Kingdom taken from him by the *Albani*, who, after having over-run *Media* and driven his brother *Pacorus* from that throne, had with a mighty army invaded *Armenia*. d *Tiridates* met them on the frontiers, and having ventured a battle, his army was routed and himſelf narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. He reigned nine years after his return from *Rome*, and was ſucceeded by ſeveral kings, who held the crown as vaſſals of the *Roman* empire, being either appointed or confirmed by the emperors. In this ſtate *Armenia* continued till *Trajan*'s time, who, adding *Meſopotamia* to his dominions, reduced the antient kingdoms of *Armenia* to the form of a province, and made the *Tigris* the eaſtern boundary of the empire, which *Auguſtus* had thought fit to extend no farther than the banks of the *Euphrates*; but it ſoon recovered its liberty, and was again governed by its own kings in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great* and his ſucceſſors, to whom the kings of *Armenia* were feudatories. In the reign of *Juſti*f *nian* II. the *Saracens* ſubdued, and held it till the irruption of the *Turks*, who poſſeſſed themſelves of this kingdom, and gave it the name of *Turcomania*. The *Turks*, after the reduction of *Armenia*, invaded *Perſia*, and other countries ſubject to the emperors of the eaſt, which gave the *Armenians* an opportunity of ſhaking off the *Turkiſh* yoke, and ſetting up kings of their own, by whom they were governed till the country was again ſubdued by *Occadan*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Heccata*, the ſon of *Cingis* and firſt cham of the *Tartars*. Neither was the conqueſt of *Armenia* by the *Tartars* ſo abſolute as to extirpate the race of their kings; ſeeing we read of *Heithon*, ſurnamed the *Armenian*, reigning ſome time after, and going in perſon to treat with *Mongo*

Tiridates *crowned at* Rome *by the emperor* Nero.

[e] Tacitus, ubi ſupra. [f] Sueton. in Nerone.

Mongo the great cham of *Tartary*, of the concerns of his kingdom; and in our own chronicles we find mention made of *Leo* king of *Armenia*, who, in the reign of *Richard* II. came into *England* to ſue for aid againſt the *Turks*, by whom he had been driven from his kingdom. In the year 1472 of the chriſtian æra, *Uſſan Caſſanes* king of *Armenia*, ſucceeding to the crown of *Perſia*, made *Armenia* a province of that empire; in which ſtate it continued till the year 1522, when it was ſubdued by *Selim* II. and made a province of the *Turkiſh* empire. Some ſay, that *Selim* I. reduced it on his return from *Perſia*, where he had gained a complete victory over the great ſophi of *Ismael*. But *Sanſovin* aſſures us, that in the reign of *Selim* I. who died in 1520, both the *Leſſer* and *Greater Armenia* had their own kings; and adds, that *Selim* cauſed the head of the king of the *Leſſer Armenia* to be cut off and ſent to *Venice*, as a mark of his victory. We read no where elſe of any kings of *Armenia* after it became a province of *Perſia*. Be that as it will, the *Turkiſh* annals cited by *Calviſius* inform us, that *Selim* II. conquered *Armenia* in 1522, ſince which time it has ever continued ſubject to the *Turks*, except the eaſtern part, which the *Perſians* are maſters of to this day.

SECT III.

The hiſtory of Armenia Minor.

Armenia Minor was bounded on the eaſt by the *Euphrates*, parting it from *Armenia Major*; on the ſouth by mount *Taurus*, ſeparating it from *Cilicia*; on the weſt and north by a long chain of mountains, called in different places *Mons Scordiſcus*, *Amanus*, and *Antitaurus*. By theſe mountains it is divided from *Cappadocia*. It is a very mountainous country; but the mountains are here and there interſperſed with pleaſant and fruitful vales, abounding with oil and wine no-ways inferior to the beſt of *Greece*. This country was a part of *Cappadocia* till the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, when *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, ſeizing on *Armenia* and adding it to ſome of the neighbouring provinces, introduced the diſtinction of *Armenia the Greater* and *Leſſer*. In the time of the *Romans* it was divided into theſe four provinces, *Laviana*, *Mariana*, *Aravena*, and *Melitene*, each of which had their ſeveral cities, all mentioned by *Ptolemy*; but thoſe of chiefeſt note were, *Melitene*, ſituate in the province of that name, and the metropolis of *Armenia Minor*. It was afterwards called *Malaxia*, and now *Suur*. It is ſaid by *Onuphrius* to be a colony of the *Romans*; and is celebrated by *Euſebius* and other eccleſiaſtic writers for the piety of the chriſtian inhabitants during the time of perſecution. *Nicopolis*, built by *Pompey* in memory of a ſignal victory obtained over *Tigranes the Great*, whence it is ſtyled *Nicopolis Pompeii*. *Garnace*, a ſtrong and well fortified town, mentioned by *Tacitus*, and called *Gorneas*. *Aza*, placed by *Pliny* in *Armenia*, but by *Ptolemy* in *Pontus*. *Arabyſſus*, *Daſcuſa*, *Zimara*, *Ladana*, and many others mentioned by *Ptolemy*, of which we know nothing but the meer names. As to the manners, cuſtoms, religion, *&c.* of the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, they were much the ſame with thoſe of the inhabitants of *Armenia Major*, of which we have already taken notice.

Kings of Armenia Minor.

Zadriades.

The firſt that reigned in *Armenia Minor* was *Zadriades*, who, together with *Artaxias*, revolting from *Antiochus the Great*, ſeized on that part of his kingdom which was afterwards called *Armenia Minor*, as we have mentioned above. He entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, by whom he was maintained on the throne which he had uſurped. His poſterity held the kingdom of *Armenia* till the reign of

Artanes.

Tigranes I. king of the *Greater Armenia*, by whom *Artanes*, the laſt king of the *Zadriadan* race, was ſlain in battle. We find no mention of the intermediate kings, whence we conclude, that they performed nothing worth mentioning. *Tigranes* having killed *Artanes*, and routed his army, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Armenia Minor*;

Dejotarus.

but was ſoon driven out by *Pompey*, who beſtowed it upon *Dejotarus*, king, or rather tetrarch, of *Galatia*, for his remarkable affection to the people of *Rome*, and eminent ſervices during the *Mithridatic* war, in which he obtained a complete victory over that king's generals. To *Armenia Minor* the ſame *Pompey* added great part of *Pontus*, and a large portion of *Colchis*, with ſome provinces of *Galatia*, which all his time had been ſubject to other princes. *Dejotarus* lived in great intimacy with *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Murena*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, and *Brutus*, and was by the ſenate honoured

honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*, for whose interest he
a shewed on all occasions such zeal, that *Pompey* used to say, Of all the friends of *Rome Dejotarus* was the most hearty; of all their allies the most sincere, and the only one on whom they could entirely rely [g]. He proved very serviceable to *Cicero* in the *Cilician* war, his troops being trained up after the *Roman* discipline. In the civil war he sided with *Pompey*, and distinguished himself in the battle of *Pharsalia*. During his absence *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* revolting from the *Romans*, invaded *Armenia Minor*, and having obtained a complete victory over the joint forces of *Dejotarus* and *Domitius Calvinus*, *Julius Cæsar*'s lieutenant in *Asia*, got intire possession of that king-
dom [h]; but he was soon driven out by *Cæsar*, who restored *Armenia* to *Dejotarus*,
b whom he pardoned at the request of *Brutus*, obliging him to relinquish the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, and pay a large sum of money for joining *Pompey* in the civil war. Some writers say, that *Cæsar* restored the kingdom not to him, but to his son. Be that as it will, he retained the title of king, and either alone, or together with his son, governed the kingdom of *Armenia*. He was afterwards accused at *Rome* by *Castor* his daughter's son, as if he and his son had plotted against *Cæsar*, with a design to murder him during his stay in the tetrarchy of *Galatia*; but was cleared from that charge, by *Cicero*, who on this occasion, made the oration which is still extant, and pronounced it in *Cæsar*'s house at *Rome*. *Dejotarus* revenged this calumny with the death of his daughter and her husband, and caused the castle where they resided to be
c levelled with the ground [i]. After *Cæsar*'s death he recovered whatever he had forfeited for siding with *Pompey*, having by a bribe of one hundred thousand sesterces, gained *Fulvia Marc Antony*'s wife, who caused an edict to be fixed in the capitol, wherein all things were feigned to have been restored to him by *Cæsar* himself [k]. New troubles arising at *Rome* upon the death of *Cæsar*, *Dejotarus* sent a body of troops to join *Brutus*; but *Amyntas*, who commanded them, went streight to *Antony*'s camp, as if he had been enjoined by *Dejotarus* to assist *Antony*, and not *Brutus*; whereupon, after the defeat of *Brutus*, *Dejotarus* was allowed to hold *Armenia*; and the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, after his death, was bestowed upon *Amyntas*. *Dejotarus* reigned to a very great age, and, as some say, out-lived his son *Dejotarus* whom *Cæsar* appointed king during his father's life-time.

d *Dejotarus* II. reigned together with his father, and was no less addicted to the *Romans* than he, having been brought up by *Cato*, as *Plutarch* informs us [l]. *Cicero* deemed him one of the best friends he had in the world, and even trusted his two sons to his care during his *Cilician* war [m]. At his instigation *Dejotarus* joined *Cassius* in the civil war that broke out upon the death of *Cæsar*; but died before the domestic troubles of the republic were settled. As he left no issue, that part of *Galatia* which he held was bestowed upon *Amyntas* and *Castor* his sister's son. The family of *Dejotarus* being extinct, the kingdom of *Armenia Minor* was first given to *Artuasdes* king of *Media*, and afterwards by *Marc Antony* to *Polemon* king of *Pontus*. *Polemon* was
e succeeded by *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian*, and he by *Cotys* of *Bosphorus*. *Nero* bestowed this kingdom on *Aristobulus*, great-grandson to *Herod the Great*, upon whose death it fell to *Tigranes* his near relation, who dying without issue, *Armenia Minor* was by *Vespasian* made a province of the *Roman* empire, and continued so till the division of the empire, when it was subjected to the emperors of the east; and, on the decline of their power, subdued first by the *Persians*, and afterwards by the *Turks*, who gave it the name of *Genech*, and have held it ever since.

Dejotarus II.

[g] Strabo, l. vii. p. 547. Cic. Philip. II. [h] Hirtius cum Appian, l. ii. p. 484. & Dion. xlii.
[i] Strabo, l. xii. p. 568. [k] Cic. l. xiv. ad Attic. epist. 12. &. Philip II. [l] Plut. in Catone.
[m] Cic. l. v. ad Attic. epist. 17, 18.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the kingdom of PONTUS.

SECT. I.

The description of PONTUS.

Name. SOME derive the name of this country from the neighbouring ſea, commonly called by the *Latins Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Euxine* ſea; others from an antient king named *Pontus*, who imparted his name both to the country and the ſea on which it lies. But *Bochart*[a] makes it come from the *Phœnician* word *botno*, ſignifying *a filbert*, as if that kind of nut remarkably abounded here. The word *botno*, by tranſpoſing, changing, and adding of letters, he transforms into *Pontos*, in the ſame manner that he might have derived it from a thouſand other words bearing perhaps a nearer ſimilitude to it in ſound, which, in many etymologies, ſeems to be his chief, if not only rule. The country, adds he, gave its name to the neighbouring ſea, and, in proceſs of time, the appellation which was peculiar to one became common to all ſeas; but the common opinion, *viz.* that the country borrowed its name from the ſea, ſeems by far the moſt probable. That ſea was called by way of excellency the *pontus*, or the *ſea*, being the greateſt that was known to the antient inhabitants of that country; whence not only that tract which we are now ſpeaking of, but the whole country extending along the coaſt, was formerly, as *Strabo* informs us, called *Pontus*. a b

The proper *Pontus*, as preciſely as we can gather, lies between the forty-firſt and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and was bounded by the *Euxine* ſea on the north, by *Armenia Minor* on the ſouth, by *Colchis* on the eaſt, and by the river *Halys* on the weſt. This country is divided by *Ptolemy* in three parts, *viz. Pontus Galaticus*, *Pontus Polemoniacus*, and *Pontus Cappadocius*. *Pontus Galaticus*, ſo named becauſe added to *Galatia* in the time of the *Romans*, extended from the *Halys* to the river *Thermodon*. The chief cities in this tract were, *Amiſus*, built by the *Mileſians*, and peopled partly by them, and partly by a colony from *Athens*, is was at firſt a free city, like the other *Greek* cities in *Aſia*; but afterwards ſubdued by *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, and made the metropolis of his kingdom. It was taken by *Lucullus* in the *Mithridatic* war, and reſtored to its antient liberty. *Eupatoria*, cloſe to *Amiſus*, ſo called from *Mithridates Eupator* its founder. This city was likewiſe taken by *Lucullus*, and levelled with the ground; but afterwards rebuilt by *Pompey*, who made it one city with *Amiſus*, and gave it the name of *Pompeiopolis*. It was taken, during the war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, by *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, who put moſt part of the inhabitants to the ſword; but *Cæſar* having conquered *Pharnaces*, made it again a free city. *Amaſia*, ſeated among mountains at three miles diſtance from the river *Iris*, now *Caſalmach*; from whence there is a trench, as *Tavernier* informs us, cut out of a hard rock, to convey water to the town. It is ſtill a large place the capital of this country, and the ſeat of the governor or *beglerbeg*. The river, which, about ſixty miles below, falls into the *Euxine* ſea, is ſo large, that ſhips of burden can come up to the town. It is ſo defended by craggy mountains, that it is inacceſſible, except on one ſide. It has been cuſtomary for the eldeſt ſon of the *grand-ſignior* to reſide here till he is called to the throne. This city was antiently the ſeat of the kings of *Cappadocia*, and ſome marks of its former grandeur ſtill appear in the ruins of very magnificent buildings. It gave birth to *Strabo* the geographer, and in *Chriſtian* times was the ſee of an archbiſhop. *Themiſcyra*, now *Fana-* c d e

[a] Phaleg. l. i. c. 10.

a *Fanagoria*, ſeated on a ſpacious plain on the ſea-coaſt, ſixty miles north-eaſt of *Amaſia*, anciently giving name to the adjoining province, and a city of no ſmall note, being always numbered among the chief towns of this diſtrict; but at preſent a beggarly village. *Cabira*, memorable for the defeat of *Mithridates* by *Lucullus*, and afterwards called *Dioſpolis*. *Comana*, called *Pontica*, to diſtinguiſh it from two other cities bearing the ſame name, the one in *Cappadocia*, and the other in *Piſidia*. It was ſeated on the ſouth borders of thi province, about ſeventy miles from *Themiſcyra*, and eighty from *Amaſia*, and in ancient times the ſecond city of *Pontus Galaticus*; but now very inconſiderable.

Pontus Polemonaicus, ſo called by the *Romans* from *Polemon* king of this country, b on whoſe death it fell to them, extended from the river *Thermodon*, to the country of the *Chalybes*, or *Pontus Cappadocius*. The moſt conſiderable cities of this province are, *Neocæſarea*, the metropolis after it became a *Roman* province, and in former times a city of great renown. *Sebaſtia*, ſo called from *Auguſtus*, whom the *Greeks* ſtiled *Sebaſtos*. This was one of the firſt cities of *Aſia* that made head againſt *Tamerlan*, in revenge whereof he cauſed twelve thouſand of the inhabitants to be buried alive in pits dug for that purpoſe. Not far from this city is mount *Stella*, famous in the *Roman* hiſtory for the final overthrow of *Mithridates* by *Pompey*. On the ſame ſpot, as ſome writers inform us, *Tamerlan*, with an army of eight hundred thouſand *Tartars*, encountered *Bajazet* marching to the relief of *Sebaſtia* with an army of five c hundred thouſand *Turks*, cut two hundred thouſand of his men in pieces, and took *Bajazet* himſelf priſoner. *Zela*, ſeated near the river *Lycus*, and famous for the defeat of *Triarius* by *Cæſar*. This city was inlarged by *Pompey*, and called *Megalopolis*. *Conſtantine the Great* added it to the province of *Helenopontus*. *Polemonium*, a famous town and harbour built by *Polemon*, whom *Marc Antony* created king of that country. From this town, if we believe *Ptolemy*, *Pontus Polemoniacus* had its name. This country is watered by the river *Thermodon*, and is ſuppoſed to have been the kingdom of the *Amazons*, who admitted no men among them, and yet were famous for warlike exploits. They are ſaid, or rather feigned, to have been originally the wives of thoſe *Scythians*, who, in the reign of *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt*, broke into *Aſia*. d A party of theſe *Scythians* is ſaid to have invaded this part of *Pontus*, under the conduct of *Plinos* and *Scolopythus*, two young men of a great family, who had been driven out of their own country by a contrary faction. They ruled this country for many years; but at laſt both they and their army being all to a man treacherouſly murdered, their wives, under the command of *Lampedo* and *Marpeſia*, fell upon the conquerors, and not only overthrew them, but ſubdued the neighbouring nations, and erected a female monarchy, which they enjoyed for ſome ages. The names of their queens that occur in hiſtory, are, *Lampedo*, *Marpeſia*, *Ortara*, *Antiopa*, whoſe ſiſters *Hippolite* and *Menalyppe* are feigned to have challenged *Hercules* and *Theſeus* to ſingle combat, and to have been conquered by them with great difficulty. *Pentheſilea*, e who came with a body of brave heroines to aid *Priam* king of *Troy*, and was ſlain by *Pyrrhus* ſon to *Achilles*; ſhe is ſaid to have invented the battle-ax. *Thaleſtris*, who, as *Juſtin* and others inform us, came to viſit *Alexander the Great* while he was in *Hircania*, and plainly told him, that her errand was no other than to have a child by ſo great a hero. Theſe warlike women ſuffered no man to live among them; if they brought forth any male children by the converſation they had twice a year with the men of the neighbouring countries, they either killed them, or ſent them to their fathers; but the females they bred up to the uſe of arms. They are ſaid to have extended their empire as far as *Epheſus*; but coming into *Europe*, they were defeated by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Theſeus*, and driven back. But the f whole ſtory of the *Amazons* is deſervedly looked upon as a mere fable, which perhaps had its riſe from the cuſtom which prevailed among the *Scythian* women of accompanying their huſbands in their wars.

Pontus Cappadocius, ſo called becauſe it bordered on *Cappadocia*, and was added to that province by the *Romans*, extended from *Pontus Polemoniacus* to *Colchis*, having *Armenia Minor* and the upper ſtream of the *Euphrates* for its ſouthern bounds. The chief cities of this tract were, *Ceraſus* built by the inhabitants of *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia*, to whom it paid, as *Xenophon* obſerves, a yearly tribute. From this town *Lucullus* brought firſt cherries into *Italy*, called therefore by the *Latins Ceraſa*. *Tournefort* tells us, that the country here is very hilly, and that the hills are covered with woods, wherein cherry-trees grow naturally. *Tertullian* ironically expoſtulates with the

the *Gentiles* for not making *Lucullus* on this conſideration a god, ſeeing they had beſtowed divine honours on *Bacchus* for tranſplanting the vine into the weſtern countries. *Ceraſus*, according to *Arrian*, was afterwards named *Pharnacia*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* ſpeak of *Ceraſus* and *Pharnacia* as two diſtinct towns. It is ſtill a pretty large town known by the name of *Ceraſonte*, and ſeated on the ſea-coaſt at the foot of a little hill between two very ſteep rocks, with a ruinous caſtle built by the emperors of *Trebiſond* on the top of the rock, which is to the right as you enter the harbour. *Tripoli*, mentioned by *Arrian* and *Pliny*, about three miles from the coaſt, but now reduced to a poor village. *Trapezus* or *Trebiſond*, called now *Taraboſan*, a *Greek* city, having been founded by the inhabitants of *Sinope*, to whom it even paid tribute, as we are informed by *Xenophon*, who paſſed by *Trebiſond* when he led back the remains of the ten thouſand. It was ſituated on the ſea-coaſt in a peninſula, and ſurrounded by ſteep mountains. The ancients ſpeak of it as a city of great note. After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had ſeized it, the *Romans* reſtored it, as they did moſt of the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, to its former liberty and privileges. This city became famous in the middle ages for the court of the *Greek* emperors of the family of the *Comneni*, who reſided here after the *Latins* had made themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople* under the conduct of *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*. *Alexis Comnenes* was the firſt who reigned here with the title of emperor, though *Vincent de Beauvais* gives him only the title of lord of *Trebiſond*. He began his reign in 1204. and *David Comnenes*, the eleventh in ſucceſſion, was overcome, and cruelly murdered with his ſeven ſons, by *Mohamet the Great* in 1461, when *Trebiſond* was taken by the *Turks*, and *Pontus*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, which the emperors of *Trebiſond* had held, ſubmitted to the conqueror. It is ſtill a very conſiderable city, and a place of great reſort for the trade to *Conſtantinople*, *Caffa*, and other places on the *Pontus* or *Black-Sea*. It contains twenty thouſand inhabitants, but having ſuffered a great deal in wars, eſpecially in 1617, when it was burnt by the *Ruſſians*, the buildings are very inconſiderable. The caſtle is pretty large, and built on a rock, out of which the ditches, that ſurround it, are cut. The inſcription that is on the gate of the caſtle ſhews, that the emperor *Juſtinian* repaired the edifices of the city. It is ſtrange, that *Procopius* ſhould not mention this, ſeeing he employs three intire books in deſcribing even the moſt inconſiderable buildings erected by that prince in every corner of his empire. That hiſtorian barely tells us, that *Juſtinian* cauſed an aqueduct to be built at *Trebiſond*, and called it the aqueduct of S. *Eugenius* the martyr. The port of *Trebiſond*, called *Platena*, is to the eaſt of the town. The emperor *Adrian* cauſed it to be repaired, as we are informed by *Arrian*. The harbour which the *Genoeſe* are ſaid to have made there is almoſt deſtroyed. This town was in former ages a place of great trade, as appears from ſeveral medals produced by *Tournefort*.

Rivers. The chief rivers of *Pontus* are, the *Halys*, which riſing in the greater *Cappadocia*, divides *Pontus* from *Paphlagonia*, and not far from *Amiſus* diſcharges itſelf into the *Euxine* ſea. It flows towards the weſt, and then bends to the north, as *Strabo* deſcribes it; but all our modern geographers make it come from the eaſt, following therein *Herodotus*, whoſe miſtake was long ago taken notice of, and corrected by *Arrian*, who ſurveyed theſe places by order of the emperor *Adrian*. It took its name, as *Strabo* informs us, from the ſalt-pits, in which great part of the country abounds through which it flows. The *Iris*, now *Caſalmac*, which has its riſe in *Pontus*, and, receiving into its channel the *Lycus* and the ſmall river of *Themiſcyra*, falls into the *Euxine* ſea not far from the *Halys*. The *Thermodon*, a river famous among the ancients for watering the little empire of the *Amazons*. It had its riſe near the ſmall city of *Pharnaraea* in *Pontus Polemonaicus*, and diſcharged itſelf, like the other rivers of *Pontus*, into the *Euxine* ſea.

Soil and climate. The air of this country is reckoned very wholeſome, and the ſoil in many places fruitful; the hills are for the moſt part covered with olive or cherry-trees, and the plains abound with all ſorts of grain, being plentifully watered with ſmall rivers. The honey of this country is of a very particular nature; the effect it had on the army of the ten thouſand is related by *Xenophon*. "As there were a great many bee-"hives in the neighbourhood of *Trapezus* or *Trebiſond*, ſays this author, our ſoldiers "having eat greedily of it, were taken with violent evacuations upwards and down-"wards attended with deliriums: ſuch as were the leaſt affected ſeemed to be drunk, "and the others to have run quite diſtracted: the ground was ſtrewn with bodies "as after a battle; none, however, died of it, and the diſtemper ceaſed the next "day

" day about the ſame hour that it began. *Ariſtotle* was of opinion, that the bees
a " gathered this honey from the box-trees; and adds, that it deprived thoſe of
" their ſenſes who were in health before eating it; and on the contrary, cured ſuch
" as were already mad. *Pliny* ſpeaks of it thus; In ſome years the honey is very
" dangerous about *Heraclea* in *Pontus*; authors know not from what flowers the
" bees extract it. Here is what we have been able to learn of this matter: there
" is a plant in thoſe parts called *Ægolethron*, whoſe leaves in a wet ſpring imbibe a
" very dangerous quality: the honey which the bees extract from them is more liquid
" than uſual, more heavy, and redder; its ſmell cauſes ſneezing; thoſe who eat
" of it, lie on the ground, ſweat violently, and care for nothing but coolers. There
" is alſo found on the ſame coaſt of the *Pontus* another ſort of honey called *Mæno-*
b " *menon*, becauſe it makes thoſe run mad who eat of it. 'Tis thought the bees collect
" it from the flower of the *Rhododendros*, which the foreſts there abound with. The
" people of thoſe parts, though they pay the *Romans* part of their tribute in wax,
" are very cautious how they offer them their honey."

Their origin, arts, ſciences, &c.

It is commonly believed, that the ancient inhabitants of this country were the deſcendants of *Tubal*, but in proceſs of time mixed with *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other foreign nations, not to mention the many *Greek* colonies which ſettled in *Pontus*, when moſt of them were reduced by *Mithridates the Great* and *Pharnaces*. As for their arts and manufactures, all we know is, that the inhabitants of *Pontus Cappadocius* called *Chalybes* are celebrated by the ancients for their extraordinary ſkill
c in working of iron, and making of ſteel armour; whence they are ſaid to have had their name; and truly they ſeem to have excelled much more in the labours of the hand, than in thoſe of the head. They were very likely a trading people, having many convenient havens on the *Euxine* ſea, and great ſtore of timber proper for building of ſhips growing on the coaſt. Their language and religion were much the ſame with thoſe of *Cappadocia*, of which hereafter. Their chief deities were, *Ceres*, *Jupiter*, and *Neptune*, to whom they offered burnt-ſacrifices, pouring on the fire, honey, milk, oil and wine. In honour of *Neptune*, they uſed to drive into the ſea chariots drawn by four white horſes, which they drowned.

Governments.

This country was originally a part of *Cappadocia*, extending from mount *Taurus*
d to the *Euxine* ſea, and divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which, if we believe *Diodorus*, were firſt ſubdued by *Ninus*. The *Medes* and *Perſians* were in their turns maſters of this and all the countries bordering on the *Euxine* ſea. The latter divided *Cappadocia* into two ſatrapies or governments, and beſtowed that part or ſatrapy, which was afterwards by the *Macedonians* named *Pontus*, on one of the anceſtors of *Mithridates*, as *Juſtin* informs us. This happened, as it is commonly believed, in the reign of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, who conferred this new kingdom on one *Artabazes* of the royal family of *Perſia*; ſo that *Pontus*, which to that time had been but a province of *Cappadocia*, began to be ruled by its own kings, and be a ſeparate
e kingdom in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. However, they paid tribute to the *Perſians*, and were in a manner their vaſſals till the reign of *Ariobarzanes*, who ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke, and greatly enlarged his ſmall kingdom. In proceſs of time the kings of *Pontus* became very conſiderable, having added to their dominions all *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and great part of *Bithynia* to the weſt, and of *Colchis* to the ſouth; inſomuch, that *Mithridates* VII. ſurnamed *Eupator*, is looked upon as one of the moſt powerful princes that ever reigned in the eaſt, having held out for forty years together againſt the *Romans*, though their armies were commanded by the greateſt generals which *Rome* ever produced, namely by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*. The kingdom of *Pontus* was governed by princes deſcended from *Achæmenes* of the royal
f family of *Perſia*, till the death of *Darius*, ſon to *Parnaces* II. in whom the *Achæmenian* family ended. Upon the death of *Darius*, which happened ſoon after the battle of *Philippi*, the kingdom of *Pontus* was beſtowed by the *Romans* on *Zeno*, who was ſucceeded by his ſon *Polemon* I. and he by his ſon *Polemon* II. upon whoſe death, the family of *Zeno* being extinct, the kingdom of *Pontus* was made a *Roman* province in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Pontus.

Artabazes. THE first king of *Pontus*, we find mentioned in history, is *Artabazes*, whom *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* preferred to that crown [a]. Some writers tell us, that he was one of the seven competitors to the kingdom of *Persia* upon the death of *Cambyses*; and others, that he was descended from one of them, which seems more probable, seeing he is not named among them by *Herodotus*.

Rhodobates. *Rhodobates* appears next; he is mentioned by *Laertius*, and said to have reigned in the time of *Darius Nothus*; whence it is plain, that he did not succeed *Artabazes*, who was contemporary with *Darius Hystaspes*, between whose reign and that of *Darius* II. surnamed *Nothus*, chronologers count above eighty years.

Mithridates I. *Rhodobates* was succeeded by *Mithridates* I. who refusing to pay the usual tribute to *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Persia*, was by him overcome in battle; but a peace [b] was soon after concluded between them by the mediation of *Tissaphernes*. He entered into an alliance with *Clearchus*, afterwards tyrant of *Heraclea*, by whom he was betrayed and taken prisoner. For *Clearchus* having promised to deliver the city of *Heraclea* into his hands, *Mithidates* no sooner entered the town, but he and those that attended him were surrounded and disarmed. The king was detained prisoner till such time as he paid a large sum for his ransom, and then dismissed [q]. This is all we read of him in history. *Xenophon* gives him only the title of governor of *Cappadocia*.

Ariobarzanes. *Mithridates* was succeeded by *Ariobarzanes*, who, being appointed by *Artaxerxes* governor of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and *Phrygia*, employed the forces that were under his [c] command against his prince, and not only invaded the kingdom of *Pontus*, but added to it great part of the neighbouring provinces, which to that time had been subject to the *Persians*. *Autophradates*, sent by *Artaxerxes* to dispossess him of the provinces which he had seized, laid siege to *Assos*, and at the same time *Cotys* king of *Paphlagonia* sat down before *Sestus*; but were both obliged to withdraw by *Agesilaus* and *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, whom *Ariobarzanes* had with great promises invited to his assistance. The king, being by their timely arrival delivered from the dangers that threatened him, rewarded *Agesilaus* with a great sum of money, and bestowed on *Timotheus* the cities of *Erithon* and *Sestus*, which he had not long before taken from the *Persians*. He used his utmost endeavours, as *Demosthenes* informs us, to reconcile the [d] *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans*; but not being able to bring the *Thebans* to any reasonable terms, he assisted the *Lacedæmonians* with immense sums of money. The *Athenians*, as the same author acquaints us [r], shewed such an esteem for this prince, that they not only made him free of their city, but granted both him and his children whatever they asked of them. He was murdered, as we read in *Aristotle* [s], in the twenty-eighth year of his reign by one *Mithridates*, whom some take to be his son. As the death of *Ariobarzanes* happened at the time that *Alexander the Great* invaded *Persia*, the kingdom of *Pontus* was seized on by the *Macedonians*, but recovered by

Mithridates II. *Mithridates* II. son to *Ariobarzanes*, in the reign of *Antigonus*, to whose share that country fell. This event is related thus by *Polybius* [t], *Florus* [u], *Aurelius Victor* [w], and [e] others: *Antigonus* having dreamt that he had a field in which gold grew after the manner of corn, and that *Mithridates* cut it down and carried it into *Pontus*, began to entertain no small jealousy against him, and even gave private orders for the apprehending of him, with a design to put him to death. But *Mithridates*, having received from *Demetrius* timely notice of the king's intention, withdrew into *Paphlagonia*, attended only by six horsemen. Here, with the assistance of many others that joined him, he possessed himself of *Ciniatum*, a strong-hold situated near mount *Olgasys*, and from thence, his army growing daily stronger, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and having driven the commanders of *Antigonus* from that part which borders on *Pontus*, he entered in triumph his paternal kingdom, which in spite of all [f] the

[o] Florus, l. ii. c. 5. Polyb. l. 5. [p] Laer. in Platon. [q] Diodor. l. vi. [r] Demosth. orat. contra Aristocrat. [s] Aristot. l. v. Politi. c. 10. [t] Polyb. l. v. p. 388. [u] Flor. l. iii. c. 5. [w] Aurel. Victor. de vir. illustribus, c. 76. & Strabo, l. xii. p. 562.

a the efforts of *Antigonus* he held for the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, and tranſmitted to his poſterity. During his father's life-time he was highly in favour with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, having to gratify that prince, treacherouſly murdered *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, who oppoſed his deſigns upon that country. He is ſaid to have lived to the age of eighty-four years [u]. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was put to death by *Antigonus* for ſiding with *Caſſander*; he was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Mithridates III. who added to the kingdom of *Pontus* all *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, as *Diodorus* informs us [w]. He entered into an alliance with the inhabitants of *Heraclea*, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts upon that city. He reigned thirty-ſix years. Mithridates III.

b *Mithridates* III. was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ariobarzanes* II. who made war upon the *Galatians*; but with what ſucceſs, we know not. Ariobarzanes II.

Mithridates IV. came to the crown after the death of his father *Ariobarzanes*; as he was then very young, the *Galatians* invaded his kingdom, and were attended with ſucceſs; but all on a ſudden turned their forces againſt the free city of *Heraclea*; but not being able to maſter it, they returned home, and ſuffered *Mithridates* to recover and peaceably enjoy what they had ſeized. Mithridates IV.

Mithridates V. who ſucceeded his father *Mithridates* IV. made war upon the inhabitants of *Sinope*, a *Greek* city upon the coaſt of *Paphlagonia*; he made himſelf maſter of all the adjoining places; but finding the whole peninſula, on which *Sinope* itſelf Mithridates V.

c ſtood well fortified, and gariſoned, not only by the inhabitants, but alſo by their allies the *Rhodians*, he gave over the enterprize [x]. He afterwards proved a great friend to the *Rhodians*, and aſſiſted them with money to repair the loſſes they had ſuffered by an earthquake. He entered into a ſtrict alliance with *Antiochus the Great*, who married one of his daughteres, named *Laodice*.

His ſon *Pharnaces* I. falling unexpectedly on the city of *Sinope*, took it by ſtorm; Pharnaces I.
whereupon the *Rhodians* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of the violent proceedings of the king of *Pontus* againſt their allies; but *Pharnaces* was ſo far from being intimidated at the threats of the *Romans*, that on the contrary he invaded the territories of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a great friend and ally of the republic.

d *Eumenes* likewiſe diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of *Pharnaces*, and in the mean time entering into an alliance with *Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*, ſecured his dominions againſt any attempts of the enemy. *Pharnaces* finding himſelf thus diſappointed, and not caring to engage in a war with the *Romans*, ſent deputies to *Rome* to complain of *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes*, as if they had been the aggreſſors. Hereupon *Marcius* and other *Roman* citizens of great integrity were ſent into *Aſia* as umpires between the two contending parties, and charged to compoſe, if poſſible, all differences in an amicable manner. *Marcius* found *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* encamped with a conſiderable army in the plains of *Amiſus*, but ready to lay down arms, and refer the whole matter to arbitration; whereupon he enjoined them to withdraw their

e forces from the enemy's country, which they did accordingly, ordering their troops the very next morning to march back into *Galatia*. But *Pharnaces* could by no means be prevailed upon to come to an interview with *Eumenes*, or aſſiſt at any conference where he ſhould be preſent; with much ado they perſuaded him to ſend embaſſadors with full power to treat of ſuch matters as concerned both nations, and to agree to ſuch articles as the arbitrators ſhould judge equitable. The conference being opened, thoſe, who were ſent by *Pharnaces*, ſtarted ſo many difficulties, that nothing could be ſettled; wherefore *Marcius*, plainly perceiving that *Pharnaces* had no mind to come to an agreement, broke off the conference, and returned to *Rome*. Upon his departure *Eumenes* took the field again, and *Pharnaces* on his ſide ſent

f *Leocritus*, his commander in chief, at the head of ten thouſand men to lay waſte *Galatia*, at that time ſubject to *Eumenes*. *Leocritus* on his march beſieged the city of *Teois*, or, as ſome call it, *Pius*, and having obliged the gariſon, which intirely conſiſted of mercenaries, to capitulate, he promiſed to convey them with their arms and effects to what place they ſhould chuſe; but having ſoon after their departure received expreſs orders from *Pharnaces* to put them all to the ſword, he purſued them, and ſlew them all to a man [y]. In this war *Pharnaces* depended upon the aſſiſtance of *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, who was already come as far as mount *Taurus*, in order to join him; but being reminded by the *Roman* embaſſadors of the articles ſtipulated between

[u] Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 174. & Lucian. in longævis. p. 176.
[w] Diodor. l. x. [x] Polyb. l. iv, v, vii. [y] Polyb. Legat. 53. & Diodor. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 312.

between his father *Antiochus* and the republic, he thought fit to march back, and leave *Pharnaces* to ſhift for himſelf [z]. The king of *Pontus* finding himſelf thus diſappointed, and at the ſame time his dominions invaded by the confederate kings of *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia* ſupported by the *Romans*, condeſcended at laſt to ſue for peace, which was granted him upon the following conditions: that he ſhould forthwith withdraw his forces from *Galatia*, and diſannul all engagements and alliances with the inhabitants of that country; that he ſhould in like manner evacuate *Paphlagonia*, and ſend back to their reſpective homes with all their effects ſuch as he had carried thence into ſlavery; that he ſhould reſtore to *Ariarathes* all the places which he had taken during the war, the hoſtages of both kings, all their priſoners without ranſom, and moreover deliver up to them ſuch of their ſubjects, as from the firſt breaking out of the war had fled to him; that he ſhould return to *Morzias*, a petty king in thoſe parts, and to *Ariarathes* the nine hundred talents, which he had ſeized in the war, and pay down three hundred more to *Eumenes*, as a fine for invading his dominions without any provocation. *Mithridates* king of *Armenia*, having in this war joined *Pharnaces*, was by the articles of agreement obliged to pay three hundred talents to *Ariarathes* for having aſſiſted his enemy, contrary to a treaty of peace and alliance at that time ſubſiſting between them. In this treaty were compriſed *Artaxias* king of *Armenia*, *Gatalus* king of *Sarmatia*, *Acu lochus* another petty king, and the free city of *Heraclea*, *Meſembrya*, *Cherſoneſus*, and *Cyzicus* [a]. The city of *Sinope* remained to *Pharnaces*, and was held by his ſucceſſors till the time of the *Mithridatic* war, when it was reſtored by *Lucullus* to its former liberty. The hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles were no ſooner delivered, but the confederate kings diſbanded their armies, and retired home. *Pharnaces* died ſoon after, and left to his ſon *Mithridates* the kingdom of *Pontus*, more weakened by this peace than by all his wars. *Pliny* tells us [b], that the herb centory had its name in *Greek* from this king, who is ſuppoſed to have applied himſelf to the ſtudy of botanics.

Mithridates VI.

Mithridates VI. was the firſt king of *Pontus* that entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, ſending them a conſiderable ſupply of ſhips in their third war with the *Carthaginians* [c]. He likewiſe proved a faithful ally to them in the war, which they carried on, at firſt with great loſs, againſt *Ariſtonicus*, who upon the death of *Attalus* laid claim to the kingdom of *Pergamus*. After the defeat of *P. Craſſus* moſt of the princes of *Aſia* either ſided with *Ariſtonicus*, or retired home; but *Mithridates* could by no offers or promiſes be prevailed upon to abandon the cauſe he had once eſpouſed. On which conſideration he was rewarded by the ſenate with *Phrygia Major*, and honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome* [d]. *Appian* tells us, that *Phrygia* was beſtowed on him, not by the ſenate, but by *Manius Aquilius*, who ſucceeded *M. Perpenna* in the command of the *Roman* forces in *Aſia*, being bribed thereunto by the king with a large ſum of money [e]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the ſenate took *Phrygia* away from his ſon, during his minority, and declared it a free and independent ſtate, as he himſelf complains in his ſpeech related by *Trogus* [f]. *Mithridates*, after a long and proſperous reign was treacherouſly murdered by ſome of his intimate acquaintance. He left two ſons, of which the elder named alſo *Mithridates*, ſucceeding him in the kingdom of *Pontus*, eclipſed all thoſe who had reigned before him, and is generally counted one of the greateſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter. He maintained a moſt bloody war with the *Romans* for the ſpace of forty-ſix years, and alone gave them more trouble, as their own writers witneſs, than *Pyrrhus*, *Hannibal*, and the powerful kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* had done altogether. He received many dreadful overthrows, his armies were often cut in pieces, his ſtrong-holds taken and levelled with the ground, and his whole kingdom laid waſte; but ſtill he returned more formidable than ever, as if he had received new ſtrength from his very loſſes; and at laſt in ſpight of all the efforts of his powerful adverſaries, died a voluntary death in his own kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. We ſhall give here a ſhort, but diſtinct account of his war with the *Romans*, commonly called the *Mithridatic* war, it being one of the greateſt and moſt expenſive that the republic ever waged.

Mithridates VII.
Year of the flood 2875.
Year before Chriſt 124.

Mithridates VII. ſurnamed *the Great*, was according to *Strabo*, eleven years old; according to *Eutropius*, twelve; and according to *Memnon*, thirteen; when he came to the

[z] Diodor. ubi ſupra. [a] Polyb. legat. 59. [b] Plin. l. xxv. c. 4. [c] Appian. in Mithridatic p. 171. [d] Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1. [e] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 177. & 208. & l. i. bell. civil. p. 362, 363. [f] Justin. ubi ſupra.

[a] the throne His future greatneſs was foretold, if *Trogus* may be credited[g], by two comets, one of which appeared at his birth, and the other the firſt year of his reign. Both theſe comets were ſeen for ſeventy days and ſeventy nights together; their ſplendor was ſuch as to eclipſe the ſun, and raiſe in peoples minds the dread of a final conflagration. They covered the fourth part of the heaven, and in riſing or ſetting took up the ſpace of four hours (P).

Mithridates began his reign with moſt inhuman and unnatural acts of cruelty practiſed on his mother and neareſt relations. His father by his laſt will appointed him and his mother joint heirs to the kingdom; but he claiming the whole, threw his mother into priſon, where he kept her under cloſe confinement, till through hard uſage ſhe [b] ended her days[h]. *Servius* ſays, that he poiſoned her, that he might being then but a child lie under no check[i]. Thoſe, to whom the care of his education was committed, obſerving him to be of a cruel and unruly temper, made various attempts on his life, but could never compaſs their deſign, he being always on his guard, and armed, even in ſo tender an age, againſt all manner of treachery, without ever ſhewing the leaſt diffidence (Q). In his youth, to inure his body to hardſhips, he applied himſelf to the manly exerciſe of hunting, paſſing whole months in the open fields, and often taking his reſt amidſt the frozen ſnow. When he came of age, he married his own ſiſter, by name *Laodice*, a thing frequently practiſed in thoſe days by the eaſtern kings, and had by her a ſon named *Pharnaces*. Having now an [c] heir to his kingdom, and aſpiring to nothing leſs than the empire of all *Aſia*, attended with a few friends, he undertook a progreſs through the various kingdoms of that great continent, with a deſign to obſerve the cuſtoms, laws, and manners of the inhabitants, to learn their different languages, whereof he is ſaid to have ſpoke twenty-two, to take an eſtimate of their ſtrength, and above all, to view narrowly their ſtrong-holds, and fortified towns. In this journey he ſpent three years, during which time it being noiſed abroad that he was dead, his wife *Laodice* gave herſelf up to all manner of lewdneſs; and having brought forth a ſon by a criminal converſation with one of the lords of her court, to conceal her guilt, and avoid the juſt reſentment of her provoked husband, welcomed him on his return with a poiſoned [d] potion which had no other effect but to incenſe him more againſt her, and haſten her own deſtruction, which was ſoon effected by his order, all thoſe being involved in the ſame puniſhment, who were any ways acceſſary to her incontinence and diſloyalty[k].

Invades Paphlagonia.

And now thinking it time to put in execution his vaſt deſigns, he invaded, and eaſily reduced the neighbouring kingdom of *Paphlagonia*, which he divided with his friend and ally *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. As the *Romans* had not long before declared *Paphlagonia* a free ſtate, they ſent embaſſadors to both kings, injoining them to withdraw their forces, and reſtore that nation to its former condition. *Mithridates* returned

[g] Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 2, & 3. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1. [h] Memnon, in excerpt. Photii, c. 32. Strab. l. x. p. 477. [i] Servius, in Virgil. l. vi. Æneid. [k] Justin. ubi ſupra.

(P) That which happened at his birth muſt be the comet which *Seneca* mentions in the following words (16): "In the reign of king *Attalus* there "appeared a comet, which being ſmall at firſt, af-"terwards ſpread itſelf as far as the equinoctial cir-"cle, ſo that its extent equalled that region of the "heaven which we call the milky way." If this comet appeared, as *Seneca* affirms, in the reign of *Attalus*, we muſt allow *Mithridates*, with *Eutropius* (17), and *Oroſius* (18,) who uſually follow *Livy*, ſeventy-two years of life; for had he lived only ſixty-eight or ſixty-nine, as *Appian* inſinuates (19), the comet had appeared after the death of *Attalus*, and not in his reign, as *Seneca* ſays.

(Q) *Juſtin* tells us (20), that his governors made him ride and perform his exerciſes on a wild and unmanageable horſe, which he governed with ſuch ſkill and dexterity, that his very enemies could not but admire and applaud him. They had afterwards recourſe to poiſon; but he being appriſed of their treacherous deſigns, armed himſelf againſt them with ſuch antidotes and preſervatives, that when he attempted in his old age to poiſon himſelf, the moſt exquiſite poiſons rather nouriſhed than deſtroyed the conſtitution of his body. *Martial* (21) ſays, that he was from his infancy ſo accuſtomed to take poiſon, that in his old age no poiſon could hurt him.

Profecit poto Mithridates ſæpe veneno,
Toxica ne poſſent ſæva nocere ſibi.

He was the inventor of *Mithridate*, which borrowed its name from him, as *Pliny*, *Paulus*, *Ægineta*, *Cornelius Celſus*, *Gellius*, *Galen* witneſs, and *Q. Serenus* in the following verſes:

Antidotus vero multis Mithridatica fertur
Conſociata modis: ſed magnus ſcrinia regis
Cum raperet victor, vilem deprendit in illis
Syntheſin, & vulgata ſatis medicamina riſit.

(16) *Seneca, lib.* vii. *c.* 15. (17) *Eutrop. lib.* vi. (18) *Oroſ. lib.* vi. *c.* 5. (19) *Appian. p.* 249. (20) *Juſtin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 2. (21) *Mart. lib.* v.

returned anſwer, that *Paphlagonia* had belonged to his father, and therefore was his by inheritance, adding, that he could not well underſtand why the *Romans*, without being appealed to, ſhould trouble themſelves about controverſies ariſing among the princes of *Aſia*. The embaſſadors threatened him with war; but he was ſo far from being intimidated by their menaces, that from *Paphlagonia* he marched directly into *Galatia*, which he made himſelf maſter of, though it was at that time under the protection of the people of *Rome*. Having thus reduced *Paphlagonia* and *Galatia*, the next kingdom he caſt his eyes upon was that of *Cappadocia*, held at that time by *Ariarathes*, who had married his ſiſter, and with whom he had lived in great friendſhip. As *Ariarathes* was one of the moſt powerful princes in all *Aſia*, and a great favourite of the *Romans*, in whoſe ſervice his father had been killed, during their war with *Ariſtonicus*, *Mithridates* thought it ſafer to attempt the accompliſhing of his deſigns by treachery, than by dint of arms, and accordingly bribed one *Gordius* privately to diſpatch him. Upon his death *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* invaded *Cappadocia*, and having driven out the ſon of the deceaſed prince, married his widow in hopes of eſtabliſhing himſelf by that means on the throne. This gave *Mithridates* a plauſible pre-

And Cappadocia. tence of falling upon *Cappadocia*, and at the ſame time of weakening his former ally, but now rival, *Nicomedes*. For under pretence of reſtoring his nephew, he made war upon *Nicomedes*, and drove him quite out of *Cappadocia*. As this war gained him the reputation, not only of gallantry, but good-nature, (for no body imagined that he had any hand in the murder of *Ariarathes*) out of a certain regard to public fame he reſtored the kingdom of *Cappadocia* to its lawful owner, and marched his troops back into his own territories. But ſoon after repenting what he had done, and preferring power to fame, he began to ſeek ſome pretence of quarrelling with his nephew. With this view he preſſed him to recall from baniſhment *Gordius*, who had aſſaſſinated his father; which the young prince highly reſenting, and *Mithridates* threatening to bring him back by force of arms, matters were brought by degrees to that paſs, that both princes took the field. *Mithridates* entered *Cappadocia* at the head of an army conſiſting of eighty thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſix hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, hoping with ſuch a powerful army to carry all before him; but finding his nephew ready to receive him with a ſtrength no-ways inferior to his own, he altered his deſign; and feigning a deſire of reconciliation, invited him to a conference; which the young prince willingly agreeing to, *Mithridates* in ſight of both armies ſtabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed in the plaits of his garment (R). This barbarous and unexpected piece of treachery ſtruck the *Cappadocians* with ſuch terror and amazement, that they immediately threw down their arms, and ſuffered *Mithridates* without any moleſtation to ſeize on all the ſtrong-holds of the kingdom; which he reſigned to his ſon, a child but eight years old, calling him *Ariarathes*, a name peculiar to the kings of *Cappadocia*, and committing both him and the whole management of his affairs to the care of *Gordius*. But the *Cappadocians*, diſdaining to be ruled by a public aſſaſſin, ſhook off the tyrannical yoke, and placed on the throne the brother of their late king, who to that time had kept himſelf concealed in ſome city of *Aſia*. But his reign was ſhort, being ſoon driven out by *Mithridates*, and the *Cappadocians* again brought under ſubjection. The unhappy prince ſeeing himſelf thus ſtript of his paternal kingdom, and reduced to the utmoſt miſery, no body daring to entertain him through fear of *Mithridates*, died of grief in the very flower of his age; and in him was extinct the family of *Pharnaces*, which had ruled over *Cappadocia* from the time of *Cyrus the Great*.

Upon his death *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, being jealous of the overgrown power of *Mithridates*, and fearing leſt he ſhould fall upon his dominions, if he were ſuffered to enjoy quietly the neighbouring kingdom of *Cappadocia*, ſuborned a youth of a comely and majeſtic aſpect to paſs himſelf upon the *Romans* for the ſon of *Ariarathes*,

(R) It was a cuſtom in antient times among kings, as *Juſtin* informs us (22), to ſend perſons of diſtinction to ſearch each other before they met, leſt any treacherous deſigns might be carried on under colour of a friendly conference. The perſon who was appointed to ſearch *Mithridates*, being very buſy in looking for ſome weapon under his belly, the king deſired him to take heed leſt he ſhould find there a weapon of a very different nature from that which he was ſo carefully looking for. This jeſt raiſed in the ſpectators a loud laughter, and made the ſearcher deſiſt from any further inquiries; by which means the dagger, which *Mithridate* had brought, was concealed.

(22) *Juſtin. lib.* xxxviii. *c.* 1.

arabes, as if they had left three ſons, and not two only, as was commonly believed.
a The youth being well inſtructed how to behave himſelf, and what he ſhould ſay, ſet out for *Rome*; and there preſenting himſelf before the ſenate, complained with tears in his eyes of the monſtrous and unnatural cruelty of his uncle *Mithridates*, bewailed the untimely death of his brothers, expatiated on the ſervices of his grandfather, who had loſt his life in the cauſe of the republic; and concluded his ſpeech by intreating them to convince the world of the tender regard they had for their friends, by reſtoring to his paternal kingdom the grandſon of one, whom they had thought fit to honour with that glorious title. The ſenate was no leſs affected by his ſpeech, than taken by his modeſty, addreſs, and gracious mien. Being ordered to withdraw, *Laodice*,
b the widow of *Ariarathes* and ſiſter to *Mithridates*, who upon her huſband's death had married *Nicomedes*, as we have hinted before, came in and depoſed that ſhe had three ſons by her former huſband *Ariarathes*, of which the petitioner was one. Whereupon the ſenate with many kind and grateful expreſſions promiſed to eſpouſe his cauſe, and never forſake him, till he was reinſtated in the kingdom of his forefathers. But in the mean time *Mithridates* receiving notice of the plot, diſpatched *Gordius* to *Rome* to diſcloſe it to the ſenate, and aſſure them, that the child, whom he had preferred to the crown, was the lawful ſon of *Ariarathes*. This unexpected embaſſy raiſed a ſtrong ſuſpicion of both kings in the minds of the ſenators, who thereupon examining more narrowly into the matter, and diſcovering the deceit, commanded *Mithridates*
c to relinquiſh *Cappadocia*, and *Nicomedes Paphlagonia*. Both theſe ſtates were by a decree of the ſenate declared free; but the *Cappadocians*, proteſting that they could not live without a king, were allowed to chuſe one of their own body. *Mithridates* uſed great intereſt in behalf of *Gordius*; but he being excluded by the *Romans*, *Ariobarzanes* was preferred to the crown by the majority of votes, as *Strabo* informs us; or, as *Juſtin* has it, by appointment of the ſenate.

And now the *Romans*, growing jealous of the power of *Mithridates*, and the ſway which he bore among the princes of *Aſia*, ſent *L. Cornelius Sylla* into *Cappadocia* under appearance of an embaſſy, but in reality to diſappoint the meaſures which he was purſuing, and the ſteps he was taking to graſp the empire of all *Aſia*. *Sylla* with
d a handful of men defeated *Gordius*, cut in pieces his army compoſed of *Cappadocians* and *Armenians*, and ſettled, according to the decree of the ſenate, *Ariobarzanes* on the throne. But *Sylla* had no ſooner ſet out for *Rome*, than *Mithridates*, who had ſuffered his ſon to be driven from the throne of *Cappadocia*, as if that way no-ways concerned him, ſtirred up *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* againſt *Ariobarzanes*, who, upon his approach abandoning the kingdom, fled to *Rome*. *Tigranes*, having without the loſs of one man poſſeſſed himſelf of *Cappadocia*, placed anew on the throne *Ariarathes*, ſon to *Mithridates*, and reſtored all things to the ſtate they were in before the arrival of *Sylla*. At the ſame time *Nicomedes Philopator*, king of *Bithynia*, dying, *Seizes on* Bi-
Mithridates invaded that kingdom, and drove out his natural ſon, named alſo *Nico-* *thynia.*
e *medes*, whom the *Romans* had appointed to ſucceed him, placing in his room his own brother *Socrates*, ſurnamed *Chreſtus*, or *the Thrifty*. *Nicomedes* likewiſe fled to *Rome*, where it was decreed by the ſenate, that both he and *Ariobarzanes* ſhould be reſtored to their kingdoms. In purſuance of which decree, *Manius Aquilius*, who had then ended the ſervile war in *Sicily*, and *Marcus Altinius*, being ſent into *Aſia* in quality of legates, and there joined by the forces of *Lucius Caſſius* governor of *Aſia Pergamena*, or *Aſia Proper*, and by the auxiliaries of the allied kings, *Nicomedes* was reinſtated in the kingdom of *Bithynia*, and *Ariobarzanes* in that of *Cappadocia*. The legates according to their inſtructions charged both kings to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories of *Mithridates*, and practiſe there
f whatever hoſtilities they could, aſſuring them of the powerful aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, in caſe he ſhould reſent the provocation. This the legates did to pick a quarrel with *Mithridates*, who, not thinking himſelf as yet a match for the *Romans*, had tamely ſuffered both his brother and his ſon to be driven out of the kingdoms which they had uſurped. *Ariobarzanes* could by no means be induced to provoke ſo powerful a neighbour; but *Nicomedes*, being partly with promiſes, partly with menaces, prevailed upon to comply with the injunctions of the legates, entered *Pontus* in a hoſtile manner, and putting all to fire and ſword, laid waſte whole provinces, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. For *Mithridates*, to juſtify in the eyes of the world the war which he had long deſigned againſt the *Romans*, had ordered his lieutenants to forbear returning any hoſtilities, till ſuch time as he had laid his

his complaints before the legates. This he did ſoon after, ſending one *Pelopidas* to a
expoſtulate with them about the proceeding of *Nicomedes*. But the legates returning
anſwer, that he having being the firſt aggreſſor, *Nicomedes* had but paid him in his
own coin, and that they would not ſuffer him to uſe any violence againſt their friend
and ally, *Mithridates* thought it high time, having on foot a numerous and well-
diſciplined army, to enter upon action; and accordingly ſent his ſon *Ariarathes* into
Cappadocia, who put to flight the united forces of *Ariobarzanes* and *Altinius* the *Ro-
man* legate, and anew took poſſeſſion of that kingdom. At the ſame time *Nico-
medes* making inroads into *Pontus*, *Mithridates*, to gain time, and make the
Romans believe that he was ſtill inclined to a peace, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to
beg of the ſenate, that, if *Nicomedes* was their friend, they would oblige him by b
their authority to forbear giving him any further moleſtation; but if they accounted
him an enemy, they would give him leave to do himſelf juſtice, and repel force by
force. The ſenate, being well appriſed of *Mithridates*'s views, replied, that *Nico-
medes* had done nothing without juſt provocation, and therefore they ſaw no cauſe
why they ſhould lay any injunctions on him; whereas they had many things to in-
join *Mithridates*, but above all, to reſtore without further delay the kingdom of
Cappadocia to its lawful owner, and conclude a ſpeedy peace with their friend and ally
Nicomedes, on pain of being accounted an enemy to *Rome*, and treated accordingly.
With this anſwer the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed, and the ſame day ordered to depart
the city; but before their departure charged to acquaint their maſter, that the peo- c
ple of *Rome* would admit of no embaſſadors from him, till ſuch time as he had
complied with theſe their commands [k].

In the mean time the legates in *Aſia* drawing together what forces they could
muſter in *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia*, and being joined by *Caſ-
ſius* governor of *Aſia*, took the field without waiting for the determination of the
ſenate. They divided their army into ſeveral ſmall bodies: *Caſſius* encamped on
the confines of *Bithynia* and *Galatia*; *Aquilius* with his body poſſeſſed himſelf of the
avenues leading from *Pontus* into *Bithynia*; *Q. Oppius* ſecured the entrance into *Ca-
padocia*; and *Minutius Rufus* and *C. Popilius* admirals lay with a fleet of three
hundred ſail at *Byzantium*, to prevent the enemy from entering into the *Euxine* ſea. d
Each of the generals had an army of forty thouſand men under his command, beſides
a body of fifty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, which *Nicomedes* brought to
their aſſiſtance [l].

On the other ſide, *Mithridates*, having inticed many of the neighbouring nations to
join him againſt the *Romans*, found at the general rendezvous, that his whole
ſtrength conſiſted of two hundred and fifty thouſand foot, fifty thouſand horſe, a
hundred and thirty chariots armed with ſcythes, three hundred ſhips, and one hun-
dred gallies. *Nicomedes*, as he was on his march to take poſſeſſion of an important
poſt, according to the direction of the *Roman* generals, happened to fall in with a
numerous body of the enemies; whereupon a bloody battle enſued, the victory in- e
clining ſome time to one ſide, and ſome time to another. The fight laſted many
Defeats the Bithynians. hours, both armies behaving themſelves with the utmoſt gallantry and reſolution.
But at laſt the *Bithynians*, though far ſuperior in number, being put in diſorder by
the armed chariots, which mowed down intire files, betook themſelves to flight,
leaving behind them their baggage, money, and proviſions, which fell to the con-
queror. *Nicomedes*, the greater part of his men being ſlain, with much ado got into
Paphlagonia, and from thence marched with the remains of his ſcattered army to join
Caſſius. *Nicomedes* being thus driven out of the field, *Mithridates* detached part of
his army, under the command of *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* an *Armenian*, to fall upon
Aquilius, who guarded the paſſes leading into *Bithynia* with an army of forty thou- f
ſand foot and four thouſand horſe. Upon their approach *Aquilius* withdrew his
forces in good order, but being purſued cloſe, and haraſſed on his march by the
enemy, he reſolved to venture a battle, which proved very unſucceſsful, ten thou-
ſand of his men being killed on the ſpot, three hundred taken priſoners, and the
reſt quite diſperſed. The legate himſelf, attended by a ſmall body of horſe, having
the ſame night reached the river *Sangarius*, ſwam over, and arrived ſafe at *Pergamus* [m].
Upon the news of this double overthrow, the other *Roman* generals abandoned their
poſts, and left *Mithridates* maſter of the field. The fleet alſo diſperſed, and the
greater

[k] Liv. l. lxxiv. Appian. Mithridatic. p. 177, & 179. Dio legat. 31. [l] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 179. [m] Appian. comparat. cum Memnon. & Liv. l. lxxvii. Strab. l. xii. p. 562.

greater part of the ſhips were either taken or ſunk by the king's admirals. *Mithridates* reſolved to improve the opportunity which now offered of accompliſhing his deſigns; and, driving the *Romans* quite out of *Aſia*, over-ran all *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Aſia Proper*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, and whatever other countries either belonged to, or had ſided with, the *Romans*, as far as *Ionia*. He was received every-where with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, the inhabitants flocking to him in white garments, and calling him their father, their deliverer, their god, the great and ſole lord of all *Aſia* [n]. What thus gained him the affections of the people, was his kind uſage to the priſoners he had taken in the two engagements; for he not only ſent them all home without ranſom, but furniſhed with good ſtore of proviſions, and even money to defray the expences of their journey. *Over-runs the greateſt part of* Aſia.

b This piece of good-nature was every-where ſo cried up by his friends, and had ſuch an effect on the minds of his enemies, that all the nations of *Aſia* ſhewed an ambition to live under the mild government of ſo clement a prince. Embaſſadors came flocking to him from all parts, and among others thoſe of *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*, to whom the king promiſed his protection, on condition they delivered up to him *Q. Oppius*, governor of *Pamphylia*, who had retreated thither. The inhabitants readily complied with his deſire, and ſent *Oppius* to him in chains, ordering lictors to walk before him with their faſces in deriſion of the *Roman* pride and oſtentation. *Mithridates* was overjoyed to ſee a *Roman* general and a proconſul his priſoner; and his joy was ſoon after encreaſed by the delivery of *Manius Aquilius*, whom the *Leſ-*

c *bians*, revolting from the *Romans*, ſent to him in fetters with many other *Romans* of diſtinction. As he had been the chief author and promoter of the war, *Mithridates*, led him about with him, whitherſoever he went, either bound on an aſs, or on foot coup'ed to one *Baſtarnes*, a public malefactor, forcing him to proclaim with his own mouth to the crowds flocking to ſee him, that he was *Manius Aquilius* the *Roman* lega.e. When he came to *Pergamus*, he cauſed him firſt to be publicly whipt, afterwards to be put upon the rack, and laſtly melted gold to be poured down his throat, upbraiding thereby the *Romans* in general, and him in particular, with avarice, bribery, and corruption [o]. *Puts* Manius Aquilius *to a cruel death.*

d *Mithridates* after ſo many conqueſts being now looked upon as invincible, all the free cities of *Aſia* opened their gates to him; he was received at *Magneſia*, *Mitylene*, and *Epheſus* with loud acclamations; the latter, to ingratiate themſelves with him, pulling down all the monuments which the *Romans* had erected. His generals too were attended with like ſucceſs, the cities, where-ever they appeared, voluntarily ſubmitting to them, and contributing large ſums of money to defray the charges of the war. By this means he amaſſed ſuch treaſures as enabled him to maintain ſeveral numerous armies on foot for the ſpace of five years, without levying any taxes or tributes on his ſubjects [p].

As moſt of the provinces ſubdued by *Mithridates* were either ſubject or allied to

e *Rome*, many *Roman* citizens had ſettled in the chief cities, and were diſperſed all over *Aſia*. *Mithridates* conſidering theſe as ſo many ſpies, who would not fail to obſerve his motions and acquaint the ſenate with his deſigns, took the moſt cruel and inhuman method of ridding himſelf of them that had been heard of till his time, but has been practiſed in after-ages by other nations. He diſpatched private letters to all the governors and magiſtrates of the cities where the *Romans* reſided, injoining them, on pain of death and utter deſtruction of their country, to cauſe all of the *Italian* race, women and children not excepted, to be murdered on the thirtieth day from the date of his letters, and to let their bodies lie unburied in the open fields. One moiety of their goods was to be forfeited to the king, and the other beſtowed as a

f reward on the aſſaſſins. Whatever ſlave murdered his maſter was to receive his liberty, and one-half of the debt was to be remitted to the debtor that ſhould kill his creditor. Whoever concealed any of the *Italian* race, under what pretence ſoever, was to be puniſhed with immediate death (R). When the fatal day came, a day, as *Orders all the* Romans *in* Aſia *to be maſſacred.* *Year of the flood* 2911. *Before Chriſt*, 88.

[n] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 401. Athen. l. v. c. 11. Memnon. c. 33. Liv. l. lxxvii. Appian. p. 183. [o] Liv. l. lxxviii. Athenæus ubi ſupra. Appian. p. 184. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cicero in orat. pro lege Manil. & lib v. Tuſculan. quæſt. [p] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.

(R) *Theophanes* the *Mitylenian*, who wrote the life of *Pompey*, tells us, that *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a man of proconſular dignity, who had been baniſhed *Rome*, and lived at that time in *Aſia*, put *Mithridates*

as *Tully* calls it, of horror and confuſion, the gates of the cities being ſhut, and all a the outlets beſet with ſoldiers, the king's orders were proclaimed; which cauſed an univerſal alarm and conſternation, not in thoſe only, who were deſtined to die, but in ſuch of the natives too as had the leaſt ſpark of humanity, ſeeing themſelves obliged either to betray and barbarouſly murder their innocent gueſts, friends, and relations, or be liable themſelves to a cruel death. However, as moſt of the *Aſiatics* bore a mortal hatred to the *Romans*, and were moreover animated by the promiſe of an ample reward, the king's orders were without delay put in execution, and all *Aſia* in one day turned into a ſhambles [n]. The inhabitants of *Epheſus*, where *Mithridates* then reſided, dragged ſuch as had taken ſanctuary in *Diana*'s temple from the very ſtatue of the goddeſs, and put them to the ſword. The *Pergamenians* diſcharged b ſhowers of darts upon them, as they embraced the ſtatues in the temple of *Eſculapius*. At *Adramyttium* in *Myſia* many were murdered in the water, while they were attempting with their children on their backs to ſwim over to the iſland of *Leſbos*. The *Caunians*, who not long before had been delivered by the *Romans* from the yoke of the *Rhodians*, and reſtored to their ancient privileges, excelled in cruelty all the reſt; for, as if they had apoſtatized from human nature, they took pleaſure in tormenting and butchering the innocent children under their mothers eyes, ſome of them running diſtracted, and others dying for grief at a ſight which nature could not bear. The *Trallians* were the only people on the continent, who could not find in their hearts to imbrue their hands in the blood of their innocent gueſts. However, as the c king's orders were peremptory, they hired one *Theophilus* a *Paphlagonian* to diſpatch the few *Romans* that lived among them. He having ſhut them all up together in the temple of *Concord*, firſt cut off their hands as they embraced the ſtatues of the gods, and then hacked them to pieces [o]. Many *Romans* were ſaved on the floating iſlands of *Lydia*, called *Calaminæ*, where they concealed themſelves till ſuch time as they found an opportunity of making their eſcape out of *Aſia* [p]; but nevertheleſs a hundred and fifty thouſand *Roman* citizens were maſſacred that day, according to *Plutarch* and *Dion* [q]; but according to others only eighty thouſand [r].

Mithridates, having thus got rid of ſuch as could any ways diſturb him in the quiet poſſeſſion of his conqueſts on the continent, imbarqued great part of his forces in order d to reduce the adjacent iſlands. He ſailed firſt to *Cos*, where he was joyfully received by the natives, who delivered up to him *Alexander*, the ſon of *Alexander*, who being driven from the throne of *Egypt* was killed by *Chareas* a ſea captain, as he was retiring in a ſmall veſſel to *Cyprus*. With the young prince they put into the king's hands vaſt ſums of money, with all the golden veſſels and jewels to an immenſe value, which his grandmother *Cleopatra* had left with him, and had been amaſſing for many years. To the young prince *Mithridates* gave an education ſuitable to his birth, and ever treated him like a king's ſon, but kept the treaſures for himſelf. Here likewiſe he found eight hundred talents in ready money, which at the firſt breaking out of the war, had been depoſited by the *Jews* of *Aſia* in this iſland as in e a place of ſafety, and was deſigned, as *Joſephus* informs us [t], for the temple of *Jeruſalem*. From *Cos* the king ſteered his courſe to the iſland of *Rhodes*, where all the *Romans* who had eſcaped out of *Aſia* found a ſanctuary, and amongſt others *L. Caſſius* the proconſul. The *Rhodians*, upon the firſt news of the king's being at ſea, equipped their fleet, and put their city in a poſture of defence, determined neither to deliver up the *Romans*, nor admit him within their gates. As he drew near they ordered their admiral, by name *Damagoras*, a man of great experience in ſea affairs, to meet him, and, if poſſible, draw him to a battle, knowing that his fleet, though ſuperior

[n] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 185. 206. 209. 212. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. & pro Flacco. Memnon. in excerpt. c. 33. Liv. l. lxxviii. Velleius Patercul. l. ii. c. 18, Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Eutrop. l. v. Oros. l. vi. c. 2, &c. [o] Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 185. & comparat. cum Dion. in excerptis, p. 612. [p] Plin. l. ii. c. 95. [q] Plut. in Sylla. Dion. legat. 36, & 37. [r] Memnon. c. 33. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 2. [s] Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 186. 252, 253. & bell. civil. l. i. p. 414. [t] Joseph. l. xiv. c. 12.

dates upon this barbarous reſolution; and adds, that *Pompey* found in the fort *Caino*, amongſt many other valuable books, an oration compoſed by *Rutilius*, wherein he ſtirred up the king to this maſſacre (23). But *Tully* aſſures us (24), that *Rutilius* had no hand in it, having ſaved himſelf by diſguiſing his condition with a philoſopher's mantle, and in that garb making his eſcape, as ſome others did, out of *Aſia* undiſcovered.

(23) *Plutarch. in Pomp.* (24) *Cic. pro C. Rubinio Poſthumo.*

a ſuperior in number, was but very indifferently manned. As the *Rhodians* advanced, the king's fleet retir'd, making towards the coaſts of *Lycia*; but *Damagoras* chacing them, ſix of his ſhips came up with twenty-five of the king's, and after a ſharp engagement ſunk two, and put the reſt to flight. In this encounter *Mithridates*, though he had never before ſeen a ſea-fight, behaved with extraordinary courage and intrepidity; but one of the ſhips of his own ſquadron falling foul of that which carried him, by which accident he was very near being taken priſoner, he ever after abhorred the ſea, and took an averſion to all the *Chians*, becauſe the pilot of that ſhip was a *Chian*. However, being unwilling to give over the enterprize, he took new forces on board, with great ſtore of warlike engines to batter the city, and unexpectedly b appeared again on the coaſts; but was anew forced to retire with diſgrace, and lay aſide all thoughts of reducing the iſland [u].

His fleet defeated by the Rhodians.

Mithridates, being thus diſappointed at *Rhodes*, intruſted his generals with the command of his armies, and himſelf retired to *Pergamus*, there to ſettle the civil government of *Aſia*, and levy new forces to be ſent to his generals as they ſhould have occaſion for them. *Archelaus*, commander in chief of all his forces, was ſent to *Greece* with an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, where by the treachery of one *Ariſtio* or *Athenio* he got poſſeſſion of *Athens*, and either put to the ſword, or ſent to *Mithridates* all thoſe who favoured, or were ſuſpected to favour, the *Romans*. From *Athens* he diſpatched parties to reduce the neighbouring caſtles and the iſland of *Delos*, c which they did accordingly; but the iſland was ſoon recovered by *Orobius* a *Roman* general, who hearing that the enemies kept no guards, but paſſed their times in debauchery and carouſing, by the favour of a dark night, landed without being perceived, and, falling upon them in one of their revels, put every man of that party to the ſword except *Apellicon* the commander, who found means to make his eſcape [w]. *Metrophanes*, another of the king's generals, entering *Eubœa*, laid waſte the whole country, exerting his rage chiefly againſt the cities of *Demetrias* and *Magneſia*, which refuſed to admit him within their gates. But as he was ſailing off with a great booty, *Bruttius* prætor or governor of *Macedonia*, coming up with him ſunk ſome of his ſhips, and took others, putting all the priſoners to the ſword. *Mithridates* upon d the news of this loſs, ſent his ſon *Ariarathes* with a powerful army to invade *Macedonia*, which he ſoon reduced, together with the kingdom of *Thrace*, driving the *Romans* every-where before him. The generals which he ſent into other quarters were no leſs ſucceſsful, having, at the return of the *Romans* into *Greece*, as *Aullus Gellius* [x], *Valerius Maximus* [y], and *Quintilian* [z] aſſure us, twenty-five different nations, which paid him homage. The ſame authors add, that he was ſkilled in every one of their various languages, ſo as to ſpeak with the natives without an interpreter whenever he had occaſion. Among theſe we find reckoned the *Rhoxani*, now *Ruſſians* or *Muſcovites*, whom *Diophantes*, one of the king's generals, brought under ſubjection, e after having ſlain in one engagement fifty thouſand of the *Barbarians*, who came with an innumerable army to oppoſe him. And now *Mithridates* was maſter not only of *Aſia*, but of all *Greece* and the adjacent iſlands, except *Rhodes*, as far as the *Cyclades*.

Archelaus *makes himſelf maſter of* Athens.

THE inteſtine broils and civil diſſenſions, which at this time reigned in *Rome*, proved a favourable opportunity for *Mithridates* to extend thus the confines of his empire; but at laſt the ſenate upon certain advice that he deſigned to invade *Italy*, and had even been invited thither by the *Italians*, who had revolted from them, began ſeriouſly to deliberate on the means of oppoſing ſo powerful and inſulting an enemy. *Lucius Sylla*, who on many occaſions had given ſignal proofs of his courage, f conduct, and experience in war, was appointed general, and ordered with all poſſible expedition to ſail over into *Greece*, where *Archelaus* domineered without controul. He put to ſea with five legions only and a few cohorts, and landing in *Attica* detached part of his forces to lay ſiege to *Athens*, he himſelf marching with the main body of his ſmall army againſt *Archelaus*, who was encamped near *Piræum* [a] (S). Upon

Driven from thence by Sylla.

[u] APPIAN. comparat. cum Memnon. c. 33. & LIV. l. lxxviii. [w] APPIAN. l. v. c. 11. [x] AUL. GELL. l. xvii. c. 17. [y] VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 7. [z] QUINTILIAN. l. xi. c. 2. [a] PLUT. in Sylla. DIO. in excerpt. Valeſii. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 390.

(S) *Mithridates* at that time reſided at *Pergamus*, where amongſt many other prodigies mentioned by the antient writers, it is ſaid, that at the ſame inſtant *Sylla* put to ſea, the *Pergamenians* in the theatre were letting down with engines a ſtatue of victory, bearing a crown to be put on the king's head; but the

Upon his approach *Archelaus* retired within the walls, and *Sylla*, as winter was drawing on, contented himself to cut off his communication with *Athens* by a deep trench, which he continued from the mountains quite to the sea. By this means the city for want of provisions fell into his hands, as he himself relates in his commentaries, on the calends of *March* [b]. *Aristio*, who was at the head of the kings party, retiring with those of his faction into the castle, where they held out for a long time, but at last were obliged for want of water to surrender at discretion; *Sylla* commanded *Aristio* to be put to death, and all those who had bore any employment under the king, or any ways violated the constitutions, which the *Romans* had established after the conquest of *Greece*. a

As *Archelaus* had a powerful fleet, and *Sylla* but a few frigates, he dispatched *L. Lucullus*, his lieutenant general, a man of great repute among the *Romans*, to the island of *Rhodes*, with orders to the *Rhodians* to join him with their fleet. But this being found impracticable, by reason that the king's fleet had, had, as it were, overspread the whole sea, *Lucullus*, despising all danger, ventured out boldly with six frigates only, and sailing to *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Cyprus*, returned with such supplies of ships and experienced mariners, as enabled *Sylla* after their conjunction with the *Rhodian* fleet to act offensively even by sea [c]. *Archelaus* finding himself thus straitened on all sides, dispatched messengers to *Taxiles*, who commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, inviting him to his relief. *Taxiles* made what haste he could, and having joined *Archelaus*, they both marched against *Sylla*, leading under their colours a hundred and twenty thousand men. On the other side, *Sylla*, being acquainted with their designs, was in full march to meet them, though his whole army consisted but of fifteen hundred horse and fifteen thousand foot. The two armies came in sight of each other near the city of *Chæronea*, and neither declining the engagement, the *Romans*, animated by the example of their leader and an eager desire of revenging the death of their fellow-citizens massacred in *Asia* by the king's order, put that day a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy to the sword, having lost on their side but twelve men, as *Sylla* himself witnesses in his commentaries. *Archelaus* narrowly escaped with the remains of his army to *Chalcis*. b

The battle of Chæronea.

The success which attended *Sylla*, raised new jealousies against him at *Rome*, where the contrary faction began to prevail. Whereupon the senate sent *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, consul of that year, with two legions into *Asia*, in appearance to attack *Mithridates* on that side, but with private instructions to fall upon *Sylla*, if they found him disaffected to the senate. As *Flaccus* had no experience in war, *C. Fimbria*, a senate of great repute among the soldiery, was appointed to attend him with the character of legate or lieutenant general. *Sylla* was at that time in *Bœotia*, but hearing what measures the senate had taken against him, he left that province, and with all expedition marched into *Thessaly* with a design to meet *Flaccus*, who, having imbarqued his troops at *Brundusium*, was steering his course towards that province. But *Sylla* being arrived at the city of *Melitea*, intelligence was brought him, that the country, which he had abandoned, was over-run with a powerful army of the king's under the command of *Dorylaus*, his chief favourite. Upon this advice he returned into *Bœotia*, and in two successive engagements gained two signal victories, which put an end to the war in *Greece*. In the first encounter *Dorylaus* lost fifteen thousand men, as *Appian* and *Orosius* inform us [d], or two hundred thousand, as *Eutropius* will have it; in the second the remaining part of the army, which consisted of ninety thousand chosen troops, was intirely cut off; twenty thousand were driven into a river, where they all perished; an equal number was surrounded, and all put to the sword, in a marsh, whither they had retired; the rest were killed in the flight, the *Romans* giving no quarter to men that had treated their fellow-citizens after so barbarous c

Dorilaus *routed by* Sylla. d e

[b] Plutarch. in Sylla. [c] Plutarch. in Luculla. [d] Appian. l. lxxxii. & Oros. l. vi. c. 2.

the crown before it reached him fell to the ground, and was dashed in pieces, which accident being looked upon as a bad omen, struck the people and *Mithridates* himself with great terror (25). At *Stratopedo* the crows killed a vultur, and the goddess *Isis* was seen to strike with thunder a star fallen from heaven. The same author adds that while the king was firing a grove consecrated to the furies, a great laughing was heard among the trees, but no body could be found, and that the king being advised by the soothsayers to sacrifice a Virgin to the furies, the young woman was taken with such a fit of laughing, that the sacrifice being disturbed, the priests thought fit to give it over.

(25) *Plutarch in Sylla.*

a barbarous a manner in *Asia*. *Plutarch* tells us [e], that the marshes were died with blood, that the course of the river was stopt by the dead bodies, and that even in his time, that is near two hundred years after, a great many bows, helmets, coats of mail, and swords were found buried in the mud. *Archelaus*, who had joined *Dorylaus*, with a body of ten thousand men a few days before the battle, lay three days stript and naked among the dead, till he found a small vessel which carried him over into *Eubœa*, where he mustered together what troops he could, but was never in a condition to take the field. As for *Sylla* he gave up the province of *Bœotia* to be plundered by his soldiers, as being ready to revolt on every fresh occasion. From *Bœotia* he marched into *Thessaly*, where he took up his winter-quarters, and caused

b his old ships to be refitted, and several new ones to be built, in order to pass over into *Asia* in the beginning of the spring, and drive from thence not only *Mithridates*, but also his rival *Flaccus*, whom the senate had in opposition to him appointed governor of that province (T).

Differences arise between Flaccus *and* Fimbria.

In the mean time *Flaccus*, being joined by the *Roman* allies in *Asia*, had possessed himself of *Byzantium*, and from thence marched into *Bithynia*, where upon some differences arising between him and his legate *Fimbria*, some of the soldiery sided with one, and some with the other, which the consul, as he was of a haughty imperious temper, not being able to bear, deprived *Fimbria* of his command and named another in his room. *Fimbria* being thus cashired repaired to *Byzantium*, where he

c prevailed upon that part of the army which *Flaccus* had left there, to forsake the consul and follow him. With this body he crossed the *Hellespont*, and obliged all the cities of that neighbourhood, without distinction of friend or foe, to contribute large sums towards the maintenance of his army, allowing at the same time his soldiers an uncontrouled licence to commit all sorts of villainies and rapine. This liberty brought daily over to him a great many from *Flaccus*, insomuch, that thinking himself now a match for the consul, he took upon himself the supreme command, and turned out all the civil as well as the military officers, which *Flaccus* had appointed, placing his own creatures in their room. Such extraordinary proceedings soon brought back *Flaccus* from *Chalcedon*, whither he had sailed with his fleet; but finding *Fimbria*'s

d party stronger than he expected, he was forced to conceal himself in a friend's house, till he had an opportunity of stealing away in the night-time to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to *Nicomedia*. *Fimbria*, having intelligence of his flight, pursued him close, took *Nicomedia* by storm, and dragging the consul from a well, where he lay concealed, put him to death. His head he threw into the sea, and left his body unburied on the shore [f]. Upon the death of *Flaccus*, *Fimbria* took upon himself the command of the *Roman* forces in *Asia*, besieged and took a great many towns, but at the same time practised such cruelties upon persons of all ranks, that his name, became more odious than even that of *Mithridates* (U). Having persuaded the inhabitants

Cruelties of Fimbria.

e of *Cyzicum* to admit him as a friend into the city, he not only plundered it, but put the most wealthy citizens to death in order to seize on their estates, as if they had been guilty of treason; others he forced with threats to give up to him all they had [g]. The minds of the *Asiatics* being by the cruelty of *Fimbria* alienated from the *Romans*,

[e] Plutarch. in vit. Sylla. Strab. l. xiii. p. 594. [f] Appian. p. 204, 205. Liv. l. lxxxii. Patercul. l. ii. c. 24. Aurel. Vict. de vir. illustrib. c. 70, &c. [g] Diodor. Sicul. p. 409.

(T) *Livy* tells us (26), that *Archelaus* delivered up himself and the king's fleet to *Sylla*; and *Aurelius Victor* (27), that the king's fleet was intercepted by *Sylla* through the treachery of *Archelaus*, adding, that there was a good understanding between these two commanders, as was plain from *Sylla*'s bestowing on him ten thousand acres of Land near the city of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. The treachery of *Archelaus* is also mentioned by *Sallust* (28), who introduces *Mithridates* complaining of him in a letter to *Arsaces*, in the following words: Archelaus, *the most unworthy of all those who were under me, gave a check to my enterprises by betraying my army*. And *Strabo* (29) informs us, that *Archelaus* was afterwards greatly esteemed and caressed both by *Sylla* and the senate. But *Sylla* himself, and his commentaries (30), and *Dio* (31), endeavour to clear *Archelaus*, from all suspicion of treachery.

(U) *Dio* gives us an instance of his cruelty (32). Having, says he, one day set up some posts, to which he used to cause men to be fastened, and whipt to death, he found that there were more posts provided, than persons condemned to that punishment. Whereupon he commanded some of the spectators to be seized, fastened to the posts and whipt to death, lest they should seem to have been set up to no purpose.

(26) *Liv. l.* lxxxii. (27) *Aurel. Victor. de vir. illustrib. c.* 76. (28) *Sallust. hist. l.* iv. (29) *Strab. l.* xii. *p.* 558. *& lib.* xvii. *p.* 796. (30) *Plutarch. in Sylla.* (31) *Dio legat.* 33. or 34. (32) *Dio in excerptis Valesii. p.* 653.

Romans, *Mithridates*, in order to improve this hatred into an open revolt, commanded his ſon, by name alſo *Mithridates*, to join *Taxiles*, *Diophantes*, and *Menander*, three of the moſt experienced commanders he had, and to return at the head of a numerous army into *Aſia*, not doubting but the inhabitants, thus haraſſed by *Fimbria*, would ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, when they ſaw ſo powerful an army in the field ready to protect them. *Fimbria* diſtruſting the *Aſiatics*, marched out to meet the enemy, and offer them battle before they entered the province. As the king's army was far ſuperior to his in number, the *Romans* ſuffered greatly in the engagement, but held out till night parted them, when they withdrew to the oppoſite ſide of a river, which was at a ſmall diſtance from the field of battle. Here they deſigned to intrench themſelves. But in the mean time a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, *Fimbria* laid hold of that opportunity, and fording the river in the dead of the night, ſurprized the enemy and made ſuch a havock of them, as they lay in their tents, that only the commanders and ſome few troops of horſe eſcaped [b]. Among theſe was the king's ſon, who attended with a few horſe got ſafe to *Pergamus* where his father reſided. But *Fimbria*, purſuing him night and day without intermiſſion, entered *Pergamus* ſword in hand; and hearing that both the father and ſon had fled from thence a few hours before his arrival, he continued the purſuit, and would have taken the king himſelf priſoner, had he not thrown himſelf with a conſiderable body of horſe into *Pritane*. This place *Fimbria* immediately inveſted, blocking up all the avenues by which the king could make his eſcape by land; but as he had no ſhips to intercept his retreat by ſea, he diſpatched a meſſenger to *Lucullus*, who commanded the *Roman* navy in *Aſia*, intreating him, as he tendered the welfare of his country, to make what haſte he could to *Pritane*, and aſſiſt him with his fleet in taking one, who of all the kings in the world was the moſt cruel and implacable enemy of the people of *Rome*. But *Lucullus*, being ſwayed by a party-grudge more than by the good of the republic, would not ſtir out of the harbour, though he might with all eaſe, as his fleet was riding but at a ſmall diſtance, at once have put an end to a war, which afterwards coſt the people of *Rome* ſo much blood and treaſure. *Fimbria*, finding himſelf thus diſappointed, carried on the ſiege with all poſſible vigour, in hopes of making himſelf maſter of the town, before the king's fleet could come to his relief. But as the town was well fortified both by art and nature, and defended by a numerous gariſon, animated by the king's preſence and example, before the *Romans* could approach the walls, the fleet appeared, and being received with loud ſhouts of joy, took the king on board, and to the eternal diſgrace of *Lucullus*, carried him, without the leaſt moleſtation, to *Mitylene* [i].

Fimbria ſoon after the king's departure took the place by ſtorm, and reduced moſt of the cities of *Aſia*, ſetting large fines on ſuch as did not voluntarily ſubmit. As he approached the antient city of *Troy* the *Trojans* ſhut their gates againſt him, and at the ſame time ſent deputies to *Sylla*, declaring, that they were ready to ſubmit to him, and begging his protection againſt the cruelty and avarice of *Fimbria*. *Sylla* commended them for returning to their antient alliance with the people of *Rome*, and promiſed to haſten to their relief, adding, that it was no matter whether they ſubmitted to him, or to *Fimbria*, they being both citizens of *Rome*, and originally deſcended from the *Trojans*. But at the ſame time he warned *Fimbria* by a meſſenger not to moleſt thoſe who had ſubmitted to him, and on that regard ought to be looked upon as allies of *Rome*. This embaſſy fired *Fimbria*'s haughty temper, who thereupon laying cloſe ſiege to the town, carried it by ſtorm the eleventh day, bragging, that he had reduced in ſo ſhort a time a city, which *Agamemnon* had not been able to maſter in leſs than ten years, though aſſiſted by a fleet of a thouſand ſhips and the whole power of *Greece*. Entering the city he put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, not ſparing even thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*, which he cauſed to be burnt with all that were in it. He levelled the walls with the ground, ſet fire to the houſes and temples, and reduced the city to a heap of aſhes. He racked and murdered in a moſt barbarous manner thoſe that had been employed on the embaſſy to *Sylla*, and in ſhort did not leave one houſe ſtanding, or one ſoul alive in the whole town that he could meet with (W).

Fimbria *defeats the king's generals.*

Takes and deſtroys Troy.

Mithridates

[h] Memnon, c. 28. [i] Plut. in Lucull. & Oros. ubi ſupra.

(W) *AureliusVictor* (33) ſays, that *Minerva*'s temple ſtood untouched, *being without all doubt, preſerved by the goddeſs herſelf*. But *Julius Obſequens* and *Appian* aſſure us, that the temple was burnt; and add,

(33) *De vir. illuſtrib. c.* 70.

a *Mithridates*, being thus preſſed by *Fimbria* in *Aſia*, and by *Sylla* in *Greece*, and his fleet intirely defeated in two ſea-engagement by *Lucullus*, began to be weary of the war; and accordingly charged *Archelaus* to ſtrike up a peace with *Sylla* upon as honourable conditions as he could. On the other hand, *Sylla*, hearing of the ſtrange diſorders that *Cinna* and *Carbo*, the leading men of the adverſe party, committed at *Rome*, was very willing to put an end to the war, and haſten to the relief of his friends, who were daily flocking to him, being baniſhed their country for favouring his cauſe. Wherefore, on the firſt notice of the king's intention, he went in perſon to confer with *Archelaus*; who, meeting him at *Apollo*'s temple near *Delos*, adviſed him to return home and ſuccour his friends at *Rome*, where the oppoſite faction grew daily
b ſtronger by his abſence; he offered him what ſhips, men, and money he pleaſed, and aſſured him, that the king would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power. On the other hand, *Sylla* endeavoured to perſuade *Archelaus* to deliver up to him the king's fleet, promiſing, in caſe he complied with his requeſt, to place him on the throne of *Pontus*, and honour him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. But *Archelaus* ſhewing the utmoſt abhorrency of ſuch an infamous piece of treachery, *Sylla* propoſed ſome preliminaries, one of which was, that *Mithridates* ſhould forthwith withdraw his gariſons from all the places that were not poſſeſſed by him before the war broke out. This article was agreed to by *Archelaus*, and ſeveral places immediately evacuated; but concerning the others, he wrote to the king to know
c his pleaſure therein. *Mithridates* ſent without delay embaſſadors to *Sylla*, charging them, among other things, to diſſuade *Sylla* from inſiſting on the delivery of *Paphlagonia* and the fleet, which was one of the preliminaries. This put *Sylla* in ſo violent a paſſion, that he was with much ado prevailed upon to continue the conferences. But *Archelaus* deſiring to be ſent to the king, and aſſuring *Sylla* that he would either diſpatch him, or make him conclude a peace upon *Sylla*'s own terms, he was appeaſed. *Archelaus* was as good as his word; for on his return he acquainted *Sylla*, that the king had ſubmitted to his terms, but at the ſame time ſhewed a great deſire of having an interview with him before matters were quite ſettled; *A conference between* Sylla *and* Mithridates.
which *Sylla* agreeing to, they met at *Dardanus* a city of *Troas*. The king came attended with twenty thouſand foot, ſix hundred horſe, and a great many chariots
d armed with ſithes, beſides a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips. *Sylla* had but two legions with him, and two hundred horſe. Both armies being drawn up, *Mithridates* and *Sylla* retired with a ſmall retinue into a neighbouring field. the king coming up to *Sylla* offered to embrace him, but he ſtopt him, deſiring firſt to know whether he was willing to conclude a peace upon the terms which *Archelaus* had propoſed to him. *Mithridates* at firſt deſired that ſome alterations might be made, but the *Roman* general ſo terrified him with his paſſionate and threatning ſpeech, that he conſented without exception to all he required; and then *Sylla* having embraced and kiſſed him, after mutual expreſſions of friendſhip they parted, *Mithridates* retiring into *Pontus*, according to their agreement, and *Sylla* advancing to *Thyatira*, where *Fimbria* lay in-
e camped [d]. The conditions of the peace were as follow: that *Mithridates* ſhould relinquiſh all his conqueſts, and content himſelf with his paternal dominions, which were confined within the limits of *Pontus*: that he ſhould forthwith reſign *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and releaſe without ranſom all the captives and priſoners he had made during the war: that he ſhould pay to the *Romans* two, or, as *Memnon* has it, three, thouſand talents, and deliver up to *Sylla* eighty ſhips, with all their arms and ammunition, and five hundred archers: laſtly, that he ſhould not any ways moleſt ſuch cities or perſons, as had during the war revolted from him, and ſided with the *Romans* [e]. Thus ended the firſt *Mithridatic* war to the great diſadvantage of the king and to *Sylla*'s glory, who in leſs than three years

A peace concluded. *Year of the flood* 2914. *Year before Chriſt* 85.

time

[d] Memnon, c. 37. Plutarch. in Syll. Appian. p. 207, 208. [e] Memnon, ubi ſupra. Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra. Liv. l. lxxxiii. Velleius Patercul. l. ii. c. 23.

add, that amongſt the ruins the famous palladium, which *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes* were ſuppoſed to have ſtolen, was found ſafe and entire. *Servius* (34) tells us, that the palladium was on this occaſion diſcovered by *Fimbria*, and afterwards brought to *Rome*. The ſecond deſtruction of *Troy* happened, according to *Appian* (35), on the hundred and ſeventy-third olympiad, a thouſand and fifty years after the firſt; but *Eratoſthenes*, *Apollodorus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, compute a thouſand and ninety-nine years between the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, and the fourth year of the hundred and ſeventy-third olympiad, when this deſolation by *Fimbria* happened.

(34) *Servius in lib.* ii. *Æneid.* (35) *Appian. p.* 206.

time drove him out of *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Ionia*, and the province of *Asia*, confined him within the narrow bounds of his father's kingdom, and killed above a hundred and sixty thousand of his best troops, without losing one thousand of his own.

And now *Sylla* having, no other enemy to contend with, led his army against *Fimbria*, and, having encamped within two furlongs of *Thyatira*, where he lay intrenched, summoned him to deliver up the army, as having taken the command upon him against the known laws of *Rome*. *Fimbria* replied, that his authority was equally usurped: whereupon *Sylla* began to draw a trench in order to besiege him in his camp, which *Fimbria*'s men perceiving, they openly protested that they would not by any means imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and passed over in troops to *Sylla*. *Fimbria*, finding himself no ways in a condition to oppose *Sylla* by force, had recourse to treachery, and suborned a slave to pass into *Sylla*'s camp as a deserter, and there to stab him; but his heart failing him, and being suspected, by the fear he betrayed, to be sent on some such errand, he was apprehended; and having openly owned the whole matter, *Sylla*'s men were filled with such indignation, that it was no easy matter to keep them within the camp, every one desiring to revenge such an execrable piece of treachery with the death of the traitor. The plot being discovered, *Fimbria*, not trusting even his own troops, retir'd with a few of his friends to a strong fort, whence he invited *Sylla* to a parley. *Sylla* refused to see him, but sent one *Rutilius* in his stead to offer him a safe conduct to the sea-side upon condition he resigned the troops under his command, and abandoned *Asia*. To this offer *Fimbria* made no other reply than that he knew a more expeditious way to prevent blood-shed; and withdrawing in a violent passion, stole away to *Pergamus*, where he stabbed himself in the temple of *Esculapius*. But the wound not proving mortal, one of his servants dispatched him at his request, and afterwards killed himself. *Sylla* caused his body to be decently interred, which was so pleasing to his soldiery, that they came over to *Sylla* all to a man[f].

Fimbria *lays violent hands on himself.*

Sylla, having now an uncontrouled power in *Asia*, declared the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Magnesians*, and *Trojans*, whose city he rebuilt, a free people, and friends of the people of *Rome*, by way of reward for having sided with the *Romans*, but on the other cities he laid heavy fines, condemning them to pay in one year's time twenty thousand talents, and quartering his soldiers in the houses of such as had shewn any disaffection to the *Romans*. Each private man was to receive of his landlord sixteen drachmas a day, and each officer fifty; and, besides, were to be supplied with provisions, not only for their own sustenance, but to regale such of their friends as they should think fit to invite. By these impositions most of the inhabitants of *Asia* were reduced to beggary, especially the *Ephesians*, who had above others exerted their hatred against the *Romans*. The province of *Asia* being thus put out of a condition to revolt, *Sylla*, loaded with immense treasures, set sail for *Italy*, leaving behind him *Lucullus* with the character of quæstor, and *Muræna* with that of prætor (X). He consigned the two legions that had served under *Fimbria* to *Muræna*, suspecting them inclined to *Marius*, whose faction he was going to quash at *Rome*.

Mithridates returning to *Pontus* reduced those nations which had revolted during the war, beginning with the *Colchi*, who, upon the approach of his army, offered to submit, provided he would appoint his son *Mithridates* king over them; which was no sooner granted, but they returned to their duty. This raised a diffidence in the king,

[f] Appian p. 211. Liv. lxxxiii. Vellei. Paterc. l. ii. c. 24. Plut. in Sylla. Aurel. Victor de viris illustrib. c. 70. Oros. l. vi. c. 3.

(X) Amongst other things of great value, *Sylla* brought out of *Asia* several libraries, namely that of *Aristotle*, which he seized on upon the death of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, who had purchased it with an immense sum of money. *Apellicon* was one of the wealthiest men in *Asia*, and grudged laying out his money on any thing except books; but in these he was extravagant to a great degree, outbidding even kings when any valuable purchase offered; for which he ransacked all the public and private libraries of *Asia*, bribing with large sums the librarians to deliver to him by stealth such as were not to be sold. By this means he got a collection of all the most scarce and valuable books that could be purchased. However, like many in our days, he was more pleased with the sight than the use of them. Having purchased of the heirs of *Neleus Scepsius* the libraries of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, and finding many of the books composed by them greatly damaged and worm-eaten, he undertook to transcribe them, but was often mistaken in filling up the chasms, which made the books that were published by him be looked upon as less correct, though copied from the originals. As *Apellicon* died during the *Mithridatic* war, *Sylla* seized on all his books, and with them enriched his own library at *Rome* (36).

(36) *Plutarch. in Sylla. Athenæus, l.* v. *c.* 1. *Strab. l.* xiii. *p.* 609. *Lucian. lib. adv. indoctum.*

king, as if his ſon's ambition had occaſioned that revolt. Whereupon he kept him
a for ſome time bound with gold fetters, and afterwards put him to death without any
regard to his eminent ſervices during the war [g]. The *Boſphori*, likewiſe a very warlike
people, had ſhaken off the yoke, and in order to reduce them, or at leaſt under that
pretence, he began to make ſuch preparations both by ſea and land, as raiſed no ſmall
jealouſy in the *Romans*; the more, becauſe he had not, according to the articles of
agreement, reſigned to *Ariobarzanes* the whole and entire poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*,
but reſerved to himſelf ſome places of great importance, and had complained of *Ar-*
chelaus, as if at his inſtigation he had granted more to *Sylla* than he ought to have
done. This jealouſy was encreaſed by the unexpected arrival of *Archelaus*, who,
b dreading the effects of the king's diſpleaſure, fled for refuge to *Muræna*, and, aſſure-
ing him that thoſe vaſt preparations were not deſigned againſt the *Boſphori*, prevailed
upon him to be before-hand with the king in making war. Having therefore drawn
together with all poſſible expedition his troops, he marched into *Cappadocia* with a
deſign to invade *Pontus*. The king hearing of his motions, diſpatched embaſſadors
to him to put him in mind of the articles of peace, which *Sylla*, whoſe prætor he
was, had agreed to. *Muræna*, who was more inclined to war than peace, in hopes,
as *Appian* informs us, of deſerving a triumph, replied, that he knew nothing of
any ſuch articles: for *Sylla* had ſet nothing down in writing, but contented himſelf
with the execution of what had been agreed upon. Having diſmiſſed the embaſſa-
c dors with this anſwer, he begun to lay waſte and plunder the country, without ſpare-
ing even the temples, or the treaſures conſecrated to the gods. Having put all to
fire and ſword on the frontiers of *Pontus* towards *Cappadocia*, he paſſed the river
Halys, and on that ſide poſſeſſed himſelf of four hundred villages belonging to the
king, without the leaſt oppoſition, *Mithridates* being unwilling to commit any hoſtili-
ties before the return of the embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to *Rome* to complain both
to the ſenate and to *Sylla* of ſuch violent proceedings. The embaſſadors returned at
laſt, and with them one *Callidius* ſent by the ſenate, who in a publick aſſembly com-
manded *Muræna* to forbear moleſting a friend and ally of the *Roman* people; but after-
wards calling him aſide, had a private conference with him, in which ſome writers
d ſuppoſe, as he brought no decree of the ſenate, that he encouraged him to purſue
the war; at leaſt he continued practiſing the ſame hoſtilities, and even made an
attempt upon *Sinope*, the place where the king reſided, and the royal treaſures were
kept. But as the town was well gariſoned, he was forced to retire with ſome loſs; and *The ſecond Mi-*
in the mean time *Mithridates* himſelf taking the field, appeared at the head of a *thridatic war.*
powerful army on the oppoſite banks of the river, which he paſſed in ſpite of all *Mu-*
ræna's efforts, drove the *Romans* from their camp, and forced them with great
ſlaughter to ſave themſelves over the mountains into *Phrygia*. This ſudden and un-
expected victory brought many of the cities of *Aſia* again to ſide with *Mithridates*,
who, having driven the *Romans* quite out of *Cappadocia*, made a great fire on
e the top of a high hill, and offered after the manner of his country ſolemn ſacrifices
to *Jupiter the powerful in war*. But in the mean time *Sylla* being created dictator,
and having got all the power into his own hands, he ſent *Aulus Gabinius* into *Aſia*
to charge *Muræna*, in his name, to give over moleſting *Mithridates*, whom he had
honoured with the title of a friend and ally to *Rome*. No ſooner was *Sylla*'s plea-
ſure known to *Muræna*, but he drew off his forces, and abandoned all the places
he had taken after the departure of *Sylla*. He was ſoon after recalled, and *M.*
Thermus appointed prætor of *Aſia* in his room [h]. *Gabinius* was alſo charged to re-
concile *Mithridates* and *Ariobarzanes*; which he did accordingly, *Mithridates*, giving to
the *Cappadocian* his own ſon, about four years old, as an hoſtage. *Muræna* on his
f return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, and received with loud acclamations,
as if he had performed great things.

Mithridates being now quite at leiſure fell upon the *Boſphori*, and having ſub-
dued them, appointed *Macchares*, one of his ſons, king of that country. From
thence he led his army againſt the *Achæans*, a people bordering on the *Colchi*, and
originally deſcended from the *Greeks*, who on their return from *Troy*, miſtaking
their way into *Greece*, had ſettled there. They oppoſed the king with great reſolu-
tion, and obliged him to abandon the country with the loſs of three parts of his
army [i]. Being returned into *Pontus* he recruited his army, and made vaſt prepara-
tions

[g] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 213, 214. [h] Appian. Mithridatic, p. 215, 216: Cic: pro. lege Manilia. [i] Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 216.

tions with a design to invade them anew; but in the mean time *Sylla* dying, he a
altered his resolution, and unwilling to lose those countries, which he had delivered
up agreeable to the articles of peace concluded with *Sylla*, determined to attempt
at all adventures the recovery of them. Having therefore induced *Tigranes*, king
of *Armenia* and his son-in-law, to invade *Cappadocia*, he himself, after performing
solemn sacrifices to *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, entered *Paphlagonia* with an army of a hun-
dred and twenty thousand foot trained up after the *Roman* discipline, sixteen thou-
sand horse, and a hundred chariots armed with scythes. From *Paphlagonia*, which
readily submitted to him, he marched into *Bithynia*, which had been lately bequeathed
to the *Romans* by king *Nicomedes*. Neither did he meet here with any opposition, or
in the province of *Asia*, which, being oppressed with most exorbitant taxes, looked b
upon him as their deliverer. In entering the cities of *Asia* he made *M. Marius* or *Ma-
rius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent him from *Spain* to discipline and command his army,
walk before him with the consular ensigns, as if he were the chief magistrate, the
king following him like one of his attendants. He made several cities free, but at
the same time acquainted them, that they were not indebted to him for their liberty,
but to *Sertorius*. Thus by the connivance of *Sertorius*, who was a great opposer of
Sylla's faction, many cities sided with the king, without knowing that they revolted
from the *Romans*. At this time *Julius Cæsar* being at *Rhodes*, whither he had retired
to apply himself at leisure to the study of oratory, under the discipline of *Apollonius
Molon*, a most eminent teacher of that art, and hearing what havock the king's c
officers made in the adjacent countries, gathered together what troops he could, and
falling upon them, drove them quite out of *Asia*, though he was then but in the
twenty-fifth year of his age [k].

Lucullus *sent against* Mithridates.

BY this time the senate being apprised of the king's designs, and finding a new war
unavoidable, appointed *Lucullus*, who was then consul, and having been *Sylla*'s legate
in *Asia*, was well acquainted with the country, to manage it (Y). *Cotta*, the other
consul prevailed upon the senate with much importunity to be likewise employed in
that war, and was sent with a fleet to guard the *Propontis* and defend *Bithynia* [l].
Lucullus having raised one legion in *Italy* passed over with it into *Asia*, where he was
joined by four others, two of which, as they had served under *Fimbria*, in a man- d
ner uncontrouled, proved at first very mutinous and refractory; the other two were
not much better having been long inured to the luxury of *Asia*. The disciplining of
these troops kept *Lucullus* some time in a state of inactivity, while all the states of *Asia*
were up in arms, and ready to shake off the *Roman* yoke, being on one hand na-
rassed in a most extraordinary manner by the collectors, and on the other invited
with great promises to join *Mithridates*, who was advancing with two very numerous
armies, and a fleet of four hundred ships of thirty oars, besides a great many
smaller vessels, called *penteconteri* and *cercuræ*. One of these armies was ordered
to march, under the conduct of *Diophantus Matharus*, into *Cappadocia*, and oppose
Lucullus, if he offered to enter *Pontus* on that side. The other, consisting of a hun- e
dred and fifty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and a hundred chariots armed
with scythes, *Mithridates* commanded in person. He had also a third army encamped
in the neighbourhood of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and commanded by *Marius* and *Eu-
machus*, two generals of great experience in war. *Lucullus*, hearing that the king's
fleet was out, commanded *Cotta* to keep his, which was inferior in number, within
the harbour of *Calcedon*, while he advanced by land to engage *Mithridates*. *Cotta*
followed his injunctions in not venturing out with the fleet, but, at the same time,
drawing together what troops he could, he resolved to be before-hand with him in
fighting *Mithridates*, not doubting in the least of the victory. And very unluckily
for him it happened, that *Mithridates* bent his rout to *Chalcedon*; which *Cotta* no f
sooner heard, but he sent *P. Rutilius* his legate with a considerable body to observe
his

[k] SUETON. in Julio. [l] PLUT. in Lucullo. CIC. pro Murænâ. MEENON. c. 39. EUTROP. l. vi.

(Y) As *Sylla*, and such officers as served under him, had got great riches in the first *Mithridatic* war, the command of the army was courted by many. But *Lucullus*, at that time consul, having by means of *Præcia*, a common strumpet, gained *Cethegus*, who bore great sway at *Rome*, was preferred to all others. The province of *Gallia Cisalpina* had fallen to his lot, but that of *Cilicia* being vacant by the death of *Octavius*, he was first by the interest of *Cethegus* promoted to that, and afterwards, as *Cappadocia*, which was in all likelihood to be the seat of war, lay near *Cilicia*, was charged with the management of the *Mithridatic* war (37).

(37) *Plutarch. in Lucullo.*

a his motions. *Rutilius* was met on his march by *Marius* and *Eumachus*, and not declining the engagement, moſt part of his army was cut in pieces, and he himſelf ſlain. The ſame misfortune befel ſeveral other officers of diſtinction ſent out to oppoſe *Mithridates*, who, being elated with ſuch ſucceſs, ordered his admiral to ſail into the very harbour, and fire the *Roman* fleet; which he did accordingly, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition either from *Cotta*, or *Nudus* his admiral, who kept cloſe within the walls of the town, and tamely beheld the enemy burning ſome of their ſhips, ſinking others, and carrying away the reſt, to the number of ſixty. The loſs of the *Romans* on this occaſion was very conſiderable. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cotta* loſt in the land engagements four thouſand foot[m], and that few of the mariners were ſaved. b *Memnon* ſays, that both the ſea and land were covered with the dead bodies of the *Romans*, eight thouſand of them being ſlain in the ſea-engagement, and four thouſand five hundred taken priſoners, and five thouſand three hundred of the land-forces, all *Italians*, being either killed or taken priſoners; whereas *Mithridates* loſt in all but ſeven hundred and thirty men [n] (Z).

This victory and the bad conſequences that attended it, moſt cities of *Aſia* being ready to revolt, made *Lucullus* haſten his march. When he came in ſight of the king's army, he was ſurpriſed to ſee ſo numerous a body; and having with him but thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, he thought it was moſt adviſeable to decline an engagement; however, there happened frequent ſkir- c miſhes between the *Roman* and *Pontic* cavalry, wherein the former gained no ſmall advantages; which ſo raiſed their ſpirits, a little before quite ſunk, that *Lucullus* had much ado to keep them within the trenches, ſo eager were they for a general engagement (A). *Mithridates* finding that he could not draw *Lucullus* to a battle, and being loth to ſpend the ſummer, after ſo great preparations, without doing any thing, ſilently decamped in the dead of the night, and by break of day reached the mountain *Adraſtia* or *Dindymus*, which commanded the city of *Cyzicum*. This city was the key of *Aſia*, and greatly addicted to the *Romans*. In the overthrow of *Chalcedon* they loſt three thouſand citizens and ten of their beſt ſhips, and had on all occaſions ſhewn an unalterable attachment to the *Roman* intereſt. *Mithridates*, hoping d either to get poſſeſſion of ſo important a place, or to draw *Lucullus* to an engagement, if he offered to relieve it, began the ſiege, and inveſted the city with his whole army by land, and four hundred ſhips by ſea. *Lucullus* having timely notice of the king's retreat, followed him cloſe, and falling upon his rear, killed ten thouſand of his men, and took thirteen thouſand priſoners. After this victory, to encourage the *Cyzicenians*, he encamped on a riſing ground in ſight of the town; but *Mithridates*, giving out that *Lucullus* was at a great diſtance, and thoſe they ſaw were ſupplies ſent him by *Tigranes*, they began to be anxious about the *Romans*, and continued in great apprehenſion, till one of *Lucullus*'s men, ſwimming in the night through the enemies fleet, got into the city and undeceived them. He delivered to the magiſtrates a letter from *Lu-* e *cullus*, wherein he acquainted them with his late victory, and aſſured them, that he would not fail to relieve them [o]. *Lucullus*, in taking a view of the ground where the enemy was encamped, obſerved a mountain, by the gaining of which he might eaſily cut off their communication with the country, and prevent their having any proviſions but what were brought by ſea; but as there was only one way leading to it, and that very narrow, and guarded by a ſtrong body of the king's forces, he had laid aſide all thoughts of ſo hazardous an attempt, when he was adviſed by a meſſenger from *L. Manius* or *Magius*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent to conclude a treaty of friendſhip and alliance between him and *Mithridates*, to remove his camp to the above-mentioned hill, and acquainted, that *Manius* had perſuaded the king to withdraw

[m] Plut. ubi ſupra. [n] Memnon, ubi ſupra. [o] Plut. ubi ſupra. Strabo, p. 575, 576.

(Z) This is the victory which *Mithridates* brags of in a letter to *Arſaces*, thus; *I have entirely defeated* M. Cotta *the* Roman *general near* Chalcedon, *and ſtripped him of his fleet in a ſea-fight* (38)

(A) *Plutarch* tells us (39), that *Lucullus* finding the king's army ſo much ſuperior in number to his own, was at firſt unwilling to venture a battle; but *Manius* marching up to the very gates of his camp, and challenging him out, he drew up his forces, with a deſign to engage; but as the two armies ſtood facing one another, and expecting the ſignal, the heavens opening all on a ſudden, a large flaming body fell from thence between the two armies, which ſo terrified both parties, that they retired to their reſpective camps. This prodigy, ſays *Plutarch*, happened near *Otryæ* in *Phrygia* (40).

(38) *Salluſt. l.* iv. (39) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (40) *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

withdraw his forces from the narrow passes, and suffer him to encamp where-ever he a
pleased: and truly *Manius* had made the king believe, that the *Fimbrian* legions,
which had formerly served under *Sertorius*, were in a day or two to come over to
him, and advised him not to oppose the *Romans* if they offered to pass the streights,
which would cost him much blood, since he was sure of the victory without striking
a blow. The king, not suspecting any treachery, hearkened to his advice, and
even sent out a strong party to meet the *Fimbrian* legions, which, according to agree-
ment, made a shew as if they intended to join him; but, as the party drew near, the
legions unexpectedly falling upon them, cut them in pieces all to a man [p]. Thus
Lucullus gained that important post, and having cut off the enemy's communication
with the country, was supplied in great plenty with all manner of provisions, while b
they had nothing to depend upon but their fleet, which, as the winter was drawing
near, could hardly supply with provisions so numerous an army. This made *Mithri-
dates* double his efforts to reduce the town, which he battered night and day with
engines of a new invention, which did great execution (B); but the citizens were no
less active in defending it, repairing with indefatigable labour by night the breaches
made by the king's engines in the day-time. The king finding that it was in vain to
batter the walls began to undermine them; but in this too his efforts were unsuc-
cessful, and he was near being taken in one of his mines by the counter-mines of the
city. In the mean time winter coming on, the king's army was so distressed for want
of provisions, that many died for hunger, and those that lived were forced to feed on c
the flesh of their dead companions. The famine was followed by a plague, which
daily swept away great numbers; insomuch, that *Mithridates*, having now lost all hopes
of reducing the city, began to think only of a retreat, which it was no easy matter
to effectuate, most of his ships being shattered by storms, and all the passes by land
blocked up by the *Romans* (C). The first opportunity that offered was the departure
of *Lucullus*, gone with a strong detachment to besiege a castle at some distance. The
king laying hold of this occasion, sent away the best part of his horse by night,
ordering them not to halt till they were out of the reach of the enemy; but *Lucullus*,
receiving timely notice of their march, hastened back, and, with ten companies of
foot and all his horse, pursued them so close, notwithstanding the excessive cold d
and deep snow, in which many of his men perished, that he came up with them as
they were passing the river *Rhyndacus*, took six hundred horse, with all the beasts
of burden, fifteen thousand men, and put the rest to the sword, most of their horses
having died on their march, but a very few got safe into *Bithynia*. On his return he
fell in with *Aristonicus* the king's admiral, whom he took prisoner, as he was upon
the point of putting to sea with a large sum of money to inveigle the *Roman* army,
which he also seized [q]. The king's army before *Cyzicum* being now extremely
weakened by the plague, famine, and daily losses, the inhabitants so harassed them
with

[p] Memnon, c. 42. [q] Plut. ubi supra.

(B) Among other engines, *Nicodemus* a *Thessalian* contrived one called *helepolis*, about one hundred cubits high. Upon this they planted a tower stored with all manner of machines for throwing stones of a vast size, which so battered the walls, that the citizens were obliged to labour all night in repairing them. This fatigue they could not have long endured, but a sudden storm of wind arising, the helepolis was blown down, and the machines planted on the tower rendered unserviceable; which proved a great relief to them (41).

(C) *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Julius Obsequens*, and others tells us, *Mithridates* was greatly terrified by the following prodigy, which was related and believed, both by the *Cyzicenians* and the king's army. In the city they used yearly to sacrifice a black heifer to *Proserpine*; but that year the town being blocked up on all sides, they made one of dough, and brought it to the altar. They no sooner began the ceremony, but the true heifer which was designed for *Proserpine*'s festival, and was grazing on the other side of the gulf, threw herself into the sea, and swimming through the enemies fleet, got safe to the mouth of the harbour; there she dived under the chain that obstructed the entry, and passing through the middle of the city, went streight to *Proserpine*'s temple, and presented herself before the altar, where she was sacrificed (42). The same authors add, that *Proserpine* appearing in the night-time to *Aristagoras*, the chief magistrate of the city, told him, that she had provided a piper against the pipers, or, as *Plutarch* has it, a *Libyan* piper against the *Pontic* trumpeter. This at first seemed a riddle to the *Cyzicenians*; but in the mean time a violent wind blowing from *Libya*, which dispersed the king's fleet, and overturned all his engines, they understood the mysterious saying of the goddess. It was also said, that *Minerva* appeared to many in the city of *Troy*, dropping with sweat, shewing part of her veil torn, and telling them, that she was going to succour the *Cyzicenians*. The *Trojans*, as *Plutarch* informs us, used to shew the pillars, whereon decrees and letters concerning this miraculous event were engraved.

(41) *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.* (42) *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra. Jul. Obseq. de prodigiis.*

with frequent ſallies, that *Mithridates* determined to break up the ſiege, and return with part of his forces by ſea, while the others marched by land, under the conduct of *Manius* and *Hermæus*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent to head the king's troops. Accordingly the king, in the dead of the night, embarqued, and at the ſame time *Manius* and *Hermæus* marched off with thirty thouſand men, making the beſt of their way to *Lampſacus*; but were overtaken by *Lucullus* at the river *Æſopus*, which at that time was not fordable, being greatly ſwelled by the heavy rains. Twenty thouſand were killed on the ſpot, eleven thouſand of which were ſaid to have been ſent by *Sertorius*; nor could one man have eſcaped, had not the *Romans* given over the purſuit to gather the gold and ſilver, which, by the advice of their generals, well acquainted with the *Roman* avarice, they had ſcattered about on the road, on purpoſe to retard their purſuit [r]. *Lucullus* on his return entered *Cyzicum*, among the loud acclamations of the citizens, who afterwards inſtituted public ſports in honour of him, which they called *Lucullea*. The city he declared free, and the ſenate heaped upon the inhabitants all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions which were enjoyed by the natives of *Rome* itſelf. *Plutarch* and *Appian* [s] tells us, that *Mithridates* loſt in all before *Cyzicum* three hundred thouſand men, which is alſo confirmed by *Oroſius* [t]. *Strabo* ſays, that the king's army conſiſted but of one hundred and fifty thouſand men [u], of which one hundred thouſand, according to *Eutropius* periſhed in the ſiege [w]. The king himſelf, in a letter to *Arſaces*, writes, that he was forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Cyzicum*, not on account of any great loſs he had ſuſtained, or for fear of the enemy, but becauſe he could have no proviſions, the country being laid waſte all round, partly by his own forces, and partly by the enemies [x].

FROM *Cyzicum* *Lucullus* marched with his army along the coaſt of the *Helleſpont*, and arriving at *Troas*, equipped his fleet there, and put to ſea in chace of *Marius*, *Alexander*, and *Dionyſius*, three of the king's generals, who were roving up and down the ſea, with a fleet of fifty ſhips, and ten thouſand land forces on board (D). He came up with them near the iſland of *Lemnos*, took thirty-two of the king's ſhips, and put great part of the land-forces to the ſword. The day after the engagement the three generals were diſcovered in a cave where they had concealed themſelves, and dragged from thence to *Lucullus*, who, after having ſeverely upbraided *Manius* for fighting againſt his country, cauſed him to be put to death. Before the battle, he had given orders to his ſoldiers not to kill any that had but one eye, meaning *Manius*, who had loſt an eye, not that he deſigned to ſave him, but becauſe he was willing to reproach him with his ignominious behaviour before he put him to death. *Alexander* and *Dionyſius* were reſerved for the triumph; but the latter prevented that diſgrace by a doſe of poiſon [y]. From *Lemnos* *Lucullus* ſteered his courſe to *Bithynia*, upon intelligence that *Mithridates* had appeared with his fleet on thoſe coaſts; but the king having timely notice of his deſign, made what haſte he could to gain *Pontus* and arrived at *Heraclea* on board of a pirate, by name *Selemus*, with whom he was forced to truſt himſelf, his fleet being diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and the ſhip that carried him caſt away (F).

WHILE *Lucullus* was thus chaſing *Mithridates* out of the ſea, his commanders were no leſs ſucceſsful by land. *Triarius*, ſent by him to beſiege *Apamea*, reduced that place. From *Apamea* he marched to *Peſura*, ſituated near mount *Olympus*, which he took

[r] MEMN. c. 42. POLYB. ſtratag. l. vii. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. PLUT. APPIAN. ubi ſupra. OROS. l. vi. c. 2. [s] PLUT. & APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [t] OROS. l. vi. c. 2. [u] STRABO, l. xii. 575. [w] EUTROP. breviar. l. vi. [x] SALLUST. l. iv. hiſtor. [y] PLUT. APPIAN. ubi ſupra.

(D) *Plutarch* and *Appian* tell us (43), that at *Troas* *Venus* appearing to him in his ſleep, addreſſed him with the following verſe:

Τί κνίσσεις, μεγάθυμε λεόντων, νεοτρόφε τοὶ ἐγγύς;

that is, *Why do you ſleep, ſtout lion, while the fawns are ſo near you?* The ſame authors add, that while he was relating his dreams to his friends, news was brought him, that thirteen of the king's ſhips had appeared off of *Troy*, ſteering their courſe to *Lemnos*; whereupon he immediately ſet ſail, took all the ſhips, and killed *Iſodorus* the king's admiral.

(E) *Dio* writes, that *Mithridates* was twice ſhipwrecked as he was ſailing to *Pontus*, and that he loſt in both wrecks ſixty ſhips, and ten thouſand men. *Mithridates* himſelf, in a letter to *Arſaces*, ſays, that he loſt the flower of his troops by two ſhipwrecks, the one at *Para*, the other at *Heraclea* (44). *Oroſius* tells us, that while *Mithridates* was ſailing againſt *Byzantium*, (whither, *Eutropius* ſays, he was chaſed by *Lucullus*) he loſt by a ſudden ſtorm eighty ſhips armed with brazen beaks, and many of his men; and *Florus*, that his whole fleet, with all manner of ſtores for the *Pontic* war, was diſperſed, and one hundred ſhips loſt.

(43) *Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra.* (44) *Salluſt l. iv. hiſtor.*

took by storm, and plundered. The strong and important city of *Prusias* [illegible] submitted to the conqueror, after having obliged the king's garison to [illegible]. *Nicæa* followed the example of the others, the *Pontics* having abandoned the [illegible] the first news of the approach of the *Romans* [z]. From *Prusias* *Triarius* marched [illegible] all possible expedition to join *Cotta*, who lay encamped near *Nicomedia*, where [illegible] king himself at that time resided; but before the two armies were joined, *Mithridates* found means to make his escape, first to *Heraclea*, which was betrayed to him by one *Lamachus*, and thence to *Sinope* (F).

Lucullus, having now reduced all *Paphlagonia* and *Bithynia*, marched thro' *Cappadocia*, and joined *Cotta* and *Triarius* at *Nicomedia*, with a design to invade *Pontus*; but hearing that *Heraclea* was in the king's hands, and supposing that the citizens had submitted to him of their own accord, he altered his plan, and detached *Cotta* against *Heraclea*. *Triarius* was ordered with the fleet to the *Hellespont* and *Propontis*, to intercept the king's fleet, which was daily expected from *Spain* with new supplies from *Sertorius*. *Lucullus* himself, with the main strength of his army, pursued his march into *Pontus* [a]. His army was greatly harassed, especially in the narrow passes between *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, by flying parties of the enemy; but more for want of provisions, the country being all about laid waste by the king's troops; insomuch, that *Lucullus*, having lost almost all his beasts of burden, was obliged to take along with the army thirty thousand *Galatians*, each of them carrying a sack of corn on his back. At last he gained the plains of *Pontus*, a rich country, and so stored with all manner of provisions, that an ox was sold in the camp for a drachma, and every thing else as cheap in proportion. *Lucullus* having refreshed his soldiers, and finding no army of the king's in the field, divided his forces, and at the same time invested *Amisus*, a very strong town; *Eupatoria*, which *Mithridates* had built and made the place of his residence, and *Themiscyra*, situated on the banks of the river *Thermodoon*; *Eupatoria* was soon taken; but *Themiscyra* made a vigorous resistance. The townsmen galled the *Romans* with their engines to such a degree, that not daring to approach the walls openly, they contented themselves with undermining them; but in this also they met with no small difficulty from the enemy, who often engaged them under ground, and let into their mines bears and other wild beasts, with swarms of bees, which obliged them to abandon their works; however, the town was at last obliged to surrender for want of provisions, and the hard duty, which the *Romans* had undergone with great chearfulness, was rewarded with a rich booty. As for the city of *Amisus*, *Lucullus* himself sat down before it; but as the town was very strong in itself, and defended by a numerous garison, the flower of the king's troops, he thought it advisable to spare his men, and reduce it by famine; and on this occasion it was that the *Romans* first complained of their general, as if he spun out the war, on purpose to be continued in the command of the army; which charge, as we shall afterwards see, was not quite groundless. While he lay before *Amisus*, *Mithridates* advancing to *Cabira*, a city not far distant from *Amisus*, was there joined by forty thousand foot and four thousand horse. *Lucullus* hearing of the king's approach, left *Murena*, the son of that *Murena* whom *Sylla* had appointed prætor of *Asia*, with two legions to continue the siege, and marched himself with the rest of the army thro' the mountains to meet the king (G). *Mithridates* had placed one *Phanix* of the blood royal with a considerable body in the narrow passes, injoining him to give notice

[z] Memn. c. 43 & 49. Appian. p. 223. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. Eutrop. l. vi.

[a] Plut. ubi supra. Memn. c. 45.

(F) *Lamachus* was the chief magistrate of *Heraclea*; but being bribed with a large sum, promised to deliver up the city to *Mithridates*; and accordingly having invited the citizens to a very magnificent entertainment without the walls of the town, while they were in the height of their revels, privately acquainted *Mithridates*, that the gates were open, and none of the citizens in a condition to oppose him. The king arrived the same night, and entering the city without opposition, secured it with a garison of four thousand men, under the command of *Connacorix*, an officer of great experience. Next day he summoned the magistrates, and in a friendly manner encouraged them to stand by him, since he had no other design in what he had done but to protect them against the *Romans* (45).

(G) *Tully*, in his oration for this *Murena*, tells us, that he was legate to *Lucullus* during the *Mithridatic* war, that he led armies, fought battles, defeated the enemy's forces, besieged and took many towns; that he so behaved himself in *Asia*, at that time a rich country, and greatly corrupted with luxury, as not to betray the least inclination to avarice or luxury; and that he performed many noble exploits without the general's assistance, but no general none without his (46).

(45) *Memn. c.* 44.

(46) *Cic. pro Murena.*

notice by fires of the approach of *Lucullus*, and defend the ſtraits till he came up with
a his whole army to relieve him; but *Phœnix* was ſo far from oppoſing *Lucullus*, that
he joined him; however, the king, being by other parties informed of the enemy's
motions, paſſed the river *Lycus*, and meeting *Lucullus* in the champain country,
proffered him battle, which he declined at firſt, but was ſoon after drawn to a general
engagement of the horſe, wherein the *Romans* were driven back to the mountains
with conſiderable loſs, *Pompeius*, or, as ſome call him, *Pomponius*, general of their
horſe, being taken, and many officers of great diſtinction killed on the ſpot (H).
Mithridates, fluſhed with this ſucceſs, drew up his army in battalia for ſeveral days
ſucceſſively; but finding that *Lucullus* kept on the mountains, he began to make the
neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching up to him; which *Lucullus* fearing decamped
b in the night-time, and being conducted by one *Apollodorus* a *Greek*, whom he found
with others of the ſame nation concealed in a cave, got through the mountains, and
by break of day pitched his camp on a riſing ground near the city of *Cabira*, where
he well knew the enemy could not force him to an engagement [b]. *Mithridates* fol-
lowed him, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance; but thought it adviſeable not to
attack him in his camp. While both armies were in this poſture, a party from the
king's camp paſſing cloſe to that of the *Romans* in purſuit of a deer, ſome *Roman*
ſoldiers running out, ſtopped their chace. This bred a quarrel, and many flocking
from both camps to relieve their companions, the *Romans* were forced to give way;
c which *Lucullus* obſerving, went out alone to meet them, and having ſtopped the
foremoſt in the flight, marched back with them againſt the enemy, whom he put
to flight, and purſued to the very camp, fighting himſelf the whole time in the firſt
rank. On his return to the camp, he ſtripped thoſe who had fled of their arms, and
commanded them, according to his cuſtom, to dig a trench twelve foot wide, the
reſt of the army ſtanding by and looking on [c].

But now proviſions grew very ſcarce in the *Roman* camp, which obliged *Lucul-*
lus to divide his army, and detach great parties into *Cappadocia*, the only place from
whence he could have ſupplies. *Taxiles* and *Diophantus*, two of the king's generals,
were encamped on the frontiers of that country, in order to cut off its communica-
d tion with the *Romans*. Theſe ſuffered *Adrianus* with a conſiderable body of foot to
enter *Cappadocia*, in hopes of intercepting him and the convoys on his return; which
they might eaſily have done, had they fallen upon him in the plain country; but as
they attacked him in the ſtraits of the mountains, where there was no room for their
horſe to engage, they were utterly routed, firſt on the mountains, and then in the
plains, where there enſued a bloody engagement, the *Romans* being reinforced with
a freſh body from the camp, and the king's men fighting with great courage and
reſolution, till their commanders diſheartened them by their flight. The king,
upon the news of this defeat, reſolved to break up his camp and retire, not queſtion-
e ing but *Lucullus*, upon the return of his troops, would attack him. This reſolution
he no ſooner imparted to his nobles, but they began privately to ſend away their moſt
valuable goods; which the ſoldiers finding out, and taking it unkindly that no notice
had been given them, plundered their baggage, and put thoſe that eſcorted them
to the ſword. On this occaſion *Dorylaus*, one of the king's generals, was killed
for a purple garment which he wore, and *Hermæus*, a famous ſoothſayer, trod to
death in the crowd. After this the ſoldiers betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, *Mithridates, being forſaken by his army, retires into* Armenia.
crowding out of the gates in the utmoſt confuſion; which the king perceiving, haſten-
ed to ſtop their flight; but no one ſhewing him the leaſt reſpect, he was carried
away with the crowd, and falling down, was very near being trod to death [d] in the
f throng. Being thus forſaken by his army, he retired with a ſmall retinue, firſt to
Cabira, and thence into *Armenia* to *Tigranes* his ſon-in-law (I), and not into *Iberia*,
as

[b] Plut. Appian. ubi ſupra. [c] Plut. ubi ſupra. [d] Plut. ubi ſupra.

(H) *Pompeius* being brought to *Mithridates* dangerouſly wounded, the king aſked him, whether he would become his friend, if he granted him his life? *Pompeius* anſwered, that he ſhould be his friend, if he concluded a peace with the people of *Rome*; but if he perſiſted to make war upon them, he ſhould continue to be his enemy. This anſwer provoked the barbarians to ſuch a degree, that they would have cut him in pieces, had not the king protected him, ſaying, that he would not ſuffer cruelty to be practiſed upon valour, merely becauſe unfortunate (47).

(I) *Appian* ſays, that he fled firſt to the mountains, and thence through by-ways into *Armenia*. *Plutarch* writes, that he was carried out of the camp by the throng, and that one *Ptolemy* an eu-
nuch

(47) *Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra.*

as is falsely related by *Josephus* [e]. *Lucullus* having at the same time received news of the victory of his parties, and of the disorderly flight of the enemy, sent the best part of his horse to pursue them, and himself marched against those, who not having time to make their escape, had remained in the camp, and had put themselves in a posture of defence. These he surrounded with his legions, but most of them made their escape, the *Romans* being busied, contrary to the general's orders, in plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty. Having taken the camp, *Lucullus* made what haste he could in pursuit of the king, who being overtaken by a company of *Galatians*, caused a mule loaded with part of his treasures to be driven in amongst them, and made his escape while they were intent upon the booty, and quarrelling among themselves [f] (K) about the division of the spoils. *Mithridates* remembering in his flight, that he had left his sisters, wives and concubines at *Pharnacia*, dispatched *Bacchus*, or *Bacchides*, an eunuch, with orders to put them all to death, lest they should fall into the enemies hands; which was done accordingly (L).

The cities of Pontus *submit to* Lucullus.

Lucullus, finding it was in vain to pursue *Mithridates* any farther, returned to his camp, and thence marched against the city of *Cabira*, which surrendered upon conditions. The example of *Cabira* was followed by most of the strong holds of *Pontus*, the king's governors flocking from all parts to tender their service to the conqueror. Among these was the grand-father of *Strabo* the geographer, whom the king had disobliged, by putting to death *Tibias*, his cousin-german, and his son *Theophilus*. He was a man of such credit, that it was no sooner heard he had abandoned the king's party, but fifteen other commanders delivered up to *Lucullus* the places which they had been intrusted with [g]. And thus was *Pontus*, hitherto inaccessible to any enemy, laid open to the *Roman* legions [h] (M). At the same time *Triarius*, who was sent, as we have mentioned above, to intercept the king's fleet, obtained a complete victory near the island of *Tenedos*, where he either took or sunk sixty ships, whereby the great fleet which the king had brought with him into *Asia* was intirely destroyed.

Cotta was all this time employed in the siege of *Heraclea*, and had made but small progress. He made several assaults; but was always repulsed with great loss. His engines did no execution on the walls, which so incensed him, that he caused most of them to be burnt, and the engineer who contrived them to be put to death. After this, leaving part of his army before the town, to prevent their receiving any supplies, he encamped in the *Lycæan* fields, a plentiful country, with a design to refresh his army, and return before the town, which was now reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and on account of the intestine quarrels between the townsmen and the garison. Having refreshed his soldiers, he returned to the siege; but found the town plentifully supplied by sea with all manner of necessaries, and in a better condition to hold out a long siege than it was when he first invested it. Hereupon, despairing ever to reduce it alone, he sent orders to *Triarius* to assist him with his fleet,

[e] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 24. [f] MEMN. c. 46. PLUT. & APPIAN. ubi supra. [g] STRABO, l. xii. p. 557. [h] CIC. pro lege Manilia & pro Archia.

much seeing him tossed to and fro in the croud, with manifest danger of his life, proffered him his horse, and thereby enabled him to make his escape before *Lucullus* came up (48).

(K) Of the king's escape *Tully* writes thus: *Mithridates*, in his flight out of *Pontus*, left behind a great deal of gold and silver, part whereof he had received of his ancestors, and part raked together during his first war in *Asia*, and carried into his own kingdom. While our men were busied in the plunder, the king slipt out of their hands.

(L) When *Bacchus* acquainted them with his commission, *Monima*, one of the king's wives, by birth a *Milesian*, attempted to dispatch herself with the bands of her diadem; but they soon breaking, she threw down the diadem, and treading on it, said, *O! thou cursed diadem, art thou not serviceable even for this use?* and then presented her bare neck to *Bacchides*. *Berenice*, another of his wives, and her mother, ended their days by a dose of poison, as did the king's two sisters, *Roxana* and *Statira*. *Roxana*, before she took the potion, inveighed against her brother with many curses and reproaches; but *Statira*, with many kind expressions, thanked her brother for the regard he had shewn for them, in taking care, while himself was in great danger, that they should die free, and by their death prevent the dishonourable treatment which they had reason to expect from a proud and insulting enemy (49).

(M) *Mithridates*, in a letter to *Arsaces*, puts this varnish upon his flight: "I recruited my army, "says he, at *Cabira*, and after many sharp engage- "ments between the *Romans* and me, we were "both distressed for want of provisions. The *Ro-* "*mans* were supplied by *Ariobarzanes* king of "*Cappadocia*; but I was obliged to retire into *Ar-* "*menia*, the whole country where I was encamped "being laid waste by the enemies and my own "forces (50)."

(48) *Appian, ubi supra. Memn. c.* 46. (49) *Plut. ubi supra.* (50) *Sallust. l.* iv. *histor.*

fleet, and block up the city by ſea, as he had done by land. *Triarius* was very willing to undertake this taſk, being now quite diſengaged; and having on his firſt arrival defeated the *Heraclean* fleet, brought the town in a few months to ſuch ſtraits, that the third part of the gariſon died for hunger; whereupon *Conacorix*, governor of the place, reſolved to purchaſe his own ſafety at the expence of the townſmen, and marching out in the night-time, as he had agreed with *Triarius*, delivered one of the gates to the *Romans*, who, entering the city ſword in hand, exerciſed all manner of cruelty on the abandoned and helpleſs inhabitants. *Cotta*, who lay encamped at ſome diſtance from the city, hearing it was taken and plundered by *Triarius*, (for *Conacorix* had not imparted his deſign to him, knowing he was a man not to be relied on) flew into a paſſion at ſeeing himſelf bereaved both of the rich booty, and the glory of reducing a place which had kept him employed two whole years, and marching in all haſte to the city, fell upon the *Romans* who were buſy in plundering, which would have occaſioned a great deal of blood-ſhed, had not *Triarius* interpoſed, and put an end to the ſcuffle, by promiſing *Cotta* and his men an equal ſhare of the booty. *Conacorix*, after marching out of *Heraclea*, to conceal his treachery, ſeized on two forts belonging to the *Romans*, *Teium* and *Amaſtus*; which *Triarius* being ſent to recover, *Cotta*, in his abſence, plundered the city anew, rifled and ſtripped the temples, which the other had ſpared, put all the citizens he could meet to the ſword, and having ſecured on board of his ſhips all the ſtatues, pictures, gold and ſilver veſſels of the temples, all the rich furniture of the private houſes, and whatever elſe was worth carrying away, for his laſt farewel commanded his ſoldiers to ſet fire to the city in ſeveral places, which in a ſhort time reduced it to a heap of aſhes. Thus was *Heraclea*, one of the richeſt and moſt famous cities of *Pontus*, taken, after having held out a ſiege of two years [i]. *Conacorix* delivered the two places he had ſeized to *Triarius*, who ſuffered him to retire without moleſtation. And *Cotta*, having no further uſe for his troops, diſmiſſed the auxiliaries, reſigned the legions to *Lucullus*, and himſelf put to ſea with his fleet on his return to *Rome*; but he had ſcarce got out of the harbour, when part of his ſhips, being over-freighted with the ſpoils of the city, ſunk; and the others were by a violent north wind daſhed againſt the ſhore, which occaſioned the loſs of great part of the booty [k]. On his return to *Rome* he was highly applauded by the ſenate, and honoured with the title of *Ponticus*.

Heraclea *taken, and plundered.*

Lucullus having now reduced *Pontus*, marched againſt the *Chaldeans*, *Tibarenians*, and the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, who, of their own accord, ſubmitted, and put him in poſſeſſion of all their ſtrong holds. From *Armenia* he led his forces to the ſea-ſide, and returned before *Amiſus*, which ſtill held out, *Callimachus*, governor of the place, having haraſſed the *Romans* with engines of his own contriving to ſuch a degree, that they had given over aſſaulting the town, and contented themſelves with blocking it up by land, tho' the gariſon was at the ſame time ſupplied with all manner of proviſions by ſea. *Lucullus*, on his arrival, ſummoned the gariſon to ſurrender, and offered them very honourable terms; which they refuſing to comply with, after encouraging his ſoldiers, he made a general aſſault at the time when *Callimachus* uſed to draw off great part of his troops to give them ſome reſpite. The *Romans* applying their ſcaling ladders, got over the wall before *Callimachus* could come to the aſſiſtance of thoſe he had left to guard it; however, by ſetting the city on fire, he found means in that confuſion to make his eſcape. *Lucullus*, out of pity to the periſhing city, commanded part of his men to ſtand to their arms, and the others to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in quenching the fire; but the ſoldiers neglecting the houſes, ſaved only the furniture, and ſuch things as they could carry off, whereby the city was in great part deſtroyed, to the grief of *Lucullus* who deſigned to ſave it, and ſhew the ſame favour to the *Amiſians* that *Sylla* had done to the *Athenians*. The fire was at laſt quenched by a violent and unexpected ſhower; and *Lucullus* having, with much ado, reſtrained his ſoldiers from committing any further hoſtilities on the citizens, repaired the city in great meaſure before he left it, and ſuffered the inhabitants peaceably to enjoy their houſes and lands [l]. Some years after *Lucullus* having beſieged *Niſibis*, or, as the *Greeks* called it, *Antiochia Mygdonica*, defended likewiſe by *Callimachus*, under *Guras* brother to *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, would hearken to no conditions till *Callimachus* was delivered up to him; and having him in his power, revenged the deſtruction of *Amiſus* with death, notwithſtanding

Amiſus *taken.*

[i] Memn. c. 51, 53, 54. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Plut. ubi ſupra. & Memn. c. 47.

notwithstanding he offered to discover great sums of money concealed under ground, a if he would grant him his life [m].

And now *Lucullus* having reduced all *Pontus*, and made it a province of the *Roman* empire, and settled all *Asia* with excellent laws, sent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, embassador into *Armenia*, to demand of *Tigranes* the delivery of *Mithridates*, as belonging to his triumph; and, in case of refusal, to proclaim war against him. From the time *Mithridates* had sheltered himself in *Armenia*, *Tigranes* his son-in-law had promised to protect his person, and had not been wanting in any duties of hospitality; but could by no means ever be prevailed upon to see him, or treat with one who had lost so great a kingdom (N). To this embassy *Tigranes* replied, that he was far from approving the conduct of *Mithridates*; but however, as he was b so nearly related to him, the demand of the *Romans* seemed pretty extraordinary, neither could he with any reputation comply with it, since all the world would look upon him as a very mean-spirited prince, if he should, for fear of an enemy, deliver up to punishment his father-in law. Having with this answer dismissed the *Roman* embassador, he sent for *Mithridates*, and condescended to see him for the first time, after he had resided a year and eight months in his dominions. In a private conference held by the two kings, it was agreed, that *Tigranes* should march against the *Romans*, and *Mithridates* with ten thousand horse return into *Pontus*, and, levying there what forces he could, rejoin *Tigranes*, before *Lucullus*, who was then employed at the siege of *Sinope*, could enter *Armenia*; but in the mean time *Sinope* (O) having c surrendered, *Lucullus*, with all possible expedition, marched against *Tigranes*, and having drawn him to a general engagement, intirely defeated his army before he was joined by *Mithridates*, who heard the first news of this overthrow as he was marching with a considerable body to his assistance. Soon after he met *Tigranes* himself, flying with a small retinue to shelter himself in some remote corner of his kingdom. *Mithridates* encouraged him to raise new forces, not questioning but another campaign would repair all the former losses, provided he would commit to his charge the whole management of the war; which *Tigranes* agreeing to, as thinking him more fit to deal with the *Romans* than himself, orders were issued out for raising a numerous army, and all the *Armenians* able to bear arms summoned to meet at the place d of the general rendezvous. Out of these *Mithridates* chose seventy thousand foot and forty-five thousand horse, and having trained them up during the winter, after the *Roman* discipline, in the beginning of the spring he left part of them with *Tigranes*, and marched himself with the rest into *Pontus*, where he recovered many important

Tigranes *refuses to deliver up* Mithridates.

Is defeated by Lucullus.

[m] Plutarch. ubi supra. & Dio, l. xxxv.

(N) *Plutarch* says, that he received him with great scorn and contempt, and confined him to a barren and unwholesome country (51). But *Memnon* assures us, that he assigned him one of his castles for his residence, a princely table, and a retinue suitable to his former condition, tho' he could never be induced to admit him to his presence (52).

(O) *Sinope* was held by a body of *Cilicians* of the king's party, commanded by one *Cleochares*, as *Orosius* calls him, or *Bacchis*, as *Strabo* names him. *Cleochares* finding the city reduced to great straits, massacred most of the citizens, plundered the city, and set it on fire, retiring in the night-time with the spoils to the inner part of *Pontus*, inhabited by the *Sanegians* and *Lazians*. *Lucullus* observing the town all in a flame, and not doubting but the *Cilicians* had abandoned it, commanded the soldiers to scale the walls; and having entered the town without opposition, put the sword eight thousand of the king's party, who had not had time to embarque with the others. The fire was with much ado quenched by the *Romans*, and the citizens not only spared, but, as they were well-affected to the republic, restored to the quiet possession of their lands and houses, and declared a free people (53). *Plutarch* and *Appian* inform us, that *Lucullus* was moved by a vision to shew so great favour to the city of *Sinope*; for as he was sleeping, say they, in his tent, one appearing to him, spoke these words; *Go forward*, Lucullus, *for* Autolychus *is coming to meet you*. When he awaked, he observed the city in a flame; and tho' he did not understand the meaning of the words he had heard, yet he advanced to the walls; and having taken the city, found on the shore, whither he pursued the *Cilicians*, a statue of exquisite workmanship, carefully wrapped up, and bound with cords, which the enemy had not been able to ship off, as they intended to do, had not *Lucullus*, awaked by this vision, pursued them so close. When the statue was unfolded, *Lucullus* was not a little surprised to find it resembling in every feature the person that had appeared to him in his dream; and upon examination learnt, that it was the statue of *Autolychus* founder of *Sinope*. When *Lucullus* heard this, he recollected, say our authors, what *Sylla* had left in his commentaries, *viz.* that nothing is more certain, or more to be relied upon, than dreams (54). This statue, which was the work of *Sthenides*, *Lucullus* carried along with him, and a curious sphere made by *Billarus*. All other ornaments and things of value he restored to their lawful owners.

(51) *Plut. ubi supra.* (52) *Memn. c.* 48. *Oros. l.* vi. (53) *Memn. c.* 56. *Plut. Appian. ubi supra.* (54) *Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.*

tant places, and overcame in a pitched battle *M. Fabius*, whom *Lucullus* had appointed governor of that province (P) [n]. Being flushed with this success, as soon as the wounds he received in the engagement suffered him to move, he pursued *Fabius*, and besieged him in the city of *Cabira*, whither he had retired; but in the mean time *Triarius*, who was marching out of *Asia* to join *Lucullus*, hearing what distress the *Romans* were in, hastened to their relief, and appearing unexpectedly on the neighbouring hills, struck such terror into the enemy, that they raised the siege, and made the best of their way into *Cappadocia*. *Triarius* pursued them, and got so near them as to be parted only by a river. Here he halted, with a design to pass the river after he had allowed his men some rest; for they were tired out with long
b marches. But *Mithridates* was before-hand with him, and crossing the river on a bridge, where he had placed a strong guard, attacked the *Romans* with great reso-
lution, before they had time to refresh themselves. The battle was bloody, and the event doubtful, till the bridge breaking down with the weight of the multitude that passed, the king's troops who had engaged, relying chiefly on their numbers, began to lose courage, seeing they could receive no further assistance; and the *Romans* charging them with fresh vigour, they betook themselves to a precipitate flight. After this engagement, as winter came on, both armies were glad to retire to their winter-quarters [o].

Mithridates defeated by Triarius.

During the winter *Mithridates* raised new forces, and having received consider-
c able supplies from *Tigranes*, took the field early in the spring, in hopes of driving the *Romans* quite out of *Pontus*, before *Lucullus*, who had work enough on his hands in *Armenia*, could come to their assistance. With this view he marched straight against *Triarius* and *Sornatius*, to whom *Lucullus* had committed the care and defence of that province; and finding them encamped near the city of *Gaziursa*, proffered them battle; which they declining, he sent a strong detachment to besiege a castle where the *Romans* had left all their baggage, hoping they would rather venture an engagement to relieve the place, than lose all they had got with so much toil and labour during the war; neither was he disappointed in his hopes, for tho' *Triarius* was for keeping close in his camp till the arrival of *Lucullus*, whom he daily expected,
d having acquainted him with his danger, the soldiers hearing that the castle was besieged, declared in a tumultuous manner, that if he did not lead them, they would march to the relief of the place without his leave. *Triarius* being thus forced, not by the enemy, but his own men, to fight, drew out his forces against the king, whose army was three times his number; but while they were upon the point of engaging, both armies were by a violent storm forced to retire to their respective camps; but *Triarius* receiving that very day intelligence of the approach of *Lucullus*, and fearing he would snatch the victory out of his hands, resolved to make a bold push, and next morning by break of day attack the king in his camp. If he conquered, the glory, he thought, would be intirely his own; if he were overcome, the enemy could reap
e no great advantage from his victory, *Lucullus* being at hand with a powerful army. The king, in that surprise, putting himself at the head of a few troops of his guards, sustained the brunt of the *Romans*, till the rest of his army drawing up, came to his relief, and attacked the enemy with such fury, that the *Roman* foot was forced to give way, and was driven into a morass, where they were surrounded, and great numbers of them cut in pieces. Their horse were likewise put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter, till a *Roman* centurion in the king's service, pitying his countrymen, attempted to kill him. The king's life was saved by his breast-plate; but as he received a deep wound in the thigh, he was obliged to give over the pursuit, himself,

The Romans defeated by Mithridates.

[n] Dio, & Appian. ubi supra.

[o] Dio, & Appian. ubi supra.

(P) This victory he gained by the treachery of the *Thracians* that served under *Fabius*, and of the slaves that followed the *Roman* camp; for *Fabius* marching carelessly and in disorder, upon the report of some *Thracian* scouts, that the king was at a great distance, fell in with him unawares; and at the same time the *Thracians* revolting, he was obliged to retire with the loss of five hundred men. In his retreat the slaves, who were very numerous in the *Roman* camp, being inticed by *Mithridates* with hopes of their liberty and great rewards, fell unexpectedly on the *Romans*, who would have been all cut in pieces, had not the king himself fallen from his horse, having received two dangerous wounds, one on the knee with a stone, the other under his eye with a dart; for while the enemy were busy in carrying him off, the *Romans*, laying hold of that opportunity, retired unmolested (55).

(55) *Dio, & Appian. ubi supra.*

himſelf, and thoſe that were about him cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, which, as a it was unexpected, occaſioned a great confuſion in the whole army. The centurion was immediately cut in pieces; but the *Roman* horſe in the mean time getting the ſtart of the enemy, found means to make their eſcape. Above ſeven thouſand of the *Romans* were killed in that battle, and among them one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes, the greateſt number of officers that had been loſt in any engagement to that day. *Mithridates* being cured of his wound, that he might not for the future be expoſed to ſuch dangers, cauſed all the *Romans* that ſerved in his army to be formed into one body, as if they were to be ſent out on a party, and then ordered them to retire to their tents, where they were all to a man cut in pieces [p] (Q).

The Romans *mutiny againſt* Lucullus.

b THE king, however elated with ſucceſs, yet would not engage *Lucullus*; but with long marches haſtened into *Armenia Minor*, and encamped upon a hill near the town of *Talura*, expecting *Tigranes*, who was advancing with a ſtrong army to join him. *Lucullus*, in purſuit of *Mithridates*, marched over the field of battle, leaving thoſe unburied who had fallen in the engagement, which was the firſt thing that alienated the minds of the ſoldiery from him [q]; who began to be very mutinous, being ſtirred up by *Appius Claudius*, whom *Lucullus* had turned out of his command for his vile behaviour, notwithſtanding he was nearly related to him, *Lucullus* having married his ſiſter. The diſcontent that prevailed in the army came to ſuch a height, that *Lucullus* was obliged to lie ſtill in his camp all that ſummer, the ſoldiers declare- c ing in a mutinous manner, that they would not follow him any longer, nor ſerve under a general who refuſed to ſhare the booty with them, taxing thereby *Lucullus* with covetouſneſs; which charge was not altogether groundleſs, for he amaſſed immenſe riches during that war, and was ſuſpected at *Rome* of ſpinning it out, that he might be continued in the government of *Aſia*. Theſe complaints, and the general diſcontent that reigned in the army, obliged the ſenate to recal *Lucullus*, and appoint *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, conſul of that year, in his room. *Glabrio* arriving in *Bithynia*, gave notice by public criers to all the cities, that the ſenate had diſcharged *Lucullus* and his army, and confiſcated his goods for protracting the war, and refuſing to comply with their injunctions. Hereupon *Lucullus* was abandoned by the greater d part of his army, and forced to retire into *Galatia*, not being in a condition to make head againſt the joint forces of the two kings, who, laying hold of that opportunity, recovered the beſt part of *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia Minor*; for tho' *Glabrio* had haſtened into *Pontus*, as if he intended to engage the enemy, and rob *Lucullus* of the victory, yet, upon the firſt news of the approach of the two kings, he thought fit to retire, and leave the country open on all ſides to the enemy. When this was heard at *Rome*, a law was enacted there by *C. Manilius*, a tribune of the people, whereby the management of the war againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* was committed to *Pompey*, and likewiſe the provinces of *Cilicia*, then under *Quintus Marcius*, and of *Bithynia*, under *Glabrio*. By the ſame law he was continued in that un- e limited power by ſea, with which he was inveſted when he was firſt ſent out againſt the pirates of *Cilicia* [r] (R). In virtue of this law, *Pompey*, who had juſt then ended the war

Pompey *appointed to ſucceed* Lucullus.

[p] Appian. Plut. Dio, ubi ſupra. [q] Plut. in Lucullo. [r] Dio, l. xxxvi. Liv. lib. c. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 33. Plut. in Pomp.

(Q) *Appian* ſays, that this battle happened near mount *Scotius*, a place, ſays he, ever memorable for the victory of *Mithridates*, and defeat of the *Romans* (56). *Hirtius* likewiſe, in his commentaries on the war of *Alexandria*, mentions this overthrow of the *Romans*, and tells us, that it happened at a place about three miles diſtant from the town of *Zela* in *Pontus*. *Tully*, in his oration for the *Manilian* law, which he pronounced about half a year after that misfortune befel the *Roman* army, ſpeaks of it thus: "The army was courageous and victo- "rious; but *Mithridates* fell upon them. Suffer "me in this place, like thoſe who write of the "*Roman* affairs, to paſs over in ſilence the misfor- "tunes, which were ſo great, that *Lucullus* received "not the tidings of them by any meſſenger from "the fight, but by common fame and report." And in another place of the ſame oration, "Having received that overthrow in *Pontus*, ſays he, "which I put you in mind of againſt my will, our "friends and allies being terrified, the power and "courage of our enemies increaſed, and the pro- "vince having no ſtrength to rely upon, *Aſia* had "been loſt, O *Romans*, had not fortune, in that "critical juncture of time, brought *Pompey*, as it "were from heaven, to the relief of thoſe coun- "tries. His preſence ſtopped *Mithridates*, tho' "ſwelled with ſucceſs, and deterred *Tigranes* from "invading *Aſia*, which he threatened with a power- "ful army (56).

(R) *Livy* obſerves, that this law paſſed againſt the will of the nobility, who thought it a manifeſt injury to *Lucullus*, that one ſhould be appointed to ſucceed him, not ſo much in the war, as in the triumph,

(56) *Appian. p.* 254. (57) *Cic. in orat. pro lege Manil.*

war with the *Cilician* pirates, took upon him the command of the army, and directed
a all the allies of the *Roman* people to join him with all possible expedition; but before
he took the field, he renewed the alliance which *Sylla* and *Lucullus* had concluded
with *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*, and then sent friendly proposals to *Mithridates*,
who at first seemed inclined to give ear to them, and accordingly dispatched an em-
bassador to the *Roman* army to treat of a peace. *Pompey* required of him to lay
down his arms, if he was in earnest, and deliver up to him all those who had revolted
from the *Romans* during the war. This demand was no sooner bruited abroad in
the king's camp, but the deserters, who were very numerous in the king's army,
betaking themselves to their arms, threatened to put *Mithridates* himself to death,
b and would have occasioned a great disturbance, had not the king appeased the
growing tumult, by assuring them, that he had sent embassadors not to treat of a
peace, but only to take, under pretence of suing for peace, a view of the enemy's
strength. He moreover obliged himself, by a solemn oath in the presence of the
whole army, never to enter into any treaty of friendship with the *Romans*, nor to
deliver up to them such as had ever served under him [s]. *Pompey*, finding his propo-
sals rejected, advanced against the king with an army of thirty thousand foot and
twenty thousand horse, as *Plutarch* [t] writes, or thirty thousand, as we read in *Appian* [u],
all chosen troops; for he discharged most of those who had served under *Glabrio* and
Lucullus. As he entered *Galatia*, he was met by *Lucullus*, who endeavoured to per-
c suade him to march back, the war being near finished, and even deputies sent by the
republic to settle the province of *Pontus*; but not being able to prevail with him,
after mutual complaints against each other, they parted; and *Pompey* removing his
camp, commanded the troops that were with *Lucullus* to join him, except one thou-
sand six hundred, whom he left to attend *Lucullus* in his triumph. From thence
Lucullus set out for *Rome*, where he was received by the senate with great marks of
esteem, most men thinking him highly injured by the authors of the *Manilian* law.
Pompey pursued his march into *Pontus*; but finding that he could not by any means
draw the king to a battle, he marched back into *Armenia Minor*, with a design either
to reduce that province, or oblige *Mithridates* to venture a battle in order to relieve
d it. *Mithridates* followed him at some distance, and entering *Armenia*, encamped on
a hill over-against the *Romans*, and by intercepting their convoys, reduced them to
such distress, that they were obliged to remove to a more convenient place, the king
cutting off many in their rear, and harassing them with frequent attacks, till he fell
into an ambuscade laid by *Pompey*, whose personal courage and prudent conduct on
that occasion confirmed the king in his resolution not to hazard a general engage-
ment. The two armies encamped again over-against each other, *Pompey* on one hill,
and the king on another, near the city of *Dastira*, in the province of *Acisilene*, at a
small distance from the *Euphrates*, which divides *Acisilene* from *Armenia Minor* [w].
Here *Pompey*, seeing he could neither draw the king to a battle, not force his camp,
e which was pitched on a steep and craggy mountain, began to block him up with a
ditch, which he carried round the bottom of the hill where the king was encamped,
and meeting with no opposition, finished his work, and quite cut off the enemy's
communication with the country. *Pompey* was amazed to see the king thus tamely
suffer himself to be shut up, and could not help saying, that he was either a fool or a
great coward; a fool, if he did not apprehend the danger he was in; a coward, if,
being apprised of it, he did not, to the utmost of his power, prevent it. By this
ditch, which was one hundred and fifty furlongs in circuit, and defended by many
forts raised at small distances from each other, the king was so closely besieged,
that he could neither send out parties to forage, nor receive the supplies that came
to

Mithridates *rejects* Pompey's *proposals.*

[s] Dio, ubi supra. & Appian. [t] Plut. in Pomp. [u] Appian. p. 238. [w] Plut. ubi supra.

triumph, and to take possession of the spoils, rather than to carry on a war; besides, the senate was unwilling to recal *Marcius* and *Glabrio* from their governments, before the time, for which they had been given, was expired. But what gave them the greatest uneasiness was, the extensive and uncontrouled power which by this law was vested in *Pompey*, the command of all the armies out of *Italy* being conferred upon him. When news was brought to *Pompey* that this law had passed, he is said to have complained, as if the people of *Rome* had laid too great a burden on him; whereas every one knew that the law had been proposed by *Manilius* at his instigation, and that his main aim was to have all the power in his own hands (58).

(58) *Plut. in Pomp.* *Dio, l.* xxxvi.

to him from *Pontus*. He was thus beſieged for the ſpace of forty-five or fifty days, a and his army reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that having conſumed all their proviſions, they were at laſt forced to live on their dead horſes. Hereupon *Mithridates* reſolved, at all events, to break through the *Roman* fortifications; and accordingly, having put to the ſword all thoſe that were ſick or diſabled, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, he attacked in the dead of the night the *Roman* guards, and having overpowered them with his numbers, got ſafe into the open fields, and continued his march all night toward *Armenia Major*, where he was expected by *Tigranes*. *Pompey*, next morning by break of day, purſued the enemy with his whole army, and having with much ado overtaken them, found the king encamped on a hill, to which there was but one aſcent, and that guarded by a ſtrong body of foot. The *Romans* b encamped over-againſt them; but *Pompey*, fearing the king ſhould make his eſcape in the night-time, privately decamped, and taking the ſame rout the enemies were to hold in order to gain *Armenia*, poſſeſſed himſelf of all the eminences and defilees through which the king was to paſs. *Mithridates* thinking that *Pompey* was returned to his former camp, purſued his march, and, about the duſk of the evening, entered a narrow valley, which was ſurrounded on all ſides by ſteep hills. On theſe hills the *Romans* lay concealed, expecting the ſignal to fall upon the enemy, and attack them on all ſides at once, while they were tired with their march, and ſeemingly, as they had ſent out no ſcouts, in great ſecurity (S). *Pompey* was at firſt for putting off the attack till the next morning, thinking it not ſafe to engage in the night-time among c ſuch ſteep and craggy mountains; but was at laſt prevailed upon, by the earneſt prayers and intreaties of all the chief officers of his army, to fall upon the enemy that very night. In was therefore agreed, that, in the dead of the night, all the trumpets ſhould at once ſound the charge, that this ſignal ſhould be followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army, and that the ſoldiers ſhould make what noiſe they could by ſtriking their ſpears againſt the braſs veſſels that were uſed in the camp. The king's army, at this ſudden and unexpected noiſe, which was echoed again by the mountains, imagined at firſt that the gods themſelves were come down from heaven to deſtroy them; and the *Romans* charging them on all ſides with ſhowers of ſtones and arrows from the tops of the hills, they betook themſelves to a d precipitate flight; but finding all the paſſes beſet with ſtrong bodies of horſe and foot, were forced to fly back into the valley, where, for many hours together, they were expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, without being able, in that confuſion, either to attack them, or defend themſelves. They attempted indeed to make ſome reſiſtance when the moon roſe; but the *Romans* running down upon them from the hills, did not give them time to draw up, and the place was ſo narrow, that they had not room even to make uſe of their ſwords (T). The king loſt on that occaſion ten thouſand men according to *Appian*, but forty thouſand according to *Eutropius* and others [x]. On *Pompey*'s ſide there fell between twenty and thirty private men and two centurions. *Mithridates*, at the head of eight hundred horſe, broke thro' the *Roman* e army, and being, after this effort, abandoned by all the reſt, becauſe they were cloſely purſued by the enemy, he travelled all night, attended by three perſons only, *viz.* his wife, or, as *Plutarch* calls her, his concubine, by name *Hypſicratia*, his daughter *Driſetine*, and an officer. At day-break he fell in with a body of mercenary horſe and three thouſand foot, who were marching to join him. By theſe he was eſcorted to the caſtle of *Sinoria*, ſituated on the borders of the two *Armenias*. As great part of his treaſures were lodged here, he rewarded very liberally thoſe who accompanied him in his flight, and taking ſix thouſand talents, withdrew into *Armenia*. As

Pompey *attacks* Mithridates *in the night.*

And gains a complete victory.

[x] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 239, 240. Eutrop. l. vi. Dio, l. xxxvi. Plut. ubi ſupra.

(S) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Mithridates*, retiring to his pavilion to take ſome repoſe after his march, was by a dream forewarned of the misfortune that befel him; for he ſeemed to be ſailing with a fair wind in the *Pontic* ſea, and to diſcover with great joy the *Boſphorus*, when all on a ſudden he found himſelf ſhipwrecked, and caſt on an abandoned and inhoſpitable ſhore. While he was in this perplexity, his generals ruſhed into the tent, and acquainted him that *Pompey* was at hand, which gave him great uneaſineſs, tho' he did not at that time communicate his dream to any of his moſt intimate friends (59).

(T) *Florus*, *Plutarch*, and *Eutropius* tell us, that as the *Romans* advanced, the moon ſhining on their backs, and becauſe ſhe was then in her wane, making their ſhadows appear mighty long, the enemy thereby judging of their nearneſs, diſcharged their darts againſt their ſhadows, and gave the *Romans* an opportunity of attacking them unarmed (60).

(59) *Plut. in Pomp.* (60) *Flor. l.* iii. *Eutrop. l.* vi. *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

a As soon as he entered the borders, he dispatched embassadors to *Tigranes*, acquainting him with his arrival; but that prince, who was then on the point of concluding a separate peace with the *Romans*, clapt his embassadors in irons, pretending that his son *Tigranes* had, at the instigation of *Mithridates*, revolted first to the *Parthians* and then to the *Romans*. *Mithridates*, finding himself thus abandoned, even by his son-in-law, left *Armenia*, and directing his course towards *Colchis*, which was subject to him, and had not as yet been invaded by the *Romans*, passed the *Euphrates* the fourth day, and got safe into his own territories. *Pompey* sent out several parties in pursuit of the king; but remained himself with the main body of the army in the field of battle, where he built a city, calling it, from that remarkable victory, *Nicopolis*.

Mithridates *retires to* Colchis.

b This city, with the adjoining territory, he bestowed upon such of his soldiers as were old or disabled; and many flocking to it from the neighbouring countries it became, in a short time, a very considerable place [y]. This battle is by most of the *Roman* historians said to have been fought in the night-time (U), tho' *Appian*, and those that have copied after him, tell us, that it happened in the day-time. Be that as it will, it was certainly attended with very fatal consequences for *Mithridates*, who was forced, his army being intirely either cut off or dispersed, to abandon his own dominions, and fly for shelter to the most remote parts of *Scythia*. *Pompey*, having concluded a peace with *Tigranes*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, began his march in pursuit of *Mithridates*, through

c those countries that lie about mount *Caucasus*. The barbarous nations through which he passed, chiefly the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, attempted to stop his march; but were put to flight. However, he was obliged, by the excessive cold and deep roads, to pass the winter near the river *Cyrus*. Early in the spring he pursued his march; but meeting with great opposition from the *Iberians*, a warlike nation, and intirely devoted to *Mithridates*, he was employed most part of the summer in reducing them, we shall relate more at length in the history of that people. In the mean time *Mithridates*, who had wintered at *Dioscurias*, on the isthmus between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and had been joined there by such of his troops as had made their escape from the late unfortunate battle, continued his flight through the countries of the

Pompey *pursues him.*

d *Achæans*, *Zygians*, *Heniochians*, *Cercetans*, *Moschi* and *Colchians*. Of these nations some received him kindly, and even entered into an alliance with him; through others he was forced to make himself a way with his sword [z]. *Pompey* took the same rout, directing his course by the stars, especially in the northern parts of *Scythia*, and carrying with him even provision of water to supply the army in the vast deserts through which he marched. He spent two years in warring with these nations, and was often in danger of losing both his life and his army; but at last he overcame them all, and believing *Mithridates*, of whom he could have no account, to be dead, he marched back to *Armenia Minor*, where he allowed some rest to his soldiers, who were quite worn out with the hardships they had endured in that expedition [a]. Having

And subdues the Colchi, Albanians, *&c.*

e refreshed his army, he marched into *Pontus*, to reduce some strong holds, which were still garisoned by the king's troops. While he was at *Aspis* in *Pontus*, many of the king's concubines were brought to him; but he sent them all home to their parents, without offering them the least injury, and thereby gained the affection of the chief lords of *Pontus*, whose daughters they were. The strong castle of *Simphori* was delivered up to him by *Stratonice* one of the king's concubines, upon no other terms than that he would spare her son *Xiphares*, who was with the king, in case he should fall

[y] Appian. ubi supra. Strabo, l. xii. p. 555. Oros. l. vi. c. 4. Dio, l. xxxvi. [z] Liv. 101. Appian. p. 240. [a] Dio, l. xxxvii. Plut. in Pomp.

(U) *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Dio*, *Eutropius*, and *Orosius* (61) agree, that this memorable battle was fought in the night-time; but *Appian* (62) relates it as happening in the day-time, and after the following manner: Both armies, says he, were drawn up early in the morning, and some parties begining to skirmish among the rocks, some of the king's horse dismounting, hastened to the relief of their friends; but seeing the *Romans* supported by a body of cavalry, ran back for their horses, that they might so be a match for the enemy; but the *Pontics* that were encamped on the eminences, observing their companions running back in such a hurry, and apprehending that the enemy had entered the camp in some other part, betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and finding all the avenues possessed by the *Romans*, threw themselves headlong from the rocks. As they were thus disorder'd, and intangled among the rocks, it was easy for *Pompey* to perform the rest. He put ten thousand to the sword, made a great many prisoners, and took their camp with all their baggage and provisions. Thus *Appian*.

(61) *Ubi supra. Oros. l.* vi. *c.* 4. (62) *Appian. in Mithridatic. p.* 239, 240.

fall into his hands. She likewiſe diſcovered to him great treaſures hid under ground, a which he, with great generoſity, beſtowed upon her, reſerving for himſelf only ſome veſſels to ſet off his triumph [b]. Having taken another fort called the *New-Caſtle*, and to that time looked upon as impregnable, he found in it great ſtore of gold, ſilver, and other valuable things, which he afterwards conſecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Here in looking over the king's manuſcripts, he came to diſcover where the reſt of his treaſures were concealed, what troops he could raiſe and maintain, what ſums were yearly paid him by his ſubjects and tributaries, *&c.* whereby he could make a true eſtimate of his whole power and wealth [c]. Amongſt other manuſcripts he found ſome books of phyſic wrote by *Mithridates* himſelf, which he commanded *Lenæus*, a learned grammarian to tranſlate into *Latin* [d]. *Pompey*, having thus reduced all b *Pontus*, marched into *Syria*, with a deſign to recover that kingdom, and paſſing through *Arabia* to penetrate as far as the *Red-Sea*. But while he was employed in this expedition news was brought him, that *Mithridates*, whom he believed dead, had appeared unexpectedly in *Pontus* at the head of a conſiderable army, and ſurprized *Panticapæum*, a famous empory at the mouth of the *Euxine* ſea. He had lain all this time concealed in the territories of a *Scythian* prince adjoining to the *Palus Mæotis*; but hearing that *Pompey* had left *Pontus*, and was engaged in other wars, he ventured out of his hiding-place, reſolved either to recover his paternal kingdom, or die in the attempt. He returned privately into *Pontus*, and managed matters there ſo dexterouſly, that the *Roman* gariſons knew nothing of his arrival till he appeared with a c conſiderable army in the field. He advanced firſt to the caſtle of *Symphori*, and underſtanding that *Stratonice* had delivered it up to *Pompey* on condition he would ſave the life of her ſon in caſe he ſhould take him priſoner, the king immediately cauſed the youth, who was in his army, to be put to death, and his body to be left unburied, *Stratonice* beholding from the walls the cruel and unnatural murder, for he was her ſon by *Mithridates*, and had ſerved him with great fidelity. At the ſame time he ſent embaſſadors to *Pompey* to treat of a peace, offering to pay a yearly tribute to the republic on condition he reſtored him to his kingdom. *Pompey* replied, that he would hearken to no propoſals whatſoever without the king came to treat with him in perſon, as *Tigranes* had done. This *Mithridates* looked upon as no ways conſiſtent d with his dignity, and therefore laying aſide all thoughts of an accommodation, began to make what preparations he could for renewing the war. He ſummoned all his ſubjects that were able to bear arms to meet at an appointed place, and having choſen out of the whole multitude ſixty cohorts, each conſiſting of a hundred men, incorporated them with the regular troops that were already on foot. Being now in a condition to act offenſively, for *Pompey* had left but a ſmall number of troops in *Pontus*, he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Phanagorium*, *Cherſoneſus*, *Theudoſia*, *Nymphæum*, and ſeveral other important places. But in the mean time *Caſtor*, whom *Mithridates* had appointed governor of *Phanagorium*, falling out with *Tripho*, one of the king's favourite eunuchs, killed him, and dreading the king's reſentment, ſtirred up the inhabi- e tants to a revolt; and by this means *Phanagorium* was again loſt; but the caſtle which was defended by four of the king's ſons, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Oxathres*, held out for ſome time. The king haſtened to their relief; but the caſtle, being ſet on fire by the rebels, they were forced to ſurrender themſelves to *Caſtor* before his arrival. Theſe four ſons with one of the king's daughters, by name *Cleopatra*, *Caſtor* ſent to the *Romans*, and fortifying himſelf in the town, perſuaded moſt of the neighbouring cities, which were oppreſſed with heavy taxes, and ſtrangely haraſſed by the king's collectors, to join in the rebellion. *Mithridates*, finding that he could neither rely upon the ſoldiery, moſt of them being forced into the ſervice, nor on his other ſubjects, who were diſatisfied by reaſon of the exorbitant taxes, ſent embaſſa- f dors to invite the princes of *Scythia* to his relief, and with them his daughters to be beſtowed in marriage upon ſuch as ſhewed themſelves moſt inclined to aſſiſt him. But as the embaſſadors he employed on this occaſion were eunuchs, a race of men no leſs abhorred by the army than favoured by the king, over whom they had a great aſcendant, eſpecially in his old age, the ſoldiers, who were ſent to attend them on their journey, put them all to the ſword as ſoon as they were out of the king's reach, and delivered his daughters up to the *Romans*. *Mithridates* finding himſelf thus deprived of his children, betrayed by his army, and forſaken even by thoſe on whom he chiefly relied,

Mithridates *appears again at the head of a conſiderable army.*

And poſſeſſes himſelf of ſeveral important places.

[b] Plutarch. Appian. Dio, ubi ſupra. [c] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [d] Plin. l. xxv. c. 2.

a relied, could not yet be induced to submit to the *Romans*, though *Pompey* promised him honourable conditions provided he came to treat with him in person. In this desperate condition he left no stone unturned to stir up the princes of *Asia* against the *Romans*, especially the *Parthians*, but finding them awed by the great opinion they all had of *Pompey*, he had recourse at last to the *European Gauls*, whom he understood to be at war with the *Romans*; and having sent before some of his trusty friends to engage them in his favour, taking leave of his own kingdom, he began his long march, designing to pass through *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, *Scythia*, *Pannonia*, &c. and joining the *Gauls*, pass the *Alps*, and invade *Italy*. This design was no sooner known in the army, but the soldiers began openly to complain and mutiny, exaggerating the

The army mutinies against Mithridates.

b boldness of the attempt, the length of the march, and the unsurmountable difficulties that must necessarily attend such a desperate enterprize. The chief commanders did all that lay in their power to divert him from it, representing to him, that if he was not able to cope with the *Romans* in his own kingdom, much less would he be a match for them in *Italy* or *Gaul*, where they could daily receive new supplies, whereas he would lose the best part of his army in so long and difficult a march, and the rest perhaps in the first engagement, without any possibility of repairing the loss. But all was to no purpose, for they found him so unalterably fixed in his resolution, that he caused those to be put to death, who with most warmth remonstrated against it, not sparing even his own son *Exipodras* for dropping some unguarded

c expressions on that occasion[e]. Thus they were forced to let him pursue their own measures, till they found a more proper opportunity to oppose them, which soon after offered as they were encamped at *Bosphorus Cimmerius* on their march into *Scythia*. Here *Pharnaces*, the king's favourite son, whom he had appointed to succeed him, observing the general discontent that reigned in the army, began to entertain thoughts of placing the crown on his own head, and not doubting but the soldiery would stand by him, if he declared against the intended expedition into *Italy*, openly protested among the *Roman* deserters, who were a considerable part of the army, that if they would follow him, he would return into *Pontus*. The *Romans*, who were well apprised of the danger that attended such an undertaking, and had most of

His son revolts.

d all exclaimed against it, promised to support him to the utmost of their power, and even encouraged him, upon some expressions, which he purposely dropt, to assume the title of king, a title which his father seemed determined to hold till he had destroyed by his rash and desperate attempts himself, his friends, and his army. *Pharnaces*, finding he could depend on the *Romans*, engaged the same night most of the chief commanders in his party, and by their means the greater part of the soldiery. It was agreed that next morning by break of day all those who had declared in his favour should appear in arms, and with a loud shout proclaim *Pharnaces* king; which was done accordingly, and the shout returned even by those, whom *Pharnaces* had not thought fit to let into the secret. The king, who had taken up his quarters in

e the city, being awaked by the noise, sent out some of his domestics to know what had happened in the army. Neither did the officers or soldiers dissemble the matter, but boldly answered, that they had chosen a young king instead of an old dotard governed by eunuchs. Hereupon *Mithridates* mounting on horse-back, and attended by his guards, went out to appease the tumult; but his guards forsaking him, and his horse being killed under him, he was obliged to fly back into the city; from whence he sent several of his attendants one after another to desire of his son a safe conduct for himself and his friends. But as none of the messengers returned, some being slain, others siding with the new king, *Mithridates* endeavoured to move his son to compassion by signifying to him from the walls the distressed condition he was reduced

f to by a son, whom he had favoured above the rest of his children; but finding him no ways affected by his speech, turning to the gods, he beseeched them with many tears to make a son know one day by experience the grief and agony which a father must feel in seeing his love and tenderness requited with such ungrateful and monstrous returns. Having thus spoke, he thanked in a very obliging manner those who had stood by him to the last, and exhorted them to make their submission to the new king on the best terms they could procure, adding, that as for himself, he was determined not to outlive the rebellion of a son, whom he had always distinguished with particular marks of paternal affection. After this he withdrew into the apartment

[e] Dio, l. xxxvii. Oros. l. vi. c. 5. Appian. p. 246. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Plutarch, in Pomp.

apartment of his wives and concubines, where he firſt took poiſon himſelf and then a preſented it to them, and to his favourite daughters *Mithridatis* and *Niſſa*, who not long before had been betrothed to the kings of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*. To the women it proved immediate death, but on the king, who had from his infancy inured his conſtitution to poiſonous potions, it had ſo ſlow an operation, that he was forced, through fear of falling into the rebels hands, to recur to his ſword. Neither did the wound, as he was greatly weakened by the poiſon, prove mortal; ſo that the rebels having in the mean time ſtormed the town, and broke into the houſe, found the king wallowing in his blood, but ſtill alive, and in his ſenſes; which *Pharnaces* hearing, ſent ſome of thoſe that were about him to dreſs his wound, with a deſign to deliver him to the *Romans*, and thereby ingratiate himſelf with *Pompey*. But in b the mean time a *Gaul*, who ſerved in the army, by name *Bitæus* or *Bithocus*, entering the king's room in queſt of booty, and being touched with compaſſion in ſeeing him forſaken by all his friends, and ſtruggling on the bare ground with the pangs of death, drawing his ſword, put an end to his preſent agonies, and prevented the inſults which he chiefly apprehended, if he ſhould fall alive into his ſon's hands. The barbarian is ſaid when he firſt ſaw the king, to have been ſo awed with the majeſty of his countenance, that, forgetful of his booty, he fled out of the room, but being called back, and earneſtly intreated by the dying prince to put an end to his miſery, he ſummoned all his courage to perform, as he did with a trembling hand, that office, and immediately retired without touching any thing that belonged to the king, tho' c the hopes of a rich booty, was the only motive that led him in thither [f]. Thus died *Mithridates* at *Panticapæum* in the *Cimmerian Boſphorus* (W), in the ſixtieth year of his reign, a prince, as *Velleius Paterculus* [g] deſcribes him, neither to be paſſed over in ſilence, nor mentioned without reſpect, endowed with eminent virtues, which would have put him upon a level with the beſt of princes, had he not ſtained them with no leſs vices; an experienced commander, but more to be admired for the greatneſs of mind with which he bore misfortunes, than for the many victories he gained. *Tully* calls him the greateſt king after *Alexander* that ever ſwayed a ſceptre [h]. He ſubdued twenty-four nations, and could talk their various languages with the ſame eaſe and fluency as his own. He is ſaid to have applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the d *Greek* tongue, and even to have wrote in that dialect a learned treatiſe of botanics [i]. *Pliny* tells us [k], that he had extraordinary ſkill in phyſic, and was the inventor, not only of *Mithridate*, but of many other uſeful medicines. But nothing gives us a greater idea of this prince than the joy which the *Romans* ſhewed, notwithſtanding their

Mithridates *lays violent hands on himſelf.* *Year of the flood* 2935. *Before Chriſt* 64.

His character.

[f] Dio, l. xxxvii. Liv. l. 102. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 2. Plin. l. xxv. c. 2. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 2. Appian. p. 248. &c. [g] Vellei Patercul. l. ii. c. 18. [h] Cicer. in Lucull. [i] Epiphan. Panar. tom. 1. [k] Plin. l. xxv. c. 2.

(W) *Appian* (63), tells us, that *Pharnaces* having conſpired againſt his father's life, and being diſcovered by his accomplices on the rack, was apprehended, but pardoned at the intreaties of *Menophanes*, one of the king's chief favourites. *Dio* makes no mention of his being pardoned, but often repeats, that the king, finding him to be at the head of the conſpiracy, ſent a detachment of his guards to ſeize him, but that they being won over by him, joined the other conſpirators, took the city of *Panticapæum*, and the king himſelf priſoner. He adds this obſervation, that *Mithridates*, in other reſpects a wiſe prince, did not conſider that arms and multitudes of ſubjects do not avail without their goodwill; but on the contrary, the more numerous they are, the more they are to be dreaded, if they are diſaffected to the prince or his government. As to the time which the *Mithridatic* war laſted, *Oroſius* writes thus (64): "The *Mithridatic* war, which in- "volved many provinces, was protracted for the ſpace "of forty years. For it broke out in the year 662 "of *Rome*, a year remarkable for the firſt civil war, "and in the conſulſhip of *Cicero* and *Antonius*; to "uſe the expreſſion of that excellent poet *Lucan*, "*Barbarico vix conſummata veneno*, it was ended "not by dint of ſword, but by poiſon". But this ſpace conſiſts of thirty years only, and how moſt authors came to write forty, is not eaſy to find out. *Juſtin* (65), *Florus* (66), and *Eutropius* (67), will have the *Mithridatic* war to have laſted forty years; *Appian* (68), writes, that *Mithridates*, warred with the *Romans* forty-two years; the inſcription which *Pompey* placed under the ſpoils conſecrated to *Minerva* in the temple at *Rome*, informs us, as, it is related by *Pliny* (68), that the *Mithridatic* war laſted only thirty years. But neither is it an eaſy matter to make out even the ſpace of thirty years, for from the firſt breaking out of the war to the death of *Mithridates*, we can reckon but twenty-ſix years, even taking the years of peace between the firſt and ſecond war into the account; ſo that the war may be ſaid to have laſted thirty years only to make up an even number; this *Tully* in an oration, which he made during his conſulſhip (70), ſays, that he had defended C. *Rabirius*, forty years before that honour was conferred upon him: but *Dio* by a more exact computation ſhews this to have happened only thirty-ſix years before that time (71).

(63) *Appian.* p. 246. (64) *Oroſ.* l. vi. c. 1. (65) *Juſtin.* l. xxxvii. c. 1. (66) *Florus*, l. iii. c. 5. (67) *Europ.* l. vi.; (68) *Appian.* p. 170. (69) *Plin.* l. vii. c. 26. (70) *Cic. in Piſonem.* (70) *Dio*, l. xxxvii

a their many victories, and the low ebb he was reduced to, when they first heard the news of his death. *Pompey*, who was at that time engaged in a war with the *Jews*, received the first notice of the death of *Mithridates*, as he was on his march to *Jerusalem*. The messenger, who brought the joyful tidings, was sent by *Pharnaces*, and appeared unexpectedly before *Pompey* with the branch of a laurel, as was custo- mary on the like occasions, twisted round the head of his javelin. When he heard what had happened at *Panticapæum*, he was so impatient to impart it to the soldiery, that he could not even wait till they raised him a mount with turf to speak from thence to the army, according to the custom of the camp; but ordered those who were by him to form a kind of mount with their saddles, and from thence acquainted the b soldiery that *Mithridates* had laid violent hands on himself, and his son *Pharnaces* was ready to acknowledge the kingdom as a gift of the people of *Rome*, or resign it, if they were unwilling he should reign. This news was received with joyful shouts of the whole army, and the day solemnized with feasts and sacrifices throughout the camp, as if in *Mithridates* alone all the enemies of the republic had died [l]. *Pompey* dispatched without delay a messenger with letters to the senate, acquainting them with the death of *Mithridates* and the submission of his son *Pharnaces*. When his letters were read, the senators were so overjoyed, that they appointed, at the proposal of *Cicero* then consul, twelve days for returning due thanks to the gods, who had delivered them from such an insulting and powerful enemy [m]; and the tribunes of the c people enacted a law, whereby *Pompey*, in consideration of his eminent service in the *Mithridatic* war, was to wear a crown of laurel with the triumphal gown at the *Circensian* sports, and a purple gown at the scenical plays [n].

The joy of the Romans at his death.

But to return to *Pharnaces*, when he heard of his father's death, he caused his body to be preserved in brine, proposing to present it to *Pompey*, who had promised to return into *Pontus* after the reduction of *Judæa*, and there settle matters to his satisfaction. And accordingly, having taken the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, he set out with two legions for *Pontus*, and being arrived at *Sinope*, he was met there by the embassadors from *Pharnaces*, acquainting him, that their master had forbore as- suming the title of king, till his will and pleasure was known; that he put both himself d and the kingdom intirely into his hands, and that he was willing to attend him at what time or place he thought fit to appoint. The same embassadors delivered up to *Pompey* those who had taken *Manius Aquilius* the *Roman* legate, whom *Mithridates* had put to a cruel death, all the prisoners, hostages, and deserters, whether *Romans*, *Greeks*, or *Barbarians*, and the body of *Mithridates*, with his rich apparel and arms, which were greatly admired by *Pompey* and the other *Romans*. Both soldiers and officers flocked to see the king's body, but *Pompey* declined that sight; and saying that all enmity between that prince and the people of *Rome* was ended with his life, he returned the body to the embassadors, and caused it to be interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence among his ancestors in the burying-place of the kings e of *Pontus*, *Pompey* defraying all the charges of that ceremony, which was the most costly and pompous that ever had been seen in those parts. With the body *Pompey* restored his wearing apparel and armour; but the scabbard of his sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by *Rublius* a *Roman*, and sold to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*; and his cap or turbant, which was a very curious piece of workman- ship, was privately taken by one *Caius*, who presented it to *Faustus* the son of *Sylla*, in whose house it was kept, and shewn for many years after among the many rarities which *Sylla* had brought out of *Asia*. *Pompey* bestowed the kingdom of *Bosphorus* on *Pharnaces*, and honoured him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome* [o]. *Pharnaces*, being thus acknowledged king of *Bosphorus*, sent orders to all f the garisons of *Pontus* to submit themselves with the castles and treasures which they were trusted with to *Pompey*, who by that means amassed an immense booty. In the city of *Talaura*, which *Mithridates* used to call his wardrobe, he found two thousand cups of onyx set in gold, with such store of gold and silver vessels, of costly fur- niture, of saddles, bridles, and trappings set with jewels and precious stones, that the *Roman* commissaries spent thirty days in taking the inventory of the whole [p]. In another castle he found three large tables with nine salvers of massy gold, inriched with precious stones to an inestimable value, the statues of *Minerva*, *Mars*, and *Apollo*, of pure gold and most curious workmanship, and a pair of gaming tables

Pompey *bestows the kingdom of* Bosphorus *on* Pharnaces.

of

[l] Plut. in Pomp. [m] Cicero de provin. consular. [n] Vellei. Paterculi. l. ii. c. 40. Dio, l. xxxvii. [o] Dio, l. xxxvii. Appian. p. 250, 251, 252, 253, 254. [p] Appian. p. 251, 252.

of two precious ſtones, three foot broad and four foot long, on which was a moon of gold weighing thirty pounds, with their men all of the ſame precious ſtone. In a fort ſituated among the mountains were delivered up to him the king's ſtatue of maſſy gold eight cubits high, his throne and ſceptre, and the bed of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*. Moſt of theſe treaſures had been tranſmitted to him from his anceſtors, chiefly from *Darius* king of *Perſia*; ſome belonged to the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, and had been depoſited by *Cleopatra*, as we have hinted above, in the hands of the *Coans*, who delivered them to *Mithridates*; great part of them had been collected by the king himſelf, who was very fond of rich and ſtately furniture [q]. *Pompey*, having thus got entire poſſeſſion of *Pontus*, and reduced it to the form of a *Roman* province, marched into *Aſia* properly ſo called, and, having wintered at *Epheſus*, early in the ſpring ſet out for *Italy* with a fleet of ſeven hundred ſhips. As he brought over his army with him, the ſenate was under no ſmall apprehenſion, leſt he ſhould make himſelf abſolute and rule without controul. But he no ſooner landed at *Brunduſium* than he diſbanded the army, without waiting for any decree either of the ſenate or people; what neither his friends nor his enemies had believed [r]. His triumph laſted two whole days, and though he was attended in his triumphal chariot by three hundred and twenty-four captives of diſtinction, among whom were five ſons and two daughters of *Mithridates*, yet he would not ſuffer any of them to be put to death, as it had been practiſed by others, but ſent them all back, except ſuch as were of royal extraction, to their reſpective countries, and even ſupplied them with money to defray the charges of their journey [s]. After his triumph he delivered into the treaſury twenty thouſand talents, though at the diſmiſſing of the army he had divided ſixteen thouſand talents among the tribunes and centurions, two thouſand ſeſtertiums among the quæſtors, and had given to each ſoldier fifty ſeſtertiums.

Pharnaces II.

Pompey had no ſooner left *Aſia*, but *Pharnaces* fell unexpectedly upon the *Phanagorenſes*, a people of *Boſphorus*, whom *Pompey* had declared free, becauſe they had revolted the firſt of all from *Mithridates*, and by their example induced others to abandon the king's party. *Pharnaces* beſieged their chief city *Phanagoria*, and kept them blocked up, till for want of proviſions they were forced to ſally out, and put all to the iſſue of a battle; which proving unſucceſsful, they delivered up themſelves and their city to the conqueror [t]. Some years after, the civil war breaking out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, he laid hold of that opportunity to recover the provinces which his father had formerly poſſeſſed; and having raiſed a conſiderable army, over-ran *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Bithynia*, *Armenia*, and the kingdom of *Moſchis*, where he plundered, as *Strabo* obſerves [u], the temple of the goddeſs *Leucothea*. He alſo took the ſtrong and important city of *Sinope*, but could not reduce *Amiſus*. But in the mean time *Cæſar*, having got the better of *Pompey* and his party, appointed *Cn. Dominius Calvinus* governor of *Aſia*, injoining him to make war upon *Pharnaces* with the legions that were quartered in that province [w]. *Domitius* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Pharnaces*, commanding him to withdraw his troops from *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*. The king returned anſwer, that he was willing to abandon *Cappadocia*; but as for the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*, it was part of his hereditary dominions, and therefore he would not reſign it, till he had an opportunity of laying his pretenſions before *Cæſar* himſelf, whom he was ready to obey in all things. Hereupon *Domitius*, drawing together what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, which he recovered without oppoſition, *Pharnaces* having abandoned it to make a ſtand in *Armenia*, which lay nearer his own dominions. Thither *Domitius* purſued him, and having overtaken him near *Nicopolis*, found his army drawn up in battle-array, and the king ready to come to an engagement, which *Domitius* not declining, both armies advanced. The king at the head of a choice body of men fell upon the *Romans* left wing, conſiſting moſtly of raw and undiſciplined *Aſiatics*; and having without much ado put them to flight, penetrated to the center, where the thirty-fifth legion, the only one which *Domitius* had, after a faint reſiſtance gave ground, and, retiring to the neighbouring mountains, left their allies to ſhift for themſelves, who were all cut off. *Domitius* with the remains of his ſcattered army marched back into *Cappadocia*, and from thence, winter drawing on, into the province of *Aſia* [x].

Recovers great part of his hereditary dominions.

Defeats Domitius Calvinus.

The

[q] Appian. ubi ſupra. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 2. [r] Vellei. Patercul. l. ii. c. 40. Plutarch. Appian. Dio, ubi ſupra. [s] Appian. ubi ſupra. [t] Appian. p. 253, 254. [u] Strab. l. xi. p. 254. [w] Dio, l. xlii. Hirtius de bell. Alexandrin. [x] Hirtius de bell. civil. l. ii. & Appian. p. 484. & Dio, l. xlii.

a The king being puffed up with this victory, and hearing that *Cæsar* with the flower of the *Roman* forces was engaged at the siege of *Alexandria*, appointed one *Asander* governor of *Bosphorus*, and marched himself into *Cappadocia* in pursuit of *Domitius*, with a design to invade *Asia* and recover all the provinces which had been once subdued by his father. *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia* readily submitted; but *Armenia the Lesser*, which was held by *Dejotarus*, made so vigorous a resistance, that he was forced to give over the enterprize, lest the *Romans* should in the mean time strengthen themselves in *Asia*, whither he was in haste to march, in hopes of meeting there with the same success as his father *Mithridates* had done. But before he reached that province, he was informed that *Asander* had revolted, in hopes of gaining thereby b the good-will of the *Romans*, and obtaining of them the kingdom of *Bosphorus* for himself. At the same time he received intelligence, that *Cæsar*, having at last reduced *Alexandria* and settled the affairs of *Egypt* and *Syria*, was marching into *Armenia*. He was not a little dismayed at this news, and therefore without delay dispatched embassadors to sue for peace, hoping that *Cæsar*, who was hastening into *Italy* with a design to pass over into *Afric*, would willingly give ear to any proposals of that nature. *Cæsar* courteously entertained the embassadors, and though he did not propose to agree to their conditions, yet, that he might come upon *Pharnaces* unawares, he shewed himself very desirous of entering a treaty of peace. But in the mean time he pursued his march with all possible expedition, and arriving on the confines of *Pontus*, c ordered all the troops that were quartered in the neighbouring provinces to join him; for he had brought from *Alexandria* but one legion, namely the sixth, and that consisting of a thousand men only, the rest having been killed at the siege of *Alexandria*. Besides this veteran legion he found at the place of the general rendezvous three others, but all of them very indifferently armed and worse disciplined [y]. With these forces, however, such as they were, he advanced against *Parnaces*, who being greatly frightened at his approach by reason of the success that had attended him in all his expeditions, again dispatched embassadors to him with a crown of gold, offering him his daughter in marriage, and promising to do whatever he should require. The embassadors took care to let *Cæsar* know, that their master, though highly obliged to d *Pompey*, yet had never been prevailed upon to send him any supplies during the civil war, which *Dejotarus* king of *Armenia the Lesser*, whom he had honoured with his friendship, had done. *Cæsar* returned answer, that he was willing to conclude a peace with *Pharnaces*, provided he retired without delay from *Pontus*, returned all the captives and hostages, whether *Romans* or their allies, and restored the goods of the *Roman* citizens and publicans which he had seized since he first took up arms. He added, that as to his not sending supplies to *Pompey*, they ought rather to have concealed such an ungrateful proceeding of their master, than alledged it as any merit since the forsaking of one, to whom he was indebted for his crown, bespoke him a man of mean, selfish, and wicked principles [z]. *Pharnaces* upon the return e of his embassadors acquainted *Cæsar*, that he agreed to the conditions; but finding that *Cæsar*'s affairs called him into *Italy*, he required a longer term of time for the performance of what was stipulated between them, starting daily new difficulties, in hopes that *Cæsar* would in the mean time be obliged to depart, and leave the affairs of *Pontus* in the same posture he had found them. *Cæsar* seeing himself thus disappointed, and put off from day to day, could not longer brook the king's deceitful behaviour. Wherefore he determined to put himself at the head of his small army, and attack the enemy in his camp, when he least expected it. And accordingly marching out in the night, he came by break of day in sight of the king's army, and uttering these words, *Shall this treacherous parricide go unpunished?* broke into the camp at the f head of a thousand horse. The king's chariots, which were armed with sithes, caused some small disorder among *Cæsar*'s horse; but in the mean time the rest of his army coming up, he put the enemies to flight, and obtained a complete victory [a]. This battle was fought near the place where *Mithridates* had routed with great slaughter the *Roman* army under the command of *Triarius*. Most of the king's army were either taken or cut in pieces; but *Parnaces* himself had the good luck to make his escape, while the *Romans* were busy in plundering the camp. This victory was so quick, that *Cæsar* in a letter to his friend *Aminitius*, or *Anitius* at *Rome*, expressed it in three words, thus: *I came, I saw, I conquered.* He ever afterwards used to call *Pompey* a for-

Sends embassadors to Cæsar *to treat of a peace.*

Overcome by Cæsar.

[y] Hirtius, ubi supra. [z] Hirtius, ubi supra. Dio. l. xli. xlii. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 485. Jul. Frontin. Stratagemat. l. ii. c. 2.

a fortunate rather than a great commander, ſince he had gained his chief glory in the *Mithridatic* war, fighting with ſo cowardly an enemy [b]. He divided the rich booty and the ſpoils of the camp among his ſoldiers, and becauſe *Mithridates* had erected a trophy near that place as a monument of his victory over *Triarius*, which *Cæſar*, as it was conſecrated to the gods, did not think lawful to pull down, he ſet up another over-againſt it to tranſmit to poſterity his victory over *Pharnaces*. After this victory he recovered and reſtored to the allies of the people of *Rome* all the places which *Pharnaces* had poſſeſſed himſelf of during the war, declared *Amiſus* a free city, and appointed *Mithridates Pergamenus*, of whom more hereafter, king of *Boſphorus* in the room of *Pharnaces*. Having thus ſettled the affairs of *Pontus*, he ſet ſail for *Italy*, leaving *Domitius Calvinus* to purſue the war againſt *Pharnaces*, if he ſhould appear again in the field. *Pharnaces* had retired after the battle to *Sinope* with a thouſand horſe, where he was quickly beſieged by *Domitius*, to whom he ſurrendered the town upon no other conditions than that he ſhould be ſuffered to retire into *Boſphorus* with the ſmall body that attended him. This *Domitius* willingly granted, but cauſed all the king's horſes to be killed, ſince he had asked a ſafe conduct only for his horſemen [c]. With theſe and a band of *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* he attempted to recover the kingdom of *Boſphorus*; but being met between *Theudoſia* and *Panticapæum*, both which cities he had reduced, by *Aſander*, who was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, a ſharp engagement enſued, wherein the king's men, as not being uſed to fight on foot, were put to flight, and *Pharnaces* himſelf, who remained alone in the field, ſurrounded by the enemy and cut in pieces, after having reigned in *Boſphorus Cimmerius*, the kingdom which *Pompey* had beſtowed upon him [d], according to *Appian*, fifteen years, according to others, ſeventeen.

And killed by Aſcander.

Darius. Upon the death of *Pharnaces* the kingdom of *Pontus* was again reduced to the form of a province, and ſo continued to the triumvirate of *Marc Antony*, who after the battle at *Philippi* conferred it upon *Darius* the ſon of *Pharnaces* for his ſervices during the civil war [e]. He continued faithful to the *Romans*, but did nothing during his reign worth mentioning.

Polemon I. *Darius* was ſucceeded in the kingdom by *Polemon*, preferred to that honour by *Marc Antony*. He was the ſon of *Zeno*, a famous orator of *Laodicea*, and greatly favoured by *Antony*. From him that part of *Pontus*, which borders on *Cappadocia*, borrowed the name of *Pontus Polemoniacus*. He attended *Marc Antony* in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and being taken priſoner in the unſucceſsful battle fought by *Statianus*, he was ſent by the king of the *Medes*, an ally of the *Parthians*, to conclude a peace with the *Romans*. In which embaſſy he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Antony* added the kingdom of *Armenia* to his other dominions. In the war between *Antony* and *Auguſtus* he ſided with the former; but after the battle at *Actium* was received in favour by the latter; and being ſent by *Agrippa* againſt *Scribonius*, who upon the death of *Aſander* had uſurped the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, he overcame him, and reduced the kingdom of *Colchis*, which was beſtowed upon him by *Agrippa*, who likewiſe honoured him with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. He afterwards waged war with the neighbouring *Barbarians*, refuſing to live in ſubjection to the *Romans*, but was overcome, taken, and put to death by the *Aſpungitani*, a people bordering, according to *Strabo*, on the *Palus Mæotis* [f].

Polemon II. Upon his death his ſon *Polemon* II. was by the emperor *Caligula* raiſed to the throne of *Boſphorus* and *Pontus*. But the emperor obliged him to exchange the kingdom of *Boſphorus* with part of *Cilicia*, and *Nero* with his conſent reduced that part of *Pontus*, which he enjoyed, to the form of a province. He fell in love with *Berenice* daughter to *Agrippa* king of *Judæa*, and, in order to marry her, embraced the *Jewiſh* religion. But as ſhe became ſoon tired of his riotous way of living, and returned to her father, ſo he renounced his new religion, and again embraced the ſuperſtitions of paganiſm [g]. *Polemon* dying without iſſue, the ancient kingdom of *Pontus* was parcelled out into ſeveral parts, and added to the provinces of *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, only that part of it, which was called *Pontus Polemoniacus*, retaining the dignity of a diſtinct and ſeparate province. During the civil diſcords between *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius*, one *Anicetus*, firſt a ſlave, afterwards freedman, to king *Polemon*, and laſtly commander of the royal navy, took up arms with a deſign to reſcue

[b] Plutarch. in Cæſare. Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 254. [c] Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 485. [d] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 254. [e] Appian. bell. civil. l. v. [f] Strab. l. xi. Plutarch. in Anton. Appian. bell. civil. l. v. Dio, l. xlix, li, lii. [g] Joseph. l. xx. Antiq. Dio, Zonaras, Eutropius, &c.

a reſcue the kingdom from the *Roman* bondage; and being joined by great multitudes, drawn together with the proſpect of ſpoil, over-ran the country, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Trapeſund*, a city founded by the *Grecians* on the utmoſt confines of *Pontus*. Here he cut in pieces a cohort made up of the inhabitants, but which had been formerly preſented with the privilege of *Roman* citizens. He likewiſe burnt the fleet, and with ſcorn and inſults ſcoured the ſea, *Mucianus* having called to *Byzantium* moſt of the *Roman* gallies. Hereupon *Veſpaſian*, who was at that time in *Syria*, ſent *Verdius Geminus* into *Pontus* with a choice body of vexillaries from the legions. He, aſſailing the enemy, while they were in diſorder, and roaming aſunder in purſuit of prey, drove them into their veſſels; then with ſome gallies chaſed *Anicetus* into the mouth of the river *Chobus*, where he thought himſelf ſafer under the pro-
b tection of *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians*, whoſe alliance he had purchaſed with large ſums and rich preſents. *Sedochus* at firſt refuſed to deliver him up to the *Romans*, but was ſoon prevailed upon, partly by threats, partly by preſents, to ſurrender both him and all the other fugitives who had taken ſanctuary in his dominions [h]. Thus ended that ſervile war, and the kingdom of *Pontus* continued to be a province of the empire till the time of *David* and *Alexis Comneni*, who, being driven from *Conſtantinople* by the *French* and *Venetians* under the command of *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, ſettled, the one at *Heraclea*, the other at *Trebiſond*. The new troubles that aroſe among the *Latins* gave *Alexis Comnenes*, an opportunity of erecting here a new empire, which com-
c prehended great part of *Pontus*, and was known by the name of the empire of *Trebiſond*. The *Comneni* held it above two hundred and fifty years, till the time of *Mohamed* II. who carried *David Comnenes*, the laſt emperor of *Trebiſond*, priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, with all his family, and ſubjected his empire to that of *Conſtantinople*, in which abject ſlavery *Trebiſond* and all *Pontus* have continued ever ſince.

[h] Tacit. hiſt. l. iii.

CHAP. V.

The Hiſtory of the Cappadocians.

SECT I.

The deſcription of Cappadocia.

Name and diviſion.

a THIS country was known to the antients by the name of *Syria* or *Aſſyria*, and the inhabitants by that of *Leucoſyri*. It borrowed the name of *Cappadocia*, according to *Pliny* [h], from the river *Cappadox*; according to *Herodianus* [i], from one *Cappadocus* the founder of this nation and kingdom. Others ſuppoſe the name of *Cappadocia* derived from ſome barbarous word, whereof the meaning is unknown to us; for the river *Cappadox* is mentioned only by *Pliny*, and *Cappadocus*, the pretended founder of the nation, is ſpoke of by none of the antient hiſtorians. *Cappadocia* in antient times compriſed all that country which lies between mount *Taurus* and the
b *Euxine* ſea, and was divided by the *Perſians* in two ſatrapies or governments by the *Macedonians* into two kingdoms, the one called *Cappadocia ad Taurum* and *Cappadocia Magna*, the other *Cappadocia ad Pontum*, and commonly *Pontus*. Of the latter we have given the hiſtory already; of the former we are to write in this chapter. *Cappadocia Magna*, or *Cappadocia* properly ſo called, lies between the thirty-eighth and forty-firſt degrees of north latitude, and was bounded by *Pontus* on the north, by *Lycaonia* and part of *Armenia Minor* on the ſouth, by *Galatia* on the weſt, and by

[h] Lib. vi. c. 3. [i] Herodian. apud Stephan.

by the *Euphrates* and part of *Armenia Minor* on the east. Under king *Archelaus* a and some of his predecessors, *Cappadocia* was divided, as *Strabo* informs us, into ten prefectures, five of which lay near mount *Taurus*, viz. *Melitena*, *Cataonia*, *Cilicia*, *Tyanitis*, *Issauritis*; the other five comprehended the remaining part of the kingdom; but *Strabo* leaves us in the dark as to their situation, and the towns of note which

Cities. they contained. The metropolis of all *Cappadocia* in antient times was *Mazaca* or *Eusebia*, called afterwards *Cæsarea* by *Tiberius* in honour of *Augustus*. This latter name it still retains, being called by the inhabitants *Kesaria*. It is built round a rock, as *Tavernier* informs us, on the top of which stands a castle, and is still a populous and considerable city. It was the see of the renowned St. *Basil*, and its archbishop to his day holds the first rank among the prelates who are under the patriarch of *Constanti-* b *nople*. The other cities of note in *Cappadocia*, are, *Comana*, called *Comana Cappa-* *docia*, to distinguish it from another city of the same name in *Pontus*. This city was famous in antient times for a temple consecrated to *Bellona*, whose priests and attendants of both sexes amounted in *Strabo*'s time to the number of six thousand and upwards. The chief-priest was lord of the adjoining country, and in honour next to the king, being commonly of the royal family. *Nyssa* in *Christian* times the see of *Gregory*, surnamed *Nyssenus*, and brother to St. *Basil*. *Nazianzum* the see and place of nativity of another *Gregory*, no less celebrated by the writers of the ecclesiastic history. *Archelais*, so called from *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, who either founded, or repaired and embellished it. *Diocæsarea* placed by *Pliny* in *Cappadocia*, by others c in *Phrygia*, and antiently called, as we read in *Strabo*, *Cabira*. *Faustinopolis*, so called in honour of *Faustina*, wife to the emperor *Antoninus*. *Cabistra*, mentioned by *Tully* in his letters[k]. *Pterium*, memorable for the overthrow of *Cræsus* by *Cyrus*, which was

Rivers. attended with the ruin of the *Lydian* kingdom. The rivers of this country that deserve any notice, are, the *Melas*, which indeed rises in the western borders of *Galatia*, but passes through the southern borders of this kingdom and *Armenia*, and falls into the *Euphrates*; the *Halys*, which rises near *Nazianzum*, and bending first to the west, and then to the north, passes through *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, and discharges itself into the *Euxine* sea between *Sinope* and *Amisus*; the *Iris*, now *Casalmac*, which, as *Strabo* informs us, passed through *Amasia* his own country, and receiving d the *Themiscyra* falls into the *Euxine* sea not far from *Amisus*.

Soil and climate. This country produces excellent wines and most kind of fruits; and was formerly rich in mines of silver, brass, iron, and allom; affording also great store of alabaster, crystal, jasper, and onyx-stone. But it was chiefly celebrated by the antients for its breed of horses, which were and still are in great request. Some parts of *Cappadocia* are very mountainous and barren, the *Antitaurus* running through those provinces which border on the two *Armenias*. In this part of *Cappadocia* stands mount *Argaus*, of such an extraordinary height, that one may see, as some authors relate, from the top of it the *Euxine* sea on one side, and the *Mediterranean* on the other.

Origin. *Cappadocia* was probably peopled by *Togarmah*, the last son of *Gomer*, and his e descendants; for it lies contiguous to those countries, which the rest of *Gomer*'s family possessed, and is situated conformable to that expression of the prophet[l], Gomer *and all his bands*, *the house of* Togarmah *of the north quarters*, *and all his bands*; which seems to be spoken of their situation with respect to *Judæa*. *Tarcomannia*, where many have placed this colony, seems too remote, because they are said to have traded to the fairs of *Tyre*[m]; and what confirms their having settled in *Cappadocia* is, that they *brought horses*, *horsemen*, *and mules*; for that country produced excellent horses and mules, which last are supposed to have come first from thence. Besides in the borders of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, we find a people called *Trocmi*, *Trogmi*, or *Trocmeni*, as *Stephanus* calls them. In the council of *Chalcedon* they are f called *Trocmades* or *Trogmades*, which names have an affinity with *Togarmah*, or, as the *Greeks* usually write it, *Thorgama*. *Bochart*[n] observes, that the *Cappadocians* are said by the fathers to be descended from *Caphtorim*, the last of the offspring of *Mizraim*, and that *Caphtor* is rendered by the septuagint *Cappadocia*. In this without all doubt they followed the *Jews*, who explain those names the same way, as do the three *Chaldee* paraphrasts. But by *Cappadocia* in these writings is not to be understood *Cappadocia* in *Asia Minor*, as *Bochart* judged; but some place in *Egypt*, generally

[k] Cic. lib. xv. epist. 11. ad senat. & ad Attic. l. v. epist. 18. [l] Ezek. xxcviii. 6. [m] Ezek. xxvii. 14. [n] Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 31.

generally ſuppoſed by the rabbies to be *Demyat* or *Demietta*°, commonly confounded with *Peluſium*.

As to the ſtate of this nation in the early times we are quite in the dark. *Cteſias*, as quoted by *Diodorus Siculus*, tells us, that from the very beginning it was ſubject to foreign princes. But that writer is no ways to be depended upon. *Cappadocia* was without all doubt a province of the kingdom of *Lydia*, and after the overthrow of *Cræſus* paſſed from the *Lydians* to the *Perſians*, to whom the *Cappadocians* paid an annual tribute, as *Strabo* writes [p], of fifteen hundred horſes, two thouſand mules, and fifty thouſand ſheep. The firſt king of *Cappadocia* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Pharnaces*, a noble *Perſian*, who having ſaved *Cyrus* from a ravenous lion, running
b full ſpeed againſt him while he was hunting, was by him rewarded with his ſiſter *Atoſſa* and the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. *Diodorus* ſtiles him only governor of *Cappadocia*.. This country was afterwards ſubdued by the *Macedonians*, and changed into a province; but again reſtored to its former ſtate by *Ariarathes* III. who laying hold of the opportunity which the diſſenſions that reigned among the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* gave him, put *Amyntas* their governor to death, and, with forces raiſed in *Armenia* reinſtated himſelf in the kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity, who held it till the reign of *Ariarathes* VIII. the laſt of the royal race of *Pharnaces*. Two other families reigned in *Cappadocia*, namely thoſe of *Ariobarzanes* and *Archelaus*; but under the latter the kingdom was changed into a province of the *Roman* empire,
c nor ever more returned to its former ſtate. It was greatly inlarged under the emperors, by the additions of *Pontus* and part of *Paphlagonia*; and thus it ſtood in the time of *Ptolemy*, who reckons *Pontus Galaticus*, *Cappadocius*, and *Polemonaicus*, as parts of this province. It was afterwards divided into ten prefectures; but in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, *Pontus*, *Lycaonia*, and *Piſidia* being made diſtinct provinces, *Cappadocia* was confined to its former bounds. The emperor *Valens* divided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, *Cappadocia Prima* and *Cappadocia Secunda*, making *Tyana* the metropolis of the latter. We are told that *Valens*, who was a great abetter of the *Arian* faction, did this out of ſpite to St. *Baſil*, who being biſhop of *Cæſarea*, the metropolis of all *Cappadocia*, prevented the ſpreading of that hereſy in places under
d his juriſdiction. In this ſtate *Cappadocia* continued till the erecting of the new empire of *Trebiſond*, with which it fell into the hands of the *Turks*, by whom the whole province with the addition of *Pontus* is now called *Amaſia*, after the name of that city where the beglerbeg of *Anatolia* reſides.

Government.

Religion.

THE religion of the antient *Cappadocians* was much the ſame with that of the *Perſians*, of which we have given elſewhere an accurate account. At *Cumana* there was a ſtately and rich temple conſecrated to *Bellona*, whoſe battles the prieſts and their attendants uſed to repreſent on ſtated days, cutting and wounding each other, as if ſeized with an enthuſiaſtic fury. No leſs famous and magnificent were the temples of *Apollo Catanius* or *Cataonius* at *Daſtacum*, and of *Jupiter* in the province of *Morimena*, which laſt had three thouſand ſacred ſervants or religious votaries. The
e chief-prieſt was next in rank to that of *Comana*, and had, as *Strabo* informs us [q], a yearly revenue of fifteen talents. *Diana Perſica* was worſhipped in the city of *Caſtaballa*, where women devoted to the worſhip of that goddeſs were reported to tread bare-foot on burning coals without receiving any arm [r]. The temples of *Diana* at *Dioſpolis* and of *Anias* at *Zela* were likewiſe had in great veneration both by the *Cappadocians* and *Armenians*, who flocked to them from all parts. In the latter were tendered all oaths in matters of conſequence; and the chief among the prieſts was no ways inferior in dignity, power, or wealth, to any in the kingdom, having a royal attendance, and an uncontrouled power over all the inferior officers and ſervants
f of the temple. The *Romans*, who willingly adopted all the ſuperſtitions and ſuperſtitious rites of the nations they conquered, greatly increaſed the revenues of this and other temples, conferring the prieſthood on ſuch as they thought moſt fit for carrying on their deſigns. We are told that human ſacrifices were offered at *Cumana*, and that this barbarous practice was brought by *Oreſtes* and his ſiſter *Iphigenia* from *Taurica Scythica*, where men and women were immolated to *Diana*. But this cuſtom, if it ever obtained in *Cappadocia*, was aboliſhed in the *Roman* times.

Character.

THE *Cappadocians* in the time of the *Romans* bore ſo bad a character, were reputed ſo vicious and lewd, ſo monſtrouſly addicted to all manner of vice, that beſides the ſhare

° Rabbi SAIDAS & MAIMONIDES apud Lightfoot. Oper. 2. p. 398. [p] STRAB. l. xi. [q] STRAB. l. xii. [r] STRAB. ubi ſupra.

ſhare they had in the old *Greek* proverb, they had ſome peculiar to themſelves reflecting on their enormous wickedneſs; which made them be ſo traduced by other nations, that a wicked and impious man was emphatically called a *Cappadocian*. However, this their lewd diſpoſition was in after-ages ſo corrected and reſtrained by the pure morals of chriſtianity, that no country whatſoever has produced greater champions of the *Chriſtian* religion, or given to the church more prelates of unblemiſhed characters, a

Laws and trade. We have no ſyſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them. As to their commerce, they carried on a very conſiderable trade in horſes, great numbers whereof their country produced; and we read of them in ſcripture as frequenting the fairs of *Tyre* with this commodity. As *Cappadocia* abounded with mines of ſilver, braſs, iron, and allom, and afforded great ſtore of alabaſter, cryſtal, and jaſper; it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they ſupplied the neighbouring countries with theſe commodities. From the reigns of their kings we ſhall be able to judge of their military capacity. b

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Cappadocia.

Pharnaces. THE firſt king of *Cappadocia* we read of in hiſtory was *Pharnaces*, who was preferred by *Cyrus* to the crown, and honoured with the marriage of his ſiſter *Atoſſa*, as we have hinted above. And this is all we read of him in antient writers. *Xenophon* calls him *Aribæus*, and ſays that he was killed in warring againſt the *Hyrcanians*. c

Smerdis. *Pharnaces* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Smerdis*, mentioned only by *Diodorus*; and

Atamnas. he by his ſon *Atamnas*, or *Ariaramnes*, as *Cteſias* calls him. He cultivated a good underſtanding with the *Perſians*, and ſerved in the army of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, by whom he was employed againſt the *Scythians*. In which expedition he took *Marſagetes* their king's brother, and preſented him bound to *Darius*.

Anaphas. His ſon *Anaphas* is celebrated by the antients for his ſkill in military affairs. He renewed the alliance, which his father had made with the *Perſians*, and was choſen for one of the ſeven princes of *Perſia*, probably in the room of *Intaphernes*, who was put to death by *Darius* for plotting a change in the government. d

Anaphas II. *Anaphas* II. ſucceeded his father; but did nothing worth mentioning. His ſon

Datames. *Datames* ſucceeded him, the firſt of his family that waged war with the *Perſians*, we know not on what provocation. In that war having ventured a general engagement, his army was cut in pieces, and himſelf ſlain.

Ariaramnes. His ſon *Ariaramnes* reigned fifty years. In his time the *Perſians* invaded *Cappadocia*, and having reduced great part of it appointed *Datames*, brother to *Ariaramnes*, governor thereof, by way of reward for his ſervices againſt the *Caduſis*, whom he had ſubdued. e

Ariarathes I. *Ariarathes* aſcended the throne on his father's death, and admitted his brother *Olophernes* to partake of the ſame power. He accompanied *Artaxerxes Ochus* in his expedition againſt the *Egyptians*, and on that occaſion ſignalized himſelf above all the other commander of the *Perſian* army. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Olo-*

Olophernes. *phernes*, who reigned alone; but in the ſucceſſion to the crown preferred *Ariarathes* his brother's ſon to his own children.

Ariarathes II. *Ariarathes* II. reigned in the time of *Alexander the Great*, and continued faithful to the *Perſians* at a time when moſt of the other princes ſubmitted to the conqueror. *Alexander* was prevented by death from invading his dominions; but *Perdiccas*, marching againſt him with a powerful and well-diſciplined army, diſperſed his forces, and having taken *Ariarathes* himſelf priſoner, crucified him with all thoſe of the royal blood whom he could get into his power[s]. *Diodorus*[t] tells us, that he was killed in the battle. He is ſaid to have reigned eighty-two years. f

Ariarathes III. His ſon *Ariarathes* III. having eſcaped the general ſlaughter of the royal family, fled into *Armenia*, where he lay concealed till the civil diſſenſions, which aroſe among the

[s] Appian. in Mithridatic, Curtius, l. xii. [t] Diodor. l. xviii.

a the *Macedonians*, gave him a fair opportunity of recovering his paternal kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. *Amyntas*, who was at that time governor of *Cappadocia*, oppoſed him, but was overcome in a pitched battle, and the *Macedonians* obliged to abandon the ſtrong-holds which they poſſeſſed. *Ariarathes* after a peaceable reign of many years left the kingdom to his ſon,

Ariaramnes II. who did nothing worth mentioning, but was greatly reſpected by all the neighbouring princes on account of his good nature, juſtice, and other princely virtues. During his reign the kingdom was in a more flouriſhing condition than it had been under any of his predeceſſors, he having maintained a good underſtanding with the adjoining ſtates, and applied himſelf more to the arts of peace than war. Ariaramnes II.

b He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Ariarathes VI. whom he had taken for partner of the kingdom during his life-time. *Ariarathes* proved a very warlike prince, and having overcome *Arſaces*, founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, conſiderably inlarged his own dominions. Ariarathes IV.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ariarathes* V. who marrying the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, entered into an alliance with that prince againſt the *Romans*; but *Antiochus* being conquered, he ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he obtained after having paid two hundred talents by way of fine, for taking up arms againſt the people of *Rome* without any juſt provocation. He afterwards concluded an alliance with the *Romans*, and aſſiſted them with men and money againſt *Perſes*; on which Ariarathes V.

c conſideration he was by the ſenate honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. In ſome diſputes that aroſe between him and *Pharnaces* II. king of *Pontus*, concerning the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, he referred the whole matter to the *Roman* legates, who favoured him as far as the juſtice of his cauſe would allow. He left the kingdom in a very flouriſhing condition to his ſon *Mithridates*, who upon his acceſſion to the crown took the name of *Ariarathes*.

Ariarathes VI. ſurnamed *Philopator* from the filial reſpect and love he ſhewed his father from his very infancy, after having performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence his exequies, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to acquaint the ſenate with his acceſſion to the crown, and to renew the alliance which his father had made with the people of *Rome*. The embaſſadors were kindly received, the alliance renewed, and Ariarathes VI.

d the king highly commended by the ſenate for the reſpect he had ſhewn them. He reſtored *Mithrobuzanes*, ſon to *Zadriades*, king of the *Leſſer Armenia*, to his father's kingdom, merely out of good-nature, though he foreſaw that the *Armenians* would lay hold of that opportunity to join *Artaxias*, who threatened him with war and was ready to invade *Cappadocia*. But all theſe differences were ſettled, before they came to an open rupture, by the *Roman* legates, *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Lucius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucius*. *Ariarathes* ſeeing himſelf thus delivered from an impending war by the mediation of the *Romans*, ſent embaſſadors to preſent the ſenate with a golden crown, and tender his ſervice where-ever they thought fit to employ him. The ſenate accepted of the crown, and requited the preſent with a ſtaff and chair

e of ivory, which they only beſtowed on ſuch as were looked upon as intirely addicted to their intereſt. Not long before *Demetrius Soter*, king of *Syria*, had profered him in marriage his ſiſter, the widow of *Perſes* king of *Macedonia*; but *Ariarathes* had rejected the offer for fear of giving offence to the *Romans*. For this in particular the ſenate returned him thanks, and injoined the embaſſadors to acquaint their maſter, that the ſenate and people of *Rome* were fully convinced of his attachment to them, and ready to ſhew on all occaſions how much they had at heart the intereſt of their true friends and allies [u], among whom they accounted *Ariarathes* the chief and moſt to be depended on. Not long after the king found by experience that their proteſtations were ſincere; for *Orophernes*, or, as others call him, *Holophernes*, pre-

f tending to be the lawful ſon of *Ariarathes* V. and the elder brother, had recourſe to *Demetrius Soter*, who was greatly incenſed againſt *Ariarathes* for ſlighting the match which he had propoſed with his ſiſter. *Demetrius* was eaſily prevailed upon to eſpouſe his cauſe, though he well knew that *Orophernes* was but a ſuppoſitious, or, as ſome write, a natural, ſon of the deceaſed king. *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* was ordered by the *Romans* to join *Ariarathes* with all his forces, and aſſiſt him againſt *Demetrius* to the utmoſt of his power, which he did accordingly. But to no effect; for the armies of the confederate kings were worſted, and *Ariarathes* obliged to abandon the

[u] Polyb. legat. 119. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 24.

Ariarathes *driven out by* Orophernes *Year after the flood* 2840. *Before Christ* 159.

the kingdom to his rival [w]. *Orophernes*, being thus put in poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* with a golden crown of great value, which the ſenate declined to accept, till ſuch time as they heard his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Cappadocia*, which he by ſuborned witneſſes made appear ſo plain, that the ſenate decreed *Ariarathes* and he ſhould reign together, as brothers and partners in the kingdom [x]. But *Orophernes* was the ſame year driven out by *Attalus*, brother to *Eumenes*, and his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* reſtored to the intire poſſeſſion of his paternal kingdom. *Orophernes* being driven out, *Ariarathes* ſent embaſſadors to demand of the *Prienians* four hundred talents, which *Orophernes* had depoſited with them. The *Prienians* honeſtly replied, that as they had been truſted with the money, they could not, without breach of the truſt repoſed in them, deliver it to any one except *Orophernes* himſelf, or ſuch as came in his name. Hereupon the king entered their territories in a hoſtile manner, and putting all to fire and ſword, thought he ſhould frighten them into a compliance with his demands. But neither his threats, nor the calamities they ſuffered, could prevail upon them to betray their truſt; nay, in the height of their miſeries, while their city was beſieged by the joint forces of *Ariarathes* and *Attalus*, they found means to reſtore the intire ſum to *Orophernes*, though the king had threatened them with utter deſtruction, in caſe it was not delivered to him upon his entering the city, which he hoped to be maſter of in a few days. But in the mean time the *Prienians* recurring to the *Romans*, the two kings were injoined by the legates to raiſe the ſiege, and withdraw their forces on pain of being deemed enemies to the republic [y]. *Ariarathes* readily complied with the legates orders, and marching his army into *Syria* joined *Alexander Epiphanes* againſt *Demetrius Soter*, by whom he had been formerly driven out of his kingdom. In the very firſt engagement *Demetrius* was ſlain, and his army intirely routed and diſperſed, *Ariarathes* having on that occaſion given uncommon proofs of his courage and conduct. Some years after a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Aristonicus*, who claimed the kingdom of *Pergamus* in right of his father, he aſſiſted the former to the utmoſt of his power, and was ſlain in the ſame battle in which *P. Crassus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, was taken, and the *Roman* army cut in pieces. He left ſix ſons by his wife *Laodice*, on whom the people of *Rome* beſtowed *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*. But *Laodice* fearing leſt her children, when they came of age, ſhould take the government out of her hands, poiſoned five of them, the youngeſt only having eſcaped her cruelty by being privately conveyed out of the kingdom. *Laodice* was ſoon after put to death by the *Cappadocians*, who could not brook her cruel and tyrannical government, and the young king placed on the throne of his anceſtors [z].

Ariarathes VII.

Ariarathes VII. ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown married *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates the Great*, in hopes of having in that prince a powerful friend to ſupport him againſt *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, who laid claim to part of *Cappadocia*. But *Mithridates*, without any regard either to friendſhip or affinity, ſuborned one *Gordius* to poiſon him, and on his death ſeized the kingdom under pretence of maintaining the rights of the *Cappadocians* againſt *Nicomedes*, till the children of *Ariarathes* were in a condition to govern and defend the kingdom by themſelves. The *Cappadocians* were at firſt very thankful to *Mithridates*, as not entertaining any manner of ſuſpicion againſt him; but finding him unwilling to reſign the kingdom to the lawful heir, they roſe up in arms, and driving out all his gariſons, placed on the throne the eldeſt ſon of their deceaſed king, *viz.*

Ariarathes VIII.

Ariarathes VIII. who was ſoon engaged in a war with *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, that prince laying claim to ſome of the provinces that bordered on his kingdom. In this war *Mithridates* joined his nephew, and not only forced *Nicomedes* to abandon *Cappadocia*, but ſtripped him of great part of his own dominions. A peace being at laſt concluded between the kings of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, *Mithridates* ſeeking ſome pretence to quarrel with *Ariarathes*, inſiſted upon his recalling *Gordius*, who had murdered his father; which propoſal he rejecting with abhorrence, both princes began to prepare for war. *Mithridates* took the field the firſt, hoping to over-run *Cappadocia*, before *Ariarathes* could be in a condition to make head againſt him. But contrary to his expectation, he was met on the frontiers by *Ariarathes* at the head of an army no-ways inferior to his own. Hereupon having recourſe to ſnares, he invited

[w] Polyb. l. iii. p. 161. Liv. l. xlvii. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Appian. Syriac. p. 118. Zonar. ex Dion. [x] Appian. Syriac. p. 118. Zonar. ex Dion. [y] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 173. [z] Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

a vited *Ariarathes* to a conference, and in the ſight of both armies ſtabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed under his garment, as we have related elſewhere. This ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Cappadocians*, that they immediately diſperſed, and gave *Mithridates* an opportunity of poſſeſſing himſelf of the kingdom without the leaſt oppoſition. But he did not long enjoy his unjuſt conqueſts; for the *Cappadocians*, not being able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of his prefects, ſhook off the yoke, and recalling the king's brother, who had fled into the province of *Aſia*, proclaimed him king.

Ariarathes IX. was ſcarce warm in his throne, when *Mithridates* invaded his kingdom at the head of a very numerous army; and having drawn him to a battle, Ariarathes IX.

b defeated his army with great ſlaughter, and obliged him to abandon the kingdom to the conqueror. The king ſoon after died of grief, and *Mithridates* beſtowed *Cappadocia* on his own ſon, who was then but eight years old, giving him alſo the name of *Ariarathes* [z]. But *Nicomedes Philopator*, king of *Bithynia*, fearing leſt *Mithridates*, having now got poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom of *Cappadocia*, ſhould invade his territories, ſuborned a youth to paſs himſelf upon the ſenate for the third ſon of *Ariarathes*, and to preſent them a petition in order to be reſtored to his father's kingdom. With him he ſent to *Rome Laodice*, ſiſter to *Mithridates*, whom he had married after the death of her former huſband *Ariarathes*. *Laodice* declared before the ſenate that ſhe had three ſons by *Ariarathes*, and that the petitioner was

c one of them; but that ſhe had been obliged to keep him concealed, leſt he ſhould undergo the ſame fate as his brothers. The ſenate aſſured him that they would at all adventures reinſtate him in his kingdom; for the whole matter was carried on with ſuch craft, that they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any deceit. But in the mean time, *Mithridates* having notice of theſe tranſactions, diſpatched *Gordius* to *Rome* to undeceive the ſenate, and perſuade them, that the youth, to whom he had reſigned the kingdom of *Cappadocia*, was the lawful ſon of the late king, and grandſon to that *Ariarathes* who had aſſiſted the *Romans* againſt *Ariſtonicus*, and loſt his life in their ſervice [a]. This unexpected embaſſy put the ſenate upon inquiring more narrowly into the matter, whereby the whole plot was diſcovered, and *Mithridates* ordered to

d reſign *Cappadocia*. *Paphlagonia* was at the ſame time taken for *Nicomedes*, and both kingdoms declared free. But the *Cappadocians* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, acquainting the ſenate, that they could not live without a king, which the ſenate was greatly ſurprized at; but, however, humouring their inclination, gave them leave to elect a king of their own nation, for the royal family of *Pharnaces* was now extinct. They choſe unanimouſly *Ariobarzanes*, and their election was approved by the ſenate, he having on all occaſions ſhewn himſelf a ſteady friend to the *Romans* [b].

Ariobarzanes had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his new kingdom, when he was driven Ariobarzanes I.

out by *Tigranes* king of the *Greater Armenia*, who reſigned it to the ſon of *Mithridates*, according to the articles of an alliance previouſly concluded between theſe two

e princes. *Ariobarzanes* fled to *Rome*, and having engaged the ſenate in his cauſe, he returned into *Aſia* with *Sylla*, who was injoined to reſtore him to his kingdom; which he did accordingly, having with a ſmall body of men routed *Gordius*, who came to meet him on the borders of *Cappadocia* at the head of a numerous army. But *Sylla* had ſcarce turned his back, when he was driven out anew by *Ariarathes* the ſon of *Mithridates*, on whom *Tigranes* had beſtowed the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. This obliged *Sylla* to return into *Aſia*, where he was attended with the ſame ſucceſs, and *Ariobarzanes* placed again on the throne. After the death of *Sylla* he was the third time forced by *Mithridates* to abandon his kingdom, but was ſoon reſtored by *Pompey*, who, after having intirely defeated *Mithridates* near mount *Stella*, rewarded

f *Ariobarzanes*, for his ſervices during the war, with the provinces of *Sophene*, *Gordiene*, and great part of *Cilicia*. But he being now advanced in years, and deſirous to ſpend the remainder of his life in eaſe and free from cares, reſigned the crown to his ſon *Ariobarzanes* in preſence of *Pompey*, and never afterwards interfered with public affairs. *Tully* in one of his letters ſeems to inſinuate as if he had been killed [c].

Ariobarzanes II. proved a no leſs faithful ally and friend to the *Romans* than his Ariobarzanes II.

father had been. He was very ſerviceable to *Cicero*, as he himſelf witneſſes, during the time he was proconſul of *Cilicia*. The civil war breaking out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, he ſided with the latter; but after the death of *Pompey* was received into favour

[z] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1, 2. [a] Justin. ubi ſupra. [b] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2. Strab. l. xii. p. 540. [c] Cic. epiſt. famil. 15.

favour by *Cæsar*, who even bestowed upon him great part of *Armenia*. While *Cæsar* a
was engaged in a war with the *Egyptians*, *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* invaded his territories, and stripped him of his paternal kingdom, as well as of his new acquisitions. But *Pharnaces* being overcome by *Cæsar*, he was not only restored to his kingdom, but honoured with new titles by the *Romans*. After the murder of *Cæsar* he refused to join *Cassius* and *Brutus*, who thereupon having declared him an enemy to the republic, invaded his dominions; and having taken him prisoner, caused him to be put to death.

Ariobarzanes III.

He was succeeded by his brother *Ariobarzanes* III. who, as we have elsewhere mentioned, was by *Marc Antony* deprived both of his life and kingdom. In him ended the family of *Ariobarzanes*.

b

Archelaus.

Archelaus the grandson of that *Archelaus*, who in the *Mithridatic* war commanded in chief against *Sylla*, as we have mentioned above, was by *Marc Antony* placed on the throne of *Cappadocia*, though no-ways related either to the family of *Pharnaces*, or that of *Ariobarzanes*. His preferment was intirely owing to his mother *Glaphyra*, a woman of great beauty, but of a very loose behaviour; who having gained *Antony*'s good graces by indulging his lust, obtained by way of reward for her compliance the kingdom of *Cappadocia* for her son. To this alludes the epigram of *Augustus* related by *Martial* [d]. In the war between *Augustus* and *Antony* he joined the latter; but at the intercession of the *Cappadocians* was not only pardoned by *Augustus*, but received from him *Armenia the Lesser* and *Cilicia Trachea*, for having assisted the c
Roman prætors in clearing the seas of pirates, who greatly infested the coasts of *Asia*. He contracted a strict friendship with *Herod the Great*, king of *Judea*, and even married his daughter *Glaphyra* to *Alexander*, *Herod*'s son. *Herod* becoming jealous of his son, as if he aspired to the kingdom, *Archelaus* took a journey into *Judæa*, with no other view but to remove his suspicions, and reconcile him to his son; which he happily effected, though on account of new suspicions *Alexander* was not long after by his father's order put to death. *Herod* accompanied in person *Archelaus* on his return into *Cappadocia* as far as *Antioch*, where he recommended him to *Titus*, then president of *Syria*, as the best friend he had. After the death of *Alexander*, *Archelaus* gave his children a princely education, and shewed a particular tenderness d
and concern for them till the day of his death. In the reign of *Tiberius* he was summoned to appear before the senate; for he had been always hated by *Tiberius*, because in his retirement at *Rhodes* he had paid him no sort of court or distinction; which proceeded from no pride or aversion to *Tiberius*, but from the warning given him by his friends at *Rome*. For *Caius Cæsar*, the presumptive heir to the empire, then lived, and had been sent to compose the affairs of the east. Whence the friendship of *Tiberius* was then reckoned dangerous. But when he came to the empire, remembering how *Archelaus* had behaved, he enticed him to *Rome* by means of letters from *Livia*, who, without dissembling her son's resentment, promised him his pardon, provided he came in person to implore it. He obeyed the summons, and e
hastened to *Rome*, where he was received by the emperor with great wrath and contempt, and soon after accused as a criminal in the senate. The crimes alledged against him were mere fictions; but his concern in seeing himself treated like a malefactor was so great, that he died soon after of grief, or, as others say, laid violent hands on himself [e]. He is said to have reigned fifty years. *Pliny* tells us [f], that he wrote a book of agriculture. Upon his death the kingdom of *Cappadocia* was reduced to a province, and governed by those of the equestrian order (Y).

Archelaus *dies, and his kingdom is reduced to a* Roman *province.*

[d] Martial. l. xi. epigram. 21. [e] Tacit. Annal. l. i. [f] Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

(Y) Other authors tell us, that *Archelaus* would have been condemned by the servile senate, had not one of the evidences produced against him deposed, that he had heard him say, *if ever he went back into* Cappadocia, Tiberius *should feel what nerves he had*; which moved such a laughter in the senate, the old king by reason of the gout and other distempers, not being able to stand by himself, that he was dismissed; *Tiberius* thinking that he could not punish him more effectually, than by suffering him to live. This favour, say they, the old king construed in the best manner, and out of gratitude bequeathed his kingdom to *Rome*.

CHAP.

a

CHAP. VI.

The Hiſtory of the kings of PERGAMUS.

b THE city of *Pergamus* we have already deſcribed in our hiſtory of *Myſia*, to which province it formerly belonged, and was ſubject to the ſame princes, till it became the metropolis of a ſeparate kingdom. We ſhall therefore only add here the hiſtory of the *Pergamenian* kings, who from ſmall beginnings came by degrees to make a conſiderable figure among the potentates of *Aſia*, and proved very ſerviceable to the *Romans* in all their *Aſiatic* wars.

THE firſt of this family we find mentioned in hiſtory was one *Philetærus*, an eunuch, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, of a mean deſcent, and in his youth a menial ſervant to *Antigonus*, one of *Alexander*'s captains. He afterwards ſerved *Lyſimachus* king of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, who appointed him keeper of his treaſures lodged in *Pergamus*. While c he held this employment, *Lyſimachus* at the inſtigation of his wife *Ariſinoe*, barbarouſly murdered his ſon *Agathocles*, who had attended him in all his wars, and by whoſe conduct he had gained moſt of his victories. His death was publicly lamented by *Philetærus*, who was chiefly indebted to him for his preferment. Whereupon *Ariſinoe* highly incenſed againſt him, found means to work him by degrees out of his maſter's favour; which he being appriſed of, ſeiſed on the caſtle of *Pergamus*, and the treaſures which he had been intruſted with, to the amount of ninety thouſand talents, which he proffered with his ſervice to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But both *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus* dying ſoon after, he kept the treaſures, and with a ſtrong body of mercenaries held the town till his death, which happened twenty years after he had d revolted from *Lyſimachus*. He died in the eighticth year of his age, and is by ſome ſtyled prince, by others king of *Pergamus*; he was at leaſt the founder of this new kingdom, though perhaps he never aſſumed the title of king. He left the kingdom to *Eumenes* his brother, or, as ſome write, his brother's ſon, who laying hold of the diſſenſions that reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, invaded *Aſia*, poſſeſſed himſelf of many ſtrong-holds in that province, and having hired a ſtrong body of *Galatians*, defeated *Antiochus* as he was returning home, proud with a remarkable victory which he had gained over his brother *Seleucus Callinicus* [f]. This victory put him in poſſeſſion of the greater part of *Aſia*; but he did not long enjoy his new acquiſitions, for he died the next year of immoderate drinking, a vice which he was greatly addicted to, in the e twenty-ſecond year of his ſovereignty; for we do not find that he ever took upon him the title of king.

Philetærus. *Year of the flood* 2715. *Year before Chriſt* 284.

Eumenes I.

Eumenes was ſucceeded by *Attalus* I. the ſon of *Attalus*, brother to *Philetærus* by *Antiochis* the daughter of *Achæus*. For *Attalus*, though of a mean deſcent, being plentifully ſupplied with money by his brother *Philetærus*, viſited moſt of the courts of the *Aſiatic* princes, and was every-where had in great eſteem, being a man of excellent natural parts. He proved ſo ſerviceable to *Achæus*, who revolting from *Antiochus the Great*, aſſumed the title of king, that he beſtowed upon him his favourite daughter *Antiochis*. By her *Attalus* had one ſon named alſo *Attalus*, who upon the death of *Eumenes* took poſſeſſion of *Pergamus*, and the places which he had added to f his ſmall principality. In the very beginning of his reign he routed the *Gauls* with great ſlaughter, and forced them to abandon his territories, where they had propoſed to ſettle. After this victory he took upon himſelf the title of king, and as ſuch was acknowledged by all the neighbouring princes. *Livy* tells us that he was the firſt among the *Aſiatic* princes who refuſed to pay contribution to the *Gauls*, whom he worſted in a pitched battle [g]. While *Seleucus Ceraunus* was employed in other wars he raiſed a powerful army, and entering *Aſia*, ſubdued all the provinces on this ſide mount *Taurus*. But was ſoon driven out of his new acquiſitions by *Seleucus*, and his grandfather *Achæus*, who entering into an alliance againſt him, ſtript him of all his dominions, and even beſieged him in his metropolis. *Attalus* finding himſelf thus

Attalus I.

[f] JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 2. & 3. [g] LIV. l. xxxviii.

thus reduced to the last extremity, invited with great promises the *Gauls*, who had a
settled in *Thrace*, to his assistance, who marching with all speed to *Pergamus*, obliged
the enemy to raise the siege, and being headed by the king himself, recovered in a
short time all the cities and provinces which they had seized. *Attalus* having thus
recovered what the enemy had taken, while *Achæus* was busy in *Paphlagonia*, he
marched into *Ionia*, and the neighbouring provinces, where the cities of *Cuma*,
Smyrna, and *Phocæa* voluntarily submitted; the *Teians*, *Colophonians*, with the inha-
bitants of *Egea* and *Lemnos*, sent deputies, declaring themselves ready to acknow-
ledge him for their sovereign; the *Carsenes* on the other side the river *Lycus* opened
His conquests. their gates to him, having first driven out *Themistocles*, whom *Achæus* had appointed b
governor of those provinces. From thence he advanced to *Apia*, and encamping on
the banks of the river *Megistus*, received homage from all the neighbouring nations.
Here the *Gauls*, being frightened with an eclipse of the moon, refused to pursue their
march, which stopt the career of his conquests, and obliged him to return to the *Hel-
lespont*, where he gave the *Gauls* leave to settle, and allowed them a large and fruitful
territory, assuring them that he would always assist and protect them to the utmost of
his power. Having thus inlarged his dominions, he returned to *Pergamus*, where
he received with great pomp and magnificence the *Roman* legate *Lævius*, and entered
Enters into an alliance with Rome. into an alliance with *Rome*, which secured to him all his acquisitions. In the reign
of *Attalus* a certain prophesy was found in the sibylline books by the college of the c
Decemviri, to whose care those books were intrusted, to this purport: *Whensoever a
foreign enemy shall invade* Italy, *he shall be driven out and overcome, if the image of the
great mother of the gods at* Ida, *which fell from heaven, be sent for and brought to* Rome.
Delivers to the Romans *the great mother of the gods.* Whereupon five embassadors were without delay dispatched to *Attalus*, who received
them with all possible marks of friendship and kindness, and attending them in person
to *Pessinus* in *Phrygia*, there delivered into their hands a stone which the inhabitants
worshipped as the great mother of the gods [h]. He joined the *Romans* in both their
wars with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who invaded his dominions, laying waste whole
provinces, but was not able to reduce one city. In the second war *Attalus* had the
command of the *Rhodian* fleet, with which he not only drove the *Macedonians* quite d
out of the seas, but even, in conjunction with his allies the *Athenians*, invaded
Macedonia, and obliged *Philip* to march off from *Athens*, which he had greatly
distressed, in order to defend his own kingdom. For which services the *Athenians*
heaped upon *Attalus* all the favours they could, and even called one of their own tribes
after his name, an honour which they had never before bestowed upon any foreigner [i].
His death. He died of an apoplexy, which seized him at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, while he was make-
ing an harangue to the *Bœotians*, and exhorting them with more vehemency, than
his age and strength could bear, to enter into an alliance with the *Romans* against *Philip*
their common enemy. In the midst of of his harangue, he fell down speechless; but
returning to himself, desired to be carried by sea from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, where he e
died soon after his arrival [k], in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-third of
his reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and wrote himself some books,
which are often quoted by *Pliny*, *Artemidorus*, and *Strabo*. He caused the gram-
marian *Daphidas* to be thrown headlong from a high rock for speaking disrespectful-
ly of *Homer* [l]. His generosity towards men of learning knew no bounds, whence
he is highly commended by all the writers that flourished in his time; as is also his
wife *Apollonias*, or, as others call her, *Apollonis*, whom, though of a mean extracti-
on, they propose as a pattern of all princely virtues. By her he left four sons, *Eu-
menes*, *Attalus*, *Philetærus*, and *Athenæus* [m].

Eumenes II. *Year of the flood* 2802. *Year before Christ* 297. He was succeeded by *Eumenes* his eldest son, who upon his accession to the crown f
renewed the alliance which his father had made with the *Romans*, and observed it so
religiously, that *Antiochus the Great* having proffered him his daughter *Antiochis* in
marriage, he declined his affinity, being apprised that *Antiochus* courted his friend-
ship with a view to strengthen himself by his alliance against the *Romans*; for his
eldest daughter he had bestowed on *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and offered the second
to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and was at that time making great preparations
for war both by sea and land [n]. *Eumenes*, who was very jealous of so powerful a
neighbour, did not fail to acquaint the senate with all his motions, who thereupon
sent

[h] Polyb. l. xxix. Liv. l. ix. [i] Liv. l. xxxi. Polyb. legat. 3. p. 786, 787. [k] Liv. l. xxxiii. Polyb. p. 820. Plutarch. in Quinto Flaminio. [l] Suidas. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. [m] Suidas at the word Attalus. [n] Polyb. legat. 25. Liv. l. xxxvii.

a sent *P. Villius*, and *P. Sulpitius* under appearance of an embaſſy to *Antiochus*; but really to inform themſelves of the preparations he was making, and by often converſing with *Hannibal*, who was then in great eſteem with *Antiochus*, either to abate his hatred towards the *Romans*, or make *Antiochus* jealous of him; for they apprehended *Hannibal* to be at the bottom of thoſe vaſt preparations [o]. The embaſſadors went firſt to *Elæa*, and from thence to *Pergamus*; for their inſtructions were to confer with *Eumenes*, before they went to the court of *Antiochus*. *Eumenes* did all that lay in his power to inflame them againſt *Antiochus*, aſſuring them, that he had nothing leſs in view than the empire of all *Aſia*. Soon after the departure of the embaſſadors, who returned very much diſſatisfied with *Antiochus* *Eumenes* ſent his brother *Attalus* *Inflames the Romans againſt Antiochus.*

b to *Rome*, to acquaint the ſenate, that *Antiochus* at the perſuaſion of the *Ætolians* had paſſed over in o *Greece* with an army conſiſting of ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, and that the *Ætolians* were all to a man ready to join him. The ſenate received *Attalus* with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs, returned thanks both to him and the king his brother, provided him with lodgings at the expence of the public, and diſmiſſed him loaded with preſents, promiſing to ſend an army into *Greece*, which ſhould defeat the king's meaſures, and keep in awe the *Ætolians*. Which they did accordingly, ſending *M. Acilius* conſul into *Greece*, who having vanquiſhed *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ*, obliged him to fly back into *Aſia* [p]. In this war *Attalus* was appointed to command the *Roman* fleet; and his

c brother *Eumenes* aſſiſted the *Romans* both with his navy, and all the land-forces he could raiſe. As the fleet of *Antiochus* was returning from *Greece* into *Aſia* under the command of *Polyxenidas*, they happened to fall in with the *Roman* fleet commanded by *Eumenes* and *C. Livius Salinator*, who falling upon them ſunk ten of their ſhips, took thirty, and diſperſed the reſt. This victory was in great meaſure owing to *Eumenes*, who boarded ſome of the enemies ſhips in perſon, and during the whole action behaved himſelf with uncommon bravery. Some time after *Eumenes* with a body of five thouſand men entered the terriories of *Antiochus*, and having laid waſte all the country about *Thyatira*, returned to *Canas*, where the *Roman* fleet wintered, with an immenſe booty [q]. While *Eumenes* was thus employed in aiding the *Romans*

d abroad, he was unexpectedly called home to the defence of his own country. For *Antiochus* invading his territories, laid waſte the whole country about *Elæa*, and even ſent his ſon *Seleucus* to lay ſiege to the royal city of *Pergamus*. *Attalus*, the king's brother, held out with a handful of men, till the *Achæans*, the allies of *Eumenes*, ſent a thouſand foot and an hundred horſe to his aſſiſtance. Theſe were all choſen troops, who had ſerved under *Philopœmen*, and were commanded by *Diophanes*, a man of great experience in war. *Diophanes* obſerving from the walls of the town the careleſneſs of the enemy, obtained leave of *Attalus* to march out of the city, and encamp at a ſmall diſtance from them. Both *Attalus* and the citizens of *Pergamus* looked upon him as a mad-man, who durſt venture out while the city was beſieged by an

e army ten times their number. The enemy likewiſe were not a little ſurprized at firſt; but finding that he kept himſelf quiet in his camp, they returned to their former negligence and diſorders, not imagining that with ſuch a handful of men he would make any attempt upon their camp. Which *Diophanes* obſerving, ſallies out unex- *The ſiege raiſed*

pectedly at the head of an hundred horſe, and having put in diſorder their advanced guards, attacked *Seleucus* in his camp, and the *Achæan* foot coming up in the mean time, drove the whole army from their poſts, and purſued them with great ſlaughter as far as he could ſafely venture without loſing a man. The next day *Seleucus* encamped at a greater diſtance from the town, and drawing out his men offered the enemy battle; but *Diophanes* kept quiet in his camp, till *Seleucus*, deſpairing to draw him to an engage-

f ment, began to march his forces back to the camp, when falling upon their rear with his horſe, he purſued them to their trenches with greater ſlaughter than he had done the day before. The boldneſs of the *Achæans* ſtruck ſuch terror into the enemy, that *Seleucus* thought fit to abandon the ſiege, and retire. *Attalus* and the *Pergamenians* beheld from the walls of the town, and admired the gallant behaviour of the *Achæans*, but had not the courage to venture out, which if they had done, the army of *Seleucus* might have been that day eaſily cut in pieces. This cowardly behaviour reflected no ſmall diſhonour on *Attalus*, though he had on all other occaſions behaved with

Antiochus *invades his territories, and lays ſiege to the city of* Pergamus.

[o] Liv. l. xxxiv, xxxv. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 4. Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 90, 91. [p] Liv. l. xxxvi. Plutarch. in Cato. Major. Appian. in Syriacis. Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. [q] Liv. l. xxxvii.

with uncommon gallantry [f]. In the mean time *Eumenes* himself arriving at *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodian* and *Roman* fleets joining that king's, *Antiochus* and his son *Seleucus* retired with great precipitation out of his territories; and hearing that the consul *L. Scipio* was ready to pass over into *Asia* with all his forces, dispatched embassadors to *L. Emilius*, who commanded the *Roman* army, to sue for a peace. *Emilius* sent for *Eumenes* to advise with him in this conjuncture, as he likewise did with *Eudamus* and *Pamphilidas*, commanders of the *Rhodian* fleet. The *Rhodians* were not against a peace; but *Eumenes*, who would hearken to no terms, persuaded *Emilius* to dismiss the embassadors with this answer; that no peace could be concluded before the arrival of the consul; for *L. Scipio* was then in full march to join them. *Antiochus* seeing there was no hopes of obtaining a peace upon honourable conditions, either of *Emilius*, or afterwards of *Scipio*, resolved to venture a general engagement, in which he was entirely defeated in great measure by the gallant behaviour of *Eumenes*, who not only bore, without giving ground, the first onset of the elephants, and armed chariots, but drove them back upon their own men; which putting the ranks in disorder, gave the *Roman* horse an opportunity of attacking them, and throwing the whole army into the utmost confusion. After this battle, which was fought at the foot of mount *Sipylus*, not far from *Magnesia*, *Antiochus* was glad to accept a peace upon any terms. One of the conditions was, that he should pay four hundred talents to *Eumenes*, and a certain quantity of corn to make amends for the losses he had sustained during the war. The peace being concluded, *Eumenes* took a journey to *Rome*, where he represented to the senate with a great deal of moderation what he had done in the service of the republic, and told them, that he was come to beg of them, that the *Greek* cities, which at the beginning of the war were subject to *Antiochus*, might be added to his dominions, since in him they might promise themselves a faithful friend and ally, and look upon his new acquisitions as their own. His demand was warmly opposed by the *Rhodian* embassadors, and those of all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*. But both parties being heard, the senate after a long debate decreed, that all the countries on this side mount *Taurus*, which belonged to *Antiochus*, should be given to *Eumenes*, together with the other provinces lying between the mountain and the river *Mæander*, except *Lycia*, and *Caria*, which were bestowed on the *Rhodians*. Moreover all the cities, which had been tributary to *Attalus*, were ordered to pay the same tribute to *Eumenes*; but such as had been tributary to *Antiochus* were declared free [g]. *Eumenes* having thus by siding with the *Romans* inlarged his dominions, was soon after engaged in a new war with *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who confiding altogether in *Hannibal*, whom he entertained at his court, invaded his territories. But *Eumenes* being assisted by the *Romans*, gave him two great overthrows, one by sea, and the other by land, which so disheartened him, that he was ready to accept of a peace upon any terms whatsoever. However, before the conditions were agreed upon, *Hannibal* found means to draw *Philip* king of *Macedon* into an alliance against *Eumenes*, and the *Romans*. *Philip*, who was highly incensed against the *Romans*, who had obliged him to evacuate the cities of *Enus* and *Maronæa* in *Thrace*, and no less exasperated against *Eumenes*, on whom they had bestowed them, sent *Philocles*, an old and experienced officer, with a considerable body to join *Prusias*. Hereupon *Eumenes* sent his brother *Athenæus* to *Rome* with a golden crown valued at fifteen thousand talents, to complain of *Philip* for aiding *Prusias*, and of *Prusias* for making war upon the allies of the people of *Rome* without any manner of provocation. The senate accepted of the present, and promised to send forthwith embassadors to settle matters to the satisfaction of *Eumenes*, whom they looked upon as the most steady friend the republic had in *Asia*. But in the mean time *Prusias* having ventured a sea-fight, obtained, by a contrivance of *Hannibal*'s, a complete victory over *Eumenes*. For *Hannibal* advised him to fill a great many earthen vessels with various kinds of serpents, and other poisonous reptiles, and in the heat of the fight to throw them into the enemies ships, so as to break the vessels, and let the serpents loose. All the soldiers and sea-men were injoined to attack the ship, in which *Eumenes* himself was, and only defend themselves against the others as well as they could; and that they might not mistake the ship, a herald was sent before the engamement with a letter to the king. As soon as the two fleets drew near, all the enemies ships singling out the king's, discharged such a quantity of serpents against it, that neither the sailors nor soldiers

The gallant behaviour of Eumenes *at the battle of* Magnesia.

How rewarded by the Romans.

His war with Prusias *king of* Bithynia.

[f] Liv. l. xxxvii. Polyb. legat. 20. p. 810. Appian. 102. [g] Polyb. legat. 25. & 36. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 10. Liv. l. xxxvii. & xxxviii. Appian. in Syriac. p. 116.

Defeated in a ſea-fight by a ſtratagem of Hannibal.

a ſoldiers could perform their duty, but were forced to fly to the ſhore, leſt they ſhould fall into the enemies hands. The other ſhips after a faint reſiſtance followed the king's example, and were all driven aſhore with great ſlaughter, the ſoldiers being no leſs annoyed by the ſtings of the ſerpents than the arrows of the enemies. Moſt part of *Eumenes*'s ſhips were ſet on fire, ſeveral taken, and the others ſo ſhattered that they could be of no further ſervice. *Eumenes* encamped on the ſhore where he had placed ſome companies of foot; but the enemy did not think fit to abandon their ſhips [t]. Thus *Pruſias* gained a complete victory by ſea, and the ſame year two remarkable victories by land, which were intirely owing to *Hannibal*, who by one ſtratagem or another ever put *Eumenes* to flight. Having once adviſed *Pruſias* to b engage, and the king replying, that he durſt not venture, becauſe the entrails of the ſacrifices portended no good ſucceſs; *What*, ſaid Hannibal, *do you rely more on the entrails of an undiſtinguiſhing beaſt, than on the judgment of an experienced commander?* and commanding the ſignal to be given, put *Eumenes* to flight at the firſt onſet [u].

A peace concluded between the two kings by the mediation of the Romans.

When news of the defeat of *Eumenes* was brought to *Rome*, the ſenate immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to conclude a peace between the two kings, and to demand *Hannibal*, who had ſtirred up *Pruſias* to this war [w] (A). By the mediation of the *Roman* embaſſadors a peace between the two kings, was agreed on, and *Pruſias* even conſented that *Hannibal* ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*. That great gene- ral kept himſelf cloſe in a caſtle which had been given him by *Pruſias*. He had made c ſeven doors in the caſtle, whereof ſome were private, and known to none but himſelf; for he entertained ſome diffidence of *Pruſias*, and therefore had contrived thoſe private out-lets, that he might be able to withdraw in caſe the king's ſoldiers ſhould come to apprehend him. But this contrivance ſtood him in no ſtead; for the ſoldiers ſent by *Pruſias* ſurrounded the caſtle on all ſides, which *Hannibal* obſerving had recourſe to a preſent poiſon, which he ever carried about with him, and thereby prevented the ill treatment he was likely to meet with from the *Romans* (B).

Eumenes *engaged in a new war with* Pharnaces *king of* Pontus, *&c.*

A peace being thus concluded between *Eumenes* and *Pruſias*, a new war unexpectedly broke out between *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* on one ſide, and *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, and the *Aſiatic Gauls* on the other. *Pharnaces* lay- d ing claim to ſome territories poſſeſſed by *Eumenes*, invaded his dominions, and ſeized on the city of *Sinope*, which by the articles of a former treaty was to remain free. Hereupon *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* his ally took the field, and in ſix days march arriving at *Amiſus* in *Cappadocia*, encamped in ſight of the enemy. But before they came to an engagement, news was brought of the arrival of the *Roman* legates, who had been ſent by the ſenate to compoſe all differences in an amicable manner. *Eumenes* immediately diſpatched his brother *Attalus* to welcome the *Roman* commiſſaries into thoſe parts, and declared himſelf ready to refer all matters to their arbitration. But *Pharnaces* could by no means be prevailed upon to aſſiſt at any conference where *Attalus* was preſent; however he ſent his embaſſadors with full powers, declaring that he e was willing to agree to ſuch conditions as the *Romans* ſhould think proper. But his embaſſadors behaved in ſuch manner as plainly ſhewed that *Pharnaces* had no mind to come to any agreement. Whereupon the conferences were broke off, and *Eumenes* with

[t] Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Æmil. Prob. in Hannibale. Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 7.
[u] Cic. de divinat. l. ii. Plut. de exilio.
[w] Polyb. legat. 47. Liv. l. xxxvi.

(Z) The crown continued in his family to the third generation, of which *Suidas* relates an anſwer given him by the oracle of *Delphos*, in theſe words: *Go on*, Taurocerus; *you ſhall wear a crown, and your ſon's ſons; but to no other ſhall it paſs.* He was called *Taurocerus* from a pair of bull's horns, which were put we know not by whom, on the head of his ſtatue. He was alſo called the *ſon of a bull* by another oracle, wherein it was foretold that he ſhould one day make a great ſlaughter of the *Gauls*; the anſwer of the oracle is related by *Pauſanias* in the following words (72): Jupiter *ſhall quickly ſend them a deliverer, the ſon of a bull, educated by* Jupiter, *who ſhall bring a diſmal day on the* Gauls.

(A) *Polybius* (73) tells us, that *Ti. Qu. Flaminius* was on this occaſion ſent both to *Pruſias* and to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But *Livy* (74) aſſures us, that *L. Scipio Aſiaticus*, and *P. Scipio Naſica* were joined with him in the ſame commiſſion.

(B) He died in the ſeventieth year of his age. Of his death the following oracle is ſaid to have been uttered many years before: Λιβύσθα κρύψει γαῖος Ἀβυβὸς δέμας; that is, *The land of* Libya, *or* Libyſſa, *ſhall cover the body of* Hannibal. By *Libya* or *Libyſſa Hannibal* underſtood *Libya* in *Afric*; whereas the place meant by this oracle was a little village in *Bithynia*, near the ſea ſide, called by the ſame name, whereof *Pliny* (75) ſpeaks thus: *There was formerly in thoſe parts a little town called* Libyſſa; *where there is now nothing worth ſeeing except* Hannibal's *tomb.*

(72) *Pauſan in Phocicis, p.* 334. (73) *Polyb. legat.* 47. (74) Liv. *l.* xxxvi. *ex Galer. Antiat.*
(75) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 32.

with the assistance of *Ariarathes* falling upon *Galatia*, reduced great part of that country, and was even preparing to invade *Pontus* though he had sent at the same time a considerable body to the assistance of the *Rhodians* against the *Lycians*, refusing to live in subjection to their new masters. The success which attended the arms of the confederate kings, obliged at last *Pharnaces* to sue for a peace, which was granted on the following terms: that *Pharnaces* should forthwith march out of *Galatia*, and break off all former alliance with the *Gauls*; that he should likewise resign all the strong-holds which he possessed in *Paphlagonia*, and send home without ransom such of the inhabitants as he had carried from thence; that he should restore to *Ariarathes* all the places which he was in possession of before the war broke out, and deliver both to him and *Eumenes* all the deserters and fugitives who had fled over to him since the beginning of the war; that he should pay back to *Morzias* and *Ariarathes* nine hundred talents, which he had taken from them, and three hundred more to *Eumenes*, to defray the expences he had been at during the war. By this treaty *Mithridates* king of *Armenia* was likewise to pay three hundred talents to *Ariarathes* for joining *Pharnaces* against him contrary to an agreement between *Mithridates* and *Eumenes* [w]. *Pharnaces* no sooner gave hostages for the performance of these articles, but the armies broke up, and retired to their respective countries. *Eumenes* restored to *Prusias* the city of *Teius* in *Pontus*, which *Prusias* had resigned to him pursuant to the articles of agreement [x].

A peace concluded.

Eumenes being thus delivered from any apprehension of war with his neighbours, entered into an alliance with *Antiochus* son of *Antiochus the Great* king of *Syria*, whom *Heliodorus* after the murder of his brother *Seleucus* with-held from his paternal kingdom. Some writers say, that he began now to grow jealous of the too great power of the *Romans*, and to strengthen himself with other alliances, fearing lest they should at last prove as troublesome neighbours as *Antiochus the Great* had been to the kings of *Pergamus* [y]. But be that as it will, *Eumenes* with the assistance of his brother *Attalus*, drove out the usurper, and placed *Antiochus* on the throne of his ancestors. About the same time *Eumenes* falling out with the *Rhodians* his antient allies, not only stirred up the *Lycians* to a revolt, but moreover made frequent inroads into their territories on the continent. Embassadors were therefore dispatched to *Rome* to complain of the violent proceedings of *Eumenes*. But as the king himself happened to go to *Rome* at the same time upon another errand, the *Rhodian* embassadors could not obtain any satisfaction for the damages they had suffered. *Eumenes* had undertaken this journey to acquaint the senate with the vast preparations which *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, to whom *Eumenes* bore an implacable hatred, was making both by sea and land. The king was received at *Rome* with the highest honours, and entertained in a manner suitable to his dignity. Being admitted into the senate, he made a long and elegant harangue, wherein he told them, that besides the desire he had of seeing the gods and men to whom he owed his kingdom, and his present happy situation, he had been induced to expose his person to so dangerous a journey by the mighty preparations which *Perseus* was carrying on with a design to drive the *Romans* out of *Asia*; he enlarged upon this topic, and exhorted the senators with great vehemency to prevent the impending danger by falling upon the common enemy before he was in a condition to hurt them or their allies; he offered himself ready to assist them with men and money to the utmost of his power, and ended his speech with a modest rehearsal of his own services in behalf of the republic [z]. What he said on this occasion, and the senate's answer, were kept so secret, that no one knew the true motive of his journey to *Rome*, till the war was ended, and *Perseus* taken prisoner (C) [a]. After *Eumenes* the embassadors of the *Rhodians* were heard, who inveighed against *Eumenes* for encouraging and abetting the *Lycian* rebels, and told the senate, that *Eumenes* under the shadow of their power was become as troublesome to *Asia* as *Antiochus* himself. But as the *Rhodians* were grown somewhat out of favour

Eumenes *enters into an alliance with* Antiochus *king of* Syria.

Goes to Rome *to acquaint the senate with the designs of* Perseus.

[w] Polyb. legat. 59. Appian. legat. 25. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 116, 117. [z] Liv. l. xlii. [a] Liv. ubi supra. Valer. Maxim. l. ii. c. 2. a Ful. Ursino edit.

(C) *Valerius Antias* writes that *Attalus* brother to *Eumenes*, and not the king himself, came to *Rome* to give notice to the senate of the preparations which *Perseus* was making. But all other writers agree, that *Eumenes* came in person, and mention many particulars of his journey and reception at *Rome*. Among others they tell us, that *Cato* could not be induced to visit him, or shew him any kind of civility: and that being asked the reason of his peculiar conduct on that occasion, he answered, *A king is by nature a carnivorous animal*.

a favour with the *Romans* for having conveyed *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus* to her husband *Perseus*, their speech, though applauded by the *Asiatics*, rather enhanced the esteem and kindness of the senate to *Eumenes*, on whom they heaped all the honours they could, presented him with a stately chariot, and ivory staff, and sent him home loaded with rich presents [b]. On his return as he was going from *Cirra* to perform a sacrifice at *Delphos*, two assassins sent by *Perseus* rolled down two great stones upon him as he entered the straights of the mountains. With one he was dangerously wounded on the head, with the other in the shoulder. As he fell with the blows from a steep place, and thereby received many other wounds, those who attended him carried him on board of his ship, not well knowing whether he was dead or alive. From b *Cirra*, finding that he was still alive, they conveyed him to *Corinth*, and from *Corinth* to *Ægina*, having caused their vessels to be carried over the isthmus. There he was cured of his wounds with such secresy, that none being admitted to see him, the report of his death was spread all over *Asia*, and even believed at *Rome* [c]. His brother *Attalus* being over-hasty in giving credit to the public fame, not only assumed the royal ensigns, but also married his brother's wife *Stratonice* daughter to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. But not long after hearing that his brother was alive, and on his journey to *Pergamus*, laying down the diadem, he went to meet him, bearing an halbert as one of his guards. The king embraced both him and the queen with great tenderness, but is said to have whispered in his brother's ear; *Don't* c *be again in haste to marry my wife till you are sure that I am dead.* Nor did he during his whole life ever do or say any thing else that could reflect on his brother's or wife's rash and imprudent behaviour, but shewed them the same love and tenderness as he had ever done [d]. The news of his recovery caused an universal joy at *Rome*, whence embassadors were sent to congratulate him on his safe arrival into his own kingdom without any other commission or instructions. But *Eumenes* laying hold of that occasion, did all that lay in his power to inflame them against *Perseus*, and began himself, this treacherous attempt increasing his antient hatred and aversion to the *Macedonians*, to make vast preparations in order to join the *Romans* and their allies against the king of *Macedon*. His example was followed by *Ariarathes* king d of *Cappadocia*, and the *Romans* drew into the same alliance *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and *Masinissa* king of *Numidia*. *Perseus* in the mean time sent embassadors to *Rome* to clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge by *Eumenes*; they made an artful speech to the senate, but as they gave no satisfaction with relation to the treacherous attempt of their master upon the life of *Eumenes*, a war was decreed against *Perseus*, and the embassador ordered to depart *Rome* the same day, and within thirty days all *Italy* [e].

Narrowly escapes being killed by two assassins sent by Perseus.

Eumenes upon advice that the *Romans* had at last declared war against *Perseus* sailed with his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus* to *Chalcis* in *Bœotia*, leaving his youngest brother *Philetærus* at *Pergamus* to defend his own dominions. From *Chalcis* e he marched into *Thessaly*, where he joined the consul *Licinius* with four thousand foot, and a thousand horse. *Athenæus* was left at *Chalcis* with two thousand foot to assist *Marius Luretius*, who commanded a body of ten thousand men at the siege of *Halicartus* [f]. The town was taken and levelled with the ground, and great part of *Bœotia* reduced. The like success did not attend *Licinius*, *Eumenes*, and *Attalus*, in *Thessaly*, where they had two encounters with *Perseus*; in the first both parties claimed the victory, but in the second the *Romans* with their allies were put to flight, and *Cassignatus*, commander of the *Gauls*, with many other officers, killed on the spot [g]. After this defeat the consul retired to *Larissa*, and from thence sent *Eumenes* and *Attalus* home; the rest of his army he kept during the winter in *Thessaly*, in order f to be ready to take the field early in the spring. In the mean time the *Achæans* foreseeing that with the kingdom of *Macedon* the liberties of *Greece* must inevitably fall, and in that view bearing a grudge to *Eumenes*, who had incensed the *Romans* against *Perseus*, abrogated by a public decree all the honours they had conferred upon him. Which *Attalus*, who then wintered at *Elatia*, no sooner heard, but he sent embassadors to expostulate thereupon with the common council of the nation. After the embassadors were heard, at the persuasion of *Polybius* the historian, a decree was made, whereby *Eumenes* was reinstated in all his antient honours, and embassadors dispatched

Joins the Romans against Perseus.

[b] Liv. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. 9. legat. 16. [c] Liv. l. xlii. Appian. legat. 25. [d] Liv. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Vales. p. 306. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. [e] Polyb. legat. 67. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 17. Liv. xlii. [f] Liv. l. xlii. [g] Liv. ubi supra.

dispatched to *Attalus* with a copy of the said decree. In that council it was likewise decreed, that auxiliaries should be sent to the *Romans*; and *Polybius* was appointed to command them [h]. Thus *Attalus* prevailed upon the *Achæans*, not only to restore his brother to the honours they had conferred upon him, but also to join him and the *Romans* against the king of *Macedon*, whom they had favoured to that time. a

Early in the spring *Eumenes* sailing with twenty ships from *Elæa*, joined on the coast of the *Cassandrenses Marcius Figulus* the *Roman* admiral, and invested both by sea and land the city of *Cassandrea*, but was not able to reduce it. He likewise made unsuccessful attempts on the two strong-holds, *Toron* and *Demetrias*, being obliged with considerable loss to retire from before them. As *Eumenes* about this time grew cold in his affection towards the *Romans*, some writers tell us, that he did not exert himself on this occasion as he might. What alienated his mind from his antient allies, is uncertain; but it is agreed on all hands, that from *Demetrias* he returned home, and could not, though earnestly entreated by the consul *Marcius*, be prevailed upon to leave behind him some troops of *Gallish* horse, which would have proved very serviceable to the *Romans*. Some say, that a reconcilement between him and *Perseus* was privately negotiated by one *Cydas* of *Crete*, and *Antimachus* governor of *Demetrias*. For *Cydas*, who was greatly in favour with *Eumenes*, had had private conferences at *Amphipolis* with one *Chimaras*, likewise of *Crete*, and greatly addicted to *Perseus*, and at *Demetrius* had conferred with *Menecrates*, one of *Perseus*'s commanders, and with *Antimachus* under the very walls of the city [i]. Others say, that having joined *Marcius*, as he had done the other consuls, he was very coldly entertained by him, and not suffered to incamp within the same trenches; which he highly resenting, took his leave of the consul, and with his forces returned home to *Pergamus* [k]. *Perseus* no sooner heard that *Eumenes* had left the *Romans*, but he sent *Cryphontes*, as *Polybius* calls him, or *Eropontes*, as he is named in the printed copies of *Livy*, to propose conditions of agreement between him and *Eumenes*. *Cryphontes* represented to *Eumenes* that there could be no sincere friendship between a king and a free state; that the *Romans* hated all kings alike, though they shewed the effects of their hatred to one only at a time, employing the forces and wealth of one king against another, with a design to compass the utter destruction of them all; that they had reduced *Philip* with the assistance of *Attalus*, *Antiochus* with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*, and now designed to destroy *Perseus* with the forces of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*; but when he was destroyed they would certainly fall upon *Eumenes*, whose territories lay next to theirs; that they already pretended to be dissatisfied with him, in order to have a plausible pretence of treating him as they had treated other kings. *Eumenes* answered, that he apprehended no greater danger from the *Romans* than from *Perseus*, if he should happen to get the better of them. But however, that he would stand neuter provided *Perseus* paid him a thousand talents, and for fifteen hundred talents more would persuade the *Romans* to hearken to conditions of an honourable peace. *Perseus* promised the sum required, but would not pay it before-hand, though *Eumenes* offered to give hostages for the performance of what he promised. *Perseus* finding that he could not prevail upon *Eumenes* but with ready money, offered to deposit the sum agreed on in a temple of *Samothrace*, whence it should be conveyed to him as soon as the peace was concluded. But as the island of *Samothrace* was subject to *Perseus*, *Eumenes* thought himself no surer of the money, while it was there, than if it had been kept in the king's treasures at *Pella*. Besides, he thought that his good offices deserved some acknowledgment, whether they were attended with success or no; and therefore insisted upon this, that part of the sum should be paid before he made any step in the affair. This *Perseus*, who mistrusted *Eumenes*, could not be brought to; and thus the conferences were broke off, but the subject of them kept secret, *Eumenes* having sent an express to the *Roman* consul, acquainting him that their negotiations were concerning the redemption of captives [l]. However, as the truth of the matter was soon after known by the *Romans*, they began to entertain no small jealousy of *Eumenes*, and heap all their favours on his brother *Attalus* who had staid with the consul, and given undoubted proofs of his fidelity during the whole time of the *Macedonian* war. After the overthrow of *Perseus*, and utter destruction of the kingdom of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* sent his brother *Attalus* to congratulate the senate on the happy issue of that war, and at the same time to crave their assistance against the

Grows cold in his affection towards the Romans. b

Confers with an embassador sent to him by Perseus. c d

c f

The Romans *grow jealous of him.*

[h] Liv. l. xliv. Polyb. legat. 78. [i] Liv. l. xliv. [k] Vellei. Patercul. histor. l. i. c. 9.
[l] Appian. Macedonic. in excerpt. Vales. p. 562.

a the *Asiatic Gauls*, who began to be very troublesome neighbours. *Attalus* was received at *Rome*, and entertained in a princely manner. Several of the senators, who went to visit him before he had his audience, encouraged him to lay down the character of an embassador from his brother, and treat for himself, assuring him, that, as the minds of the *Romans* were alienated from *Eumenes*, his brother's kingdom would be given to him, if he requested it of the senate. These promises at first awaked his ambition; for he approved or seemed to approve of the motion, and even promised to beg of the senate his brother's kingdom. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the wholesome admonitions of *Stratius* the physician, a man of great trust and authority with *Eumenes*, who had been sent with him to *Rome* as a trusty

b monitor, in case the *Romans* should tempt his fidelity. *Stratius* represented to him, that at present he reigned no less than his brother; and, in a short time, considering his brother's old age and infirmities, would have the kingdom intirely to himself without being guilty of rebellion; that the kingdom could scarcely be defended against the power of the *Gauls* by their mutual agreement, much less could they hold out against so warlike a nation, if their strength were impaired and divided by civil dissentions. These considerations had so good an effect upon *Attalus*, that when he was admitted into the senate, he first congratulated them on their victory over *Perses*, then modestly rehearsed his own services during the *Macedonian* war, and lastly acquainted them with the motive of his journey, intreating them to send embas-

c sadors to the *Gauls*, who by their authority might oblige them to lay down their arms, and forbear all hostilities against his brother *Eumenes*; he requested the senate, that the cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed on himself. As he omitted to sue for his brother's kingdom, they supposed that he designed to ask another day of audience for that affair alone. Wherefore they not only granted him all his requests, but sent him more rich and magnificent presents than they had ever done to any before. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but left *Rome* contented with what they had granted him already. His unexpected departure provoked the senate to such a degree, that while he was yet in *Italy*, they declared the cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea* free; thereby making their promise ineffectual, which otherwise

d they could not without shame revoke. And as for the *Gauls*, who were ready to fall upon the kingdom of *Pergamus*, they dispatched embassadors to them with such instructions as rather encouraged than prevented their design[m]. *Eumenes* being informed by his brother of what had passed at *Rome*, thought it well worth his while to go in person and justify his proceedings before the senate. But his design being understood at *Rome*, a law was there enacted, that no king should be permitted to come to *Rome*; for they did not think it expedient to treat him as an enemy; and to entertain him as a friend was more than their displeasure for his ingratitude, as they styled it, would permit. Upon the first notice of his landing at *Brundusium*, the senate dispatched the quæstor to him with a copy of the edict, injoining him to

e acquaint the king, that if he had any thing to lay before the senate, he was commissioned to hear and propose it; but if he had no affairs to transact with the senators, to command him without delay to depart *Italy*. *Eumenes* understanding from the quæstor the pleasure of the senate, told him that he had no business of consequence to transact, and did not stand in any need of their assistance; and, without adding one word more, retired on board his ship and sailed back to *Pergamus*. This treatment not only abated the courage of the king's friends, but animated the *Gauls* to invade his territories, seeing he could not expect any help from the *Romans*[n]. But *Eumenes* raising a powerful army, not only drove the *Gauls* out of his own dominions, but invaded at the same time *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, laying waste those countries, plun-

f dering the cities, and possessing himself of many strong-holds. Whereupon *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* sent embassadors to *Rome* to complain of these violent proceedings, and acquaint the senate, that *Eumenes* had entered into an alliance with *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, and countenanced all these who shewed any aversion to the *Romans*[o]. With the embassadors of *Prusias* came also those of the *Gauls*, of the *Selgenses*, and many other cities of *Asia* to accuse *Eumenes*, as if he kept a secret correspondence with *Perses*, which was also confirmed by some letters, which the *Romans* themselves had intercepted. *Eumenes* fearing lest the senate should declare him an enemy, and join the *Gauls* and *Prusias*, charged his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, to clear him

The senate encourages his brother Attalus *to demand the kingdom for himself.*

The generous behaviour of Attalus.

Eumenes *resolves to go to* Rome *to justify his proceedings.*

But is prevented by the senate.

Sends his two brothers to plead his cause at Rome.

[m] Polyb. legat. 93. Liv. l. xlv. [n] Polyb. legat. 97. Liv. l. xlvi. [o] Polyb. legat. 104. Liv. ubi supra.

him at *Rome* of the crimes objected to him by his enemies. They were both received a with all possible marks of honour, but could not dissipate the jealousies which the senate had conceived against *Eumenes*. For not long after their departure, *C. Sulpitius Gallus* and *Marius Sergius* were sent into *Asia* in quality of legates, and injoined to make a strict inquiry into the counsels and designs of *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*. *Sulpitius Gallus*, upon his entering *Asia*, caused a proclamation to be made in all the cities of that province, whereby all those, who had any complaints against *Eumenes*, were ordered to repair to *Sardis*, where they should have justice done them. The legate himself arriving by the time appointed at *Sardis*, caused a tribunal to be erected in a public place, on which for ten days together he received all the accusations and complaints against *Eumenes* that were laid before him, as if he had been sent on purpose b to pick a quarrel with the king. *Eumenes*, who was well apprised of his design, but unwilling to engage in a war against so powerful an enemy, especially in his old age, again sent his brother *Attalus* to *Rome*, hoping, that by his mediation he might be suffered to end his days in peace. *Attalus* did all that lay in his power to appease the wrath of the senators, and bring his brother again into favour. But all was to no purpose, they could by no means be prevailed upon to forget his behaviour during the *Macedonic* war, and seemed obstinately bent upon his destruction.

Legates sent from Rome *to inquire into the designs of* Eumenes.

Eumenes *dies.* But their designs were prevented by the death of the king, which happened soon after the return of *Attalus*, to whom he bequeathed both his wife and his kingdom. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, leaving one son behind him, whom he c had by *Stratonice*, the sister of *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. But he, being an infant at the time of his father's death, was incapable of governing the kingdom; and therefore *Eumenes* chose to put his brother *Attalus* into the present possession of the crown, reserving the next succession to his son [p] (D).

Attalus. *Year after the flood* 2840. *Before Christ* 159.

Attalus was scarce seated on the throne, when *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, surnamed *the Hunter*, invaded, upon what provocation we know not, his dominions, and committing every-where most dreadful ravages, advanced to the very walls of *Pergamus*, overthrew *Attalus* in a pitched battle, and made himself master of the capital of his kingdom. He expected to have found *Attalus* in the city, but that prince having saved himself by a timely retreat, *Prusias* vented his rage upon the unhappy d citizens, putting a great number of them to the sword, and setting fire to their houses [q]. Hereupon *Attalus* dispatched embassadors to *Italy* to lay before the *Roman* senate the condition to which the kingdom of *Pergamus* was reduced. But *Nicomedes* the son of *Prusias*, who was then at *Rome* for his education, answered all the complaints that were made against his father, and even returned them against *Attalus*, as if he had been the aggressor. However, two commissioners were sent into the east to put an end to the disputes of the two kings on the spot: But *Prusias*, without paying them the least deference, continued ravaging the territories of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* therefore, taking the advantage of the return of one of the embassadors, sent his brother *Athenæus* with him to make new complaints to the senate. As he advanced e nothing but what was confirmed by their own embassador, the senators were at last convinced that *Prusias* was the aggressor, and therefore sent him forthwith orders to withdraw his forces from the territories of *Attalus*. But *Prusias* under various pretences pursued the war for the space of three whole years, and reduced the kingdom of *Pergamus* to a most deplorable condition. At length he pretended to be ready to obey the decrees of the senate, and desired a conference with *Attalus*. At his request it was agreed, that the contending parties should meet on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, each attended by a guard of a thousand men, in order to put an end to their differences in the presence of the *Roman* envoys. But *Prusias*, who had no other view in this than to seize *Attalus*, marched his whole army to the f frontiers, and concealing his troops behind the neighbouring hills, gave them orders to surround the *Romans* and *Pergamenses*, as soon as they should appear. But *Attalus* and the *Romans*, having timely notice of his design, saved themselves by flight before the *Bithynian* forces could put the king's orders in execution. *Prusias* followed them to

Reduced to great straits by Prusias *king of* Bithynia.

Treachery of Prusias.

[p] Polyb. ubi supra. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. [q] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Vales. p. 169, 170, 337. Suid. in voce Prusias.

(D) *Suidas* calls him the greatest and most powerful king of his time. We have elsewhere made mention of his famous library at *Pergamus*, wherein were lodged two hundred thousand chosen books all collected by himself. Those *Marc Antony* afterwards bestowed upon *Cleopatra*, by whose order they were carried from *Pergamus* to *Alexandria*.

to *Pergamus* after he had plundered the baggage of the embaſſadors; and then
a marched to *Elæa*, a maritime city of *Æolis*, hoping to ſurprize it. But as the place was well gariſoned, and ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, he did not think it adviſeable to attempt the reduction of it. He therefore ſent back his land-forces to *Bithynia*, and embarking on board his fleet ſet ſail for *Thyatira* [r].

THE ſenate, being upon the return of their embaſſadors informed of theſe proceedings, were highly provoked againſt *Pruſias*; but however, inſtead of declaring war againſt one who had affronted their embaſſadors and deſpiſed their orders, they contented themſelves with ſending ten commiſſioners, whoſe number at leaſt might make ſome impreſſion on the *Bithynian*. Among theſe were *L. Anicius*, *C. Fannius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. Their inſtructions were to put an end to this war, to oblige
b *Pruſias* to ſatisfy *Attalus* for the damages he had ſuffered by it, and to break off the alliance of the republic with the *Bithynian*, in caſe he did not acquieſce to the decree of the ſenate [s]. In the mean time *Attalus*, having got together a conſiderable army, (for both *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* and *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* ſent him underhand powerful ſupplies) took the field, and meeting the *Roman* embaſſadors at *Quada*, marched directly againſt *Pruſias*, who was advancing towards the frontiers of *Pergamus* at the head of a numerous army. The two kings at the requeſt of the embaſſadors came to a conference at a place equally diſtant from both camps. *Pru-*
ſias by many ſhifts and evaſions endeavoured to amuſe the embaſſadors; but they, at length exerting themſelves, told him, that he muſt either comply with the decree of
c the ſenate, or be declared an enemy to the republic; and accordingly, as he ſtill perſiſted obſtinate and untractable, they ſolemnly renounced the alliance and amity which had been between him and *Rome*. *Pruſias* endeavoured to gain them by promiſes and ſubmiſſions; but they were inflexible, and after having exhorted *Attalus* to continue on the defenſive, diſperſed themſelves in the ſeveral ſtates of *Aſia*, to aſſemble forces againſt the king of *Bithynia*. *Rhodes*, *Cyzicum*, and many other maritime cities, fitted out ſhips, and ſent them to the aſſiſtance of *Attalus*; who having out of theſe reinforcements formed a fleet of eighty gallies, gave the command of it to his brother *Athenæus*, with orders to ravage the coaſts of *Bithynia*; which he did accord-
d ingly, putting all to fire and ſword, and carrying off an immenſe booty. *Pruſias*, finding he could not hold out againſt the ſtorm that threatened him, ſubmitted to the decree of the ſenate, and accepted the terms which *Rome* ſent him by three new embaſſadors, *viz.* *Appius Claudius*, *Lucius Oppius*, and *Aulus Poſthumius*. The terms were, that he ſhould forthwith deliver up to *Attalus* twenty ſhips with decks, that he ſhould pay him five hundred talents within the ſpace of twenty years; that both of them ſhould be contented with what they had before the breaking out of the war; and laſtly, that *Pruſias* ſhould pay the *Methymneans*, *Egeans*, *Cumæi*, and *Heracleots* an hundred talents by way of reparation for the damage he had done them. Theſe conditions being agreed on and ſigned by the contending parties,
e *Attalus* returned to *Pergamus* with all his ſea and land-forces, and *Pruſias* into *Bithynia*, after having evacuated all the cities and ſtrong-holds which he had taken during the war [t].

The Romans *ſend commiſſioners to put an end to the war.*

The two kings come to a conference.

Pruſias *accepts the terms of peace ſent him from* Rome *by three new embaſſadors.*

Attalus, being thus by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* delivered from ſo dangerous a war, ſent his nephew, the ſon of *Eumenes*, named alſo *Attalus*, to thank the ſenate for their kind offices, and to renew the friendſhip and alliance which had been formerly between his father and the people of *Rome*. Young *Attalus* was received by the ſenate with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, the ancient treaties with his father were renewed, and he loaded with preſents ſent back to his uncle, all the cities of *Greece*, through which he was to paſs, being ordered to receive and treat him in a
f manner ſuitable to his condition [u].

Pruſias having diſcharged part of the ſum which he was to pay to *Attalus*, hoped by the intereſt of his ſon *Nicomedes*, who reſided at *Rome* and was in great favour with the ſenate, to prevail upon the ſenators to forgive the remainder. With this view he ſent one *Menas*, a chief lord of his court, to *Rome* in quality of embaſſador; his inſtructions were, to make uſe of *Nicomedes*'s intereſt to gain his point; and in caſe he did not ſucceed, to diſpatch *Nicomedes*, of whoſe great power at *Rome* he began to be jealous. For the more eaſy execution of this wicked deſign, he commanded two thouſand men to embarque with his embaſſador; an extraordinary guard, but

[r] POLYB. legat. 128. [s] POLYB. legat. 123. [t] POLYB. legat. 136, 137. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 173. [u] Idem legat. 140.

but neceſſary to facilitate the eſcape of *Menas* after the aſſaſſination, and protect him a after his return into *Bithynia*. *Menas* on his arrival at *Rome* employed *Nicomedes* to uſe his beſt offices with the ſenate; but *Andronicus*, the embaſſador of the king of *Pergamus*, pleaded his maſter's cauſe ſo well, that the former decree of the ſenate was confirmed. What therefore remained was to put the barbarous orders of *Pruſias* in execution, and murder *Nicomedes*. But as the young prince was greatly beloved at *Rome*, it ſeemed dangerous to *Menas*, notwithſtanding the numerous guard which he concealed on board his ſhips, to make any attempt upon his life in the ſight of the ſenate. After he had been long in ſuſpenſe, not knowing what to do, he reſolved at laſt to communicate to the ſon his father's deſign, and to turn the plot againſt the author and contriver of it. Accordingly *Menas* diſcovered to him his private b inſtructions, and at his requeſt imparted the whole matter to *Andronicus* the *Pergamian* embaſſador, who obtained leave of his maſter to tranſport *Nicomedes* into *Aſia* on board his ſhip, that prince promiſing to take him under his protection, and ſupport him againſt his father, who was no leſs intolerable to his neighbours, than to his own ſubjects. The two embaſſadors ſailed from *Oſtia* much about the ſame time, and arrived, as it had been agreed on before-hand, at *Berenice*, a ſmall city on the coaſt of *Epirus*. There they both landed their men under pretence of refreſhing them after the voyage, and met privately to conſult together with *Nicomedes* about the meaſures that might ſeem moſt proper for the execution of their deſign. The next morning *Nicomedes*, as it had been concerted the night before, c went aſhore in a purple robe, with the royal diadem on his head and a ſceptre in his hand. Hereupon *Andronicus*, with an hundred men he had with him, ſaluted and proclaimed him king of *Bithynia*. *Menas* pretending to be ſurpriſed at this ſtep, aſſembled in great haſte his two thouſand *Bithynians*, and in an artful ſpeech exhorted them to ſide with that party which was moſt likely to prevail, inſinuating at the ſame time that *Pruſias* was generally hated and *Nicomedes* beloved, not only by the *Bithynians*, but by the *Romans* and the ſubjects of the king of *Pergamus*, who were ready to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. Having ended his ſpeech, he obſerved in the countenances of his men an unanimous determination to adhere to the young prince; whereupon ſeconding their inclination, he immediately joined the troops of d *Andronicus*, and ſaluted *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. After great ſhouts and repeated acclamations, they all reimbarqued, ſet ſail, and landed in a port of the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* received young *Nicomedes* with great joy, and immediately diſpatched meſſengers to *Pruſias*, requiring him to deliver up ſome provinces to his ſon, and fix certain revenues on him for his ſubſiſtence. To this demand the old king proudly anſwered, that *Nicomedes* ſhould ſoon have the whole kingdom of *Pergamus* aſſigned to him [w]. But notwithſtanding this haughty anſwer, he forthwith ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, deſiring the ſenate to ſend commiſſioners into *Bithynia*, and ſettle matters between him and *Attalus* in an amicable manner. But in the mean e time *Attalus*, having encouraged *Nicomedes* to make war upon his father, by interpreting in his favour the anſwer of an oracle in *Epirus*, as if the god promiſed the young prince the kingdom of *Bithynia* [x], took the field; and entering with *Nicomedes* the dominions of *Pruſias*, was every-where received with great joy and loud acclamations. The king, not daring to truſt his *Bithynians*, had recourſe to *Diegyles*, one of the petty ſovereigns of *Thrace*, whoſe daughter he had married for his ſecond wife. But all the ſuccours that prince could ſpare him were only five hundred men. With theſe he ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Nice*; but obſerving that the citizens were ready to revolt, and only waited for the arrival of *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*, he left that place, and took refuge in *Nicomedia*, which he thought ſtrong enough to endure a long ſiege, not doubting but in the mean time embaſſadors would arrive from *Rome*, f and, by the interpoſition of their authority and good offices, make up matters between him and his ſon [y]. But he was herein greatly diſappointed; for though his embaſſadors on their arrival at *Rome* deſired an audience of the ſenate without delay, yet the prætor, to favour *Attalus*, put it off under various pretences from day to day. At length he preſented them to the conſcript fathers, and being ordered to appoint three embaſſadors to be ſent into *Bithynia*, he made choice of ſuch as were no-ways qualified for that commiſſion; for they were men of no parts, and beſides made a very ridiculous figure, one of them being ſtrangely diſfigured with ſcars, the other lame,

Pruſias *makes an attempt upon the life of his ſon* Nicomedes.

Attalus *encourages* Nicomedes *to make war upon his father.*

[w] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 174, 175. [x] Zosim. hiſtor. l. ii. [y] Appian. ibid.

a lame, and the third a meer idiot : whence the saying of *Cato*, that the *Bithynian* embassy had neither head, feet, nor understanding [z]. It may be easily imagined, that men of this figure and character had no great weight in the two courts: *Attalus* and *Nicomedes* made as if they were ready to submit to the authority of the senate ; but the *Bithynians*, suborned underhand by them, openly declared, that they could no longer bear the tyranny of *Prusias*, and therefore intreated the embassadors to return to *Rome*, and lay their complaints before the senate, not doubting but they should be able to settle *Nicomedes* on the throne, before any new resolutions could be taken by the conscript fathers. The embassadors were easily prevailed upon to leave *Bithynia*, and return for new instructions to *Rome*. They were no sooner gone than *Attalus* and
b *Nicomedes* at the head of the *Pergamian* troops advanced to *Nicomedia*, which readily opened its gates to them, and left the old king at his son's mercy. *Prusias*, seeing himself thus deserted and betrayed by all, fled for refuge to the temple of *Jupiter*. But the holiness of the place could not screen him from the violence of his son, who, as he had been brought up at *Rome*, was tainted with the depravity of manners that prevailed there : for he no sooner heard that his father had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Jupiter*, but he sent thither assassins to murder him [a]. *Diodorus Siculus* [b] tells us, that the unnatural son killed him with his own hand ; *Strabo* [c] charges *Attalus* with the death of *Prusias* ; *Dio Cassius* and *Zonaras* say, that he was assassinated by his own subjects [d] ; but *Livy* [e] divides the guilt of this henious murder between
c *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*. The *Romans* took no notice of what had passed in *Bithynia*, but treated *Attalus* with the same kindness they had formerly shewn him, and suffered *Nicomedes* to enjoy peaceably the fruits of his wickedness. Soon after *Attalus* joined the *Romans* against *Andriscus*, who pretended to be the son of *Perses* king of *Macedon* and heir to his dominions. This was the last enterprize *Attalus* engaged in ; for *Andriscus* being taken prisoner, and an end put to that war, he returned home with his sea and land-forces, and gave himself up to an idle and dissolute life, as *Plutarch* informs us, adding, that *Philopœmen* one of his courtiers, governed both the king and kingdom at his pleasure ; insomuch, that no body applied to *Attalus*, but his prime minister *Philopœmen*, for favours or employments, the whole manage-
d ment of affairs being committed to his care alone [f]. We have observed above, that *Eumenes* had a son, and as he was a minor at the time of his father's death, the tuition of the young prince with the crown was left to *Attalus* the uncle, who so faithfully discharged his trust, that he not only carefully bred up his pupil, but at his death, which happened in the eighty-second year of his age, and twenty-first of his reign, he left the crown to him, passing by his own children : for he looked upon it as a meer depositum intrusted with him for his nephew, and therefore restored it to him in the next succession ; an instance of honesty seldom to be met with, princes being commonly no less solicitous to preserve their crowns for their posterity than for themselves [g]. He was surnamed *Philadelphus* from the sincere affection which
e he had for his brother, whereof we have related a very remarkable instance in the foregoing reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and took particular pleasure in the conversation of learned men, especially of *Lycon*, a native of *Troas* and a philosopher of great note, whom he entertained at his court with a magnificence worthy of a king. He built two cities in *Lydia*, the one called *Attalia*, from his name, and the other, from his surname, *Philadelphia*. The author of the first book of the *Maccabees* mentions him among the allies of the *Roman* people [h] ; and *Tully* tells us, that he was a constant friend to *Rome*, and sent magnificent presents to *Scipio Æmilianus*, while he lay at the siege of *Numantia* in *Spain* [i].

Attalus the son of *Eumenes* was scarce seated on the throne, when he began to act
f more like a madman, as *Justin* expresses it, than a prince [k]. In the first place he caused most of his relations, and the best friends of his family, to be inhumanly massacred, charging some of them with the death of his mother *Stratonice*, who died in an advanced age, and others with the murder of his wife *Berenice*, though it was well known, that she had died of an incurable distemper, and was generally lamented. Many upon groundless suspicions were cut off with their wives, children, and whole families. In these executions he made use of his mercenaries, whom he had hired

for

Nicomedes *with the assistance of* Attalus *drives his father from the throne.*

Attalus *gives himself up to an idle and dissolute life.*

Death of Attalus.

Attalus III. *Year after the flood* 2861. *Before Christ* 138.

[z] Plut. in Cat. Major. [a] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 174, 175. [b] Diodor. Sicul. in Photii Biblioth. cod. 244. [c] Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. [d] Dio. Cass. l. xlii. Zonar. l. vi. [e] Liv. Epitom. lib. l. [f] Plut. in apoph. [g] Plut. ibid. & in lib. περὶ φιλαδελφίας. [h] Macgab. l. i. c. 15. [i] Cic. in. orat. pro Dejotaro. [k] Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4.

for this purpose out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations. a
His cruelty. After he had thus filled the city of *Pergamus* and the whole kingdom with blood and slaughter, and in a wild fury cut off the best men in his kingdom, and those who had served his father and uncle with the greatest fidelity, being conscious of the many murders he had committed, and imagining that the manes of his murdered relations were perpetually haunting him, he fell into a deep melancholy, and confining himself in his palace, put on a mean apparel, let his hair and beard grow, and
And wild extravagancies. quite sequestered himself from the rest of mankind. Afterwards he withdrew from the palace, and shut himself up in a garden, which he cultivated with his own hands, sowing it with all sorts of poisonous herbs. These he mixed with wholesome pulse, and in his mad fits sent packets of them to those whom his gloomy temper led b
him to suspect. In these and such-like wild extravagances he spent the whole time of his reign, the best commendation of which was its shortness; for it ended after five years in his death, which happened in the following manner. As he was without friends, without relations, and even without courtiers, no one daring to come near
His death. him, he took a fancy to employ his time in the trade of a founder; and having undertaken to make a brazen monument for his mother, while he laboured in melting and working the brass, the heat of the sun and the furnace threw him into a fever, of which he died the seventh day after, delivering his people from the most cruel and barbarous tyrant that ever swayed a sceptre [k]. All the antients speak of him as a madman; and some writers tells us, that the grief, which he conceived for the c
death of his mother *Stratonice*, whom he loved with great tenderness, threw him into a deep melancholy, which at length deprived him of his senses. From his tender affection for his mother he was surnamed *Philometor*, and not ironically, as *Volaterranus* would have it, as if he had hated, and even murdered, her. *Justin* tells us in express terms [l], that he well deserved that name for the extraordinary affection he always bore her; and nevertheless the above-mentioned author quotes *Justin* to prove what he advances, though diametrically opposite to what we read in that writer. *Lucian* and *Zonaras* accuse this prince of having dispatched his uncle *Attalus* with poison; but other writers, without taking notice of any violence used on him, tell us, that he died in the eighty-second year of his age, leaving the crown to his nephew, d
whom he had brought up with great care. *Varro* [m] and *Columella* [n] reckon *Attalus Philometor* among those who have wrote of agriculture, and add, that he was skilled in physic, and had a thorough knowledge of simples. Hence some have conjectured,
Makes the Roman people heirs of all his goods. that the physician *Attalus* mentioned by *Pliny* [o], was the king of *Pergamus*, since the author elsewhere [p] mentions him among those who have wrote of physic. At his death he left a will, whereby he made the *Romans* heirs of all his goods; in virtue of this will the republic seized on his kingdom, reckoning that among his goods, and reduced it to a province, which was known by the name of *Asia Propria* or *Proper Asia*. *Eudemus* of *Pergamus* brought this will to *Rome*, and there delivered it to *Tiberius Gracchus* tribune of the people, together with the deceased king's crown and e
purple robes [q] (E). But *Aristonicus*, the next heir, did not tamely submit to the will

[k] JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4. [l] JUSTIN. ibid. [m] VARRO. de re rustic. l. i. c. 1. [n] COLUMELL. de rustic. l. i. c. 1. [o] PLIN. l. xxxiii. [p] Idem, l. viii. [q] JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4. PLUTARCH. in Tiber. Gracch.

(E) The words of *Attalus*'s will, were, *Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres esto; Let the people of* Rome *be the heirs of my goods:* These words the senate interpreted as comprehending his kingdom, which they reckoned among the king's goods. But some of the neighbouring princes, namely *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* (75), looked upon this will as a mere forgery; others were of opinion, that the *Romans*, allowing it to be genuine, were in virtue of the abovementioned word intitled only to the deceased king's moveable goods, the kingdom itself belonging by right of succession to *Aristonicus* the only surviving prince of the blood royal. 'Tis true, he was the natural son of *Eumenes*; but this, according to the custom which obtained among all the eastern princes, did not by any means debar him from the crown, when there were no lawful children to succeed to it. *Horace* among the *Latin* writers seems to insinuate, as *Acron* observes in his notes on that poet, that the *Romans* were intruders, and not lawful heirs to king *Attalus*, in the following words:

——— *Neque Attali*
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi (76).

That is, neither have I, an unknown heir, or an heir no ways related to *Attalus*, invaded his palace. It is not therefore true, that the kingdom of *Pergamus belonged in strict equity to the* Romans, that *the republic had an indisputable right of dominion to the* Pergamians, that *Aristonicus had no manner of claim to the kingdom of* Attalus, as certain modern writers confidently affirm (77).

(75) *Sallust. l.* iv. *Historiar.* (76) *Horat. l.* ii. *Ode* 18. (77) *Catrou and Rouillé hist. Rom. l.* li. *ad An. urb.* 624.

a will which *Attalus* was ſaid to have made. He was the ſon of *Eumenes* and brother of *Attalus*, though by another mother, *viz.* by an *Epheſian* courteſan, the daughter of a muſician. As ſon of *Eumenes*, he laid claim to the crown, and having aſſembled a conſiderable army, he put himſelf in a condition to maintain his pretenſions. With the aſſiſtance of a body of *Thracians* and *Phocæans*, whom he took into his ſervice, he made himſelf maſter of ſome ſtrong places, which opened him a way into the heart of the kingdom, where he was joined by great numbers of *Pergamians*, who being accuſtomed to a monarchical, dreaded a republican, government; and therefore, without minding the birth of their new leader, preferred his authority to that of a foreign prætor. Having by this means got together in a ſhort time a numerous and b powerful army, he beſieged the places which were for maintaining the late king's will, and took the cities of *Samos* and *Colophon* in *Ionia*, and *Myndos* in *Caria*. The other places ſurrendered upon terms; ſo that he became, without meeting with any conſiderable oppoſition, maſter of the whole kingdom [r].

Ariſtonicus lays claim to the crown.

And makes himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom.

THIS news was brought to *Rome* about the time the people were to chuſe conſuls, and among the candidates were two men of great abilities, but whoſe employments ſeemed to render them incapable of making war in *Aſia*. Theſe were *Licinius Craſſus*, *high-pontiff*, and *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, *flamen Martialis*, or in other words, *high-prieſt of* Mars. Both obtained the conſulate for which they ſtood, and were both very deſirous of leading the armies of the republic into *Aſia*, no commiſſion c being more profitable than that of commanding in thoſe diſtant countries; but, after a ſharp conteſt, it was determined in the comitia, that *Craſſus* might, tho' *pontifex maximus*, head the armies of the republic into *Aſia*; and he was acccordingly appointed to diſpoſſeſs *Ariſtonicus* of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and reduce it, agreeable to the late king's will, to a *Roman* province. *Craſſus*, notwithſtanding the inteſtine broils which then reigned at *Rome*, immediately ſet out for *Aſia*; but as we find no mention made by hiſtorians of troops, fleets, or proviſion ſent with the conſul, he, without all doubt, took it for granted, that the eaſtern kings and nations, in alliance with *Rome*, would furniſh him with ſufficient forces on the ſpot to drive out the uſurper. On his arrival in *Aſia*, he found that neither *Syria* nor *Egypt* were in a condition to d lend him any aſſiſtance, both thoſe kingdoms being at that time involved in great troubles. The conſul therefore had recourſe to the kings of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Paphlagonia*, who all furniſhed him with troops; ſo that he advanced at the head of a numerous army, or rather of four armies, towards the frontiers of the kingdom of *Pergamus* [s]. *Ariſtonicus* did not care to engage the conſul, but retiring as he advanced, ſuffered him to lay waſte the country, in hopes of finding an opportunity of falling upon him unawares, which ſoon offered; for *Craſſus*, who was a man of an avaricious temper, having got together an immenſe booty, began to retire from the inland parts of the kingdom toward the coaſt, in order to ſhip it off for *Italy*; but, as the ſeaſon was far advanced and the roads almoſt impaſſable, the army e advanced very ſlowly; beſides, the great number of waggons, loaded with the riches almoſt of the whole kingdom, retarded their march ſtill more, and frequently occaſioned a great confuſion in the army; which *Ariſtonicus* being informed of, lay in wait for the conſul in a narrow paſſage between ſteep hills, and there fell upon him when he leaſt expected it. *Craſſus*, tho' thus ſurprized, might have eaſily repulſed the enemy, having under his command a very numerous and well-diſciplined army; but being wholly intent upon preſerving the ſpoils, he unadviſedly thinned the ranks to put a ſtronger guard on them; ſo that the allies, being attacked by *Ariſtonicus*'s men, with great vigour and in a cloſe body, were intirely routed. In the flight the conſul himſelf was taken priſoner by a body of *Thracians* between *Elea* and *Myrina*; f but as they were carrying him in triumph to the camp of *Ariſtonicus*, he began to conſider the reproach it would caſt both on himſelf and on his republic, if a conſul and a *pontifex maximus* ſhould become a ſlave to ſo deſpicable an enemy as *Ariſtonicus*, and on that conſideration would have laid violent hands on himſelf, had he not been diſarmed; but as he had a rod in his hand to guide the horſe on which he was mounted, he ſtruck the ſoldier, who was neareſt him, ſo violently with it, that he beat out one of his eyes. Hereupon the *Thracian*, in a tranſport of rage, drew his ſword, and, without further deliberation run the conſul through and killed him on the ſpot. By this

Craſſus ſent by the ſenate againſt him.

Craſſus defeated, and taken priſoner.

[r] LIV. l. lix. VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 4. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. FLOR. l. iii. c. 20. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 1. EUTROP. l. iv.

[s] STRABO.

this means *Aristonicus* was deprived of the pleasure of having a *Roman* consul and *pontifex maximus* in his power; however, the consul's head was carried to the enemy's camp, and there presented to *Aristonicus*, and exposed to public view; but his body was honourably buried at *Myrina*, or as others will have it, at *Smyrna* [t]. a a

When news of this defeat was brought to *Rome*, the tribes promoted two persons to the consulate, who were very unequal in rank, *viz. C. Claudius Pulcher*, a man of an illustrious family, and *M. Perperna*, a soldier of fortune. The latter was sent into *Asia* to revenge the death of the consul, and put an end to the *Pergamian* war. He appeared unexpectedly in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where he found *Aristonicus* wholly intent on enjoying the fruits of his victory. Feasts, revels, and entertainments, after the *Asiatic* fashion, took up all his thoughts and time; but he was soon roused out of his lethargy by the new consul, who having assembled, with incredible expedition, the troops of the allies, came unexpectedly upon him, and having obliged him to venture an engagement, gained a complete victory over him. *Aristonicus*, after the defeat fled to *Stratonice* (F), where he had no sooner shut himself up than the conqueror was before the place, which he blocked up on all sides, and, by that means, without exposing his men to the dangers of an assault, reduced the garison to such straits, that they delivered both the city and their leader into his hands. The philosopher *Blosius* (G), who had assisted *Aristonicus* with his counsels during the whole course of the war, exhorted him to prefer a voluntary death to a shameful captivity, and encouraged him to it by dispatching himself in his presence; but he, like the other *Asiatic* princes, not having courage enough to lay violent hands on himself, even in the most calamitous circumstances, suffered himself to be carried to the consul, who kept him in chains to grace his triumph [u]. b c

Perperna *sent into* Asia *in his room.*

Aristonicus *defeated, and taken.*

In the mean time new consuls being created at *Rome*, viz. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* and *Manius Aquilius*, the latter was appointed to succeed *Perperna* in *Asia*, and put an end to that war, by reducing the kingdom of *Pergamus* to a *Roman* province. On his arrival he sent a proud message to *Perperna*, commanding him to deliver up to him *Aristonicus*, as belonging to his triumph rather than to *Perperna*'s. This order *Perperna* refused to comply with, and his refusal was very likely to be attended with bad consequences; but his death, which happened soon after the arrival of *Aquilius*, decided the question. He had quite exhausted himself in pursuing *Aristonicus*, and hurrying from place to place after him; however, before his death, he took care to ship off for *Rome* all the treasures of the deceased king; which was a great disappointment to the consul *Aquilius* [w]. d

The *Pergamians*, notwithstanding the captivity of their leader *Aristonicus*, and the signal victory gained by the brave *Perperna*, still held out against the *Romans*, the fear of serving new masters, and receiving laws from a foreign republic, keeping the people every-where in arms; so that *Aquilius* was obliged to besiege almost all the

[t] Liv. l. lix. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Just. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Jul. Obseq. de prodig. Eutrop. l. iv. Oros. l. v. c. 10. [u] Liv. Strabo. Florus, Just. Oros. Eutorp Val. Max. ibid. [w] Strabo. l. xiv. p. 646. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 4. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Eutrop. l. iv. Oros. l. v. c. 10.

(F) The antient geographers mention three cities in *Asia* by this name. That which is here spoken of stood in *Caria*, and was, according to *Strabo* (78), originally a *Syro-Macedonian* colony. It took its name, as *Stephanus* informs us, from *Stratonice* the wife of *Antiochus Soter*. The emperor *Adrian*, who rebuilt it, called it from his own name *Adrianopolis*; but in the antient *notitiæ* it retained its old name. *Strabo* (79) mentions another city bearing this name in the neighbourhood of mount *Taurus*; and *Ptolemy* a third, which he places in *Mesopotamia*.

(G) *Blosius* was a native of *Cumæ*, and a philosopher of great note. He warmly pressed *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had a great opinion of his integrity and understanding, not to drop his design of passing the famous *Agrarian* law. After the death of his friend *Gracchus*, he was cited to appear before the consul, and being asked why he had engaged in the party of the seditious tribune? he boldly answered, Because he thought it the most just. The consul further inquired, why he went so far as to be his agent? To this question the philosopher replied, that he did all that lay in his power to serve him, because he deserved to be served and obeyed. Would you then have burnt the capitol, said the consul, if he had ordered you to do it? Spare his memory, replied *Blosius*, with a surprizing confidence; he was not capable of so black an attempt; but, if he had given me such an order, I should have certainly put it in execution, thinking his ordering it a sufficient proof of its being necessary for the public good (80). The intrepidity of *Blosius* surprized the consul, who found means to rescue him from the punishment which the senate had inflicted on the other friends of the tribune. He afterwards went over into *Asia*, where he assisted *Aristonicus* with his counsels; and, after having done all the mischief he could to the *Romans*, ended his life in the manner we have related.

(78) *Strabo*, *l.* xiv. (79) *Idem ibid.* (80) *Plut. in Gracch.*

a the cities of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and reduce them one by one. As moſt of the cities of the kingdom of *Pergamus* had no other water but what was brought from far in aqueducts, the conſul, provoked at their obſtinate reſiſtance, inſtead of demoliſhing the aqueducts, as was cuſtomary in war, poiſoned the ſprings, and by that means ſpread death and deſolation in the places he beſieged. All the ancients declare their deteſtation of this perfidious and inhumane way of waging war, condemning it as a moſt notorious infraction of the law of nature; but *Rome*, it ſeems, was not ſo much offended at it, ſince ſhe ſuffered the cruel *Aquilius*, who practiſed it, to govern the kingdom of *Pergamus*, in quality of proconſul for three whole years after his conſulſhip was expired [x]. *Aquilius* having at laſt reduced the whole b kingdom of *Pergamus*, the *Roman* ſenate appointed ten commiſſioners to ſettle it as a prætorian province, and put *Aquilius* at the head of the commiſſion. By them this great ſtate was divided into ſeveral diſtricts, each of them depending on the metropolis, where the *Roman* prætor fixed his reſidence. The whole province comprehended *Lydia*, *Caria*, the *Helleſpont*, and the two *Phrygias*. Some of theſe countries were beſtowed on the four kings who helped to conquer them. *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia* were given to the ſons of *Ariarathes*, who was killed in this war. *Phrygia Major*, or the *Greater Phrygia* was, according to *Juſtin* [y], conferred upon *Mithridates Euergetes* by the ſenate; according to *Appian* [z], ſold to that prince by *Aquilius* for a conſiderable ſum of money, which the king paid on the ſpot. However that be, it is certain, c that after the death of *Mithridates*, the ſenate took *Phrygia* from his ſon in his minority, and declared it a free and independent ſtate. As for the unhappy *Ariſtonicus*, he was led in chains before the triumphal chariot of *Aquilius*, as appears from the letter which *Mithridates the Great* wrote to *Arſaces* king of *Parthia*. The *Romans*, ſays he in that letter [a], forging a will, whereby *Attalus* bequeathed to them his kingdom, led *Ariſtonicus* the ſon of *Eumenes* in triumph, for attempting to recover, by force of arms, his father's kingdom. *Velleius Paterculus* tells us likewiſe, that he was led in triumph by *Manius Aquilius*, and afterwards beheaded [b]. *Strabo* ſays, that after the triumph he was carried back to priſon, and there ſtrangled by an order from the ſenate [c]; and with him agree *Eutropius* [d] and *Oroſius* [e]. It is therefore ſurpriſing, that certain d modern writers [f], in oppoſition to theſe glaring authorities, ſhould tell us, that *Ariſtonicus* died before *Aquilius*'s triumph, which happened three years after the intire reduction of the *Pergamian* kingdom. *Rome* having thus reduced the kingdom of *Attalus* to a province, maintained from this time a perpetual intercourſe with the *Aſiatics*; and hence that inundation of vices of all kinds, which over-ran the whole ſtate. The republic gained indeed a conſiderable increaſe of power and riches by this new conqueſt; but ſhe paid dear for it in that univerſal depravation of manners which it introduced. *Rome*, ſays *Juſtin* [g], gave law to *Aſia*; but *Aſia*, in her turn, revenged herſelf on *Rome*, by teaching the *Romans* refinements in debauchery, and profuſeneſs in entertainments and furniture (H).

The kingdom of Pergamus reduced by Aquilius to a Roman province. Year after the flood 2870. *Before Chriſt* 119.

[x] Flor. l. ii. c. 20. [y] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 5. [z] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 177 & 208. & de bell. civil. p. 362, 363. Justin. ibid. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624. & l. xiv. p. 646. [a] Saluſt. Hiſtoriar. l. iv. [b] Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. [c] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. [d] Eutrop. l. iv. [e] Oros. l. v. c. 10. [f] Catrou and Rouil. Hiſt. Rom. l. li. ad ann. urb. 624. [g] Justin. ibid.

(H) *Pliny* looks on the conqueſt of *Pergamus* as the origin of the many diſorders which afterwards prevailed in *Rome*. With the wealth of *Pergamus*, ſays he, debauchery, effeminacy, luxury, and all kinds of vices, came in crowds to *Rome*, and overwhelmed the capital of the world. Modeſty and innocence were no longer countenanced in a city given up to the pleaſures and delights of *Aſia*. The citizens, dazzled with the ſplendor of the rich moveables that were ſhewn them, began to be aſhamed of their ancient ſimplicity. They picqued themſelves on knowing how to value what their anceſtors took pride in deſpiſing. They rivaled one another in the richneſs of their dreſs, in the furniture of their houſes, and expence of their tables. Thus *Aſia*, when ſubdued, had her full revenge on us, by bringing our city under a much worſe yoke, that of effeminacy. Thus far *Pliny* (81), whoſe teſtimony is confirmed by *Florus*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Seneca*, *Juvenal*, and all the other writers who make any mention of the general diſſolution of manners, which at this time began to reign, without reſtraint, at *Rome*.

(81) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 7. *& l.* xxxiii. *c.* 11.

CHAP. VII.

The History of THRACE.

Name, Situation, &c.

THRACE, a country frequently mentioned by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians, derives its name, according to ſome writers, from *Thrax* the ſon of *Mars*; according to others from the barrenneſs of the ſoil, or the barbarity of the inhabitants, the *Greek* original bearing either of theſe ſignifications [h]. *Joſephus*, whoſe opinion ſeems to us the moſt probable, thinks it was called *Thrace* and *Thracia*, from *Thyras* the ſon of *Japhet*, who firſt peopled this country; for in his time it ſtill retained the names of *Thyras*, *Thyracia*, and *Thyrace*, which, with a very ſmall alteration, were changed into *Thracia* and *Thrace* [i]. His opinion is confirmed by *Iſidorus* [k], St. *Jerom* [l], *Zonaras* [m], and moſt of the eccleſiaſtic writers, who all tell us, that *Thracia* was firſt called *Thyracia*, from *Thyras*, whoſe deſcendants firſt inhabited the large provinces comprehended under that name. It was bounded on the north by mount *Hæmus*; on the ſouth by the *Ægean* ſea; on the eaſt by the *Euxine* ſea, the *Helleſpont*, and the *Propontis*; and on the weſt by *Macedon* and the river *Strymon* [n]. Some of the ancient geographers extend the bounds of *Thrace* far beyond the river *Strymon* and mount *Hæmus*. *Pliny* [o] carries its frontiers to the *Iſter* or *Danube*; *Appian* joins it to *Illyricum* [p], and *Herodotus* [q] calls it the largeſt country in the world, except *India*.

Cities.

CITIES of note on the *Ægean* ſea were, *Oeſyma*, *Neapolis*, *Topiris* or *Toperus*, all three placed by *Stephanus*, *Pliny*, and *Pomponius Mela*, between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſtus* or *Neſſus*; *Datus*, on the eaſtern bank of that river; and near it *Abdera*, anciently one of the moſt famous cities of *Thrace*. *Mela* tells us, that *Abdera* was founded by the ſiſter of *Diomedes*; but *Stephanus* makes *Hercules* the founder of it, and adds, that he gave it the name of *Abdera* in memory of *Abderus*, one of his companions, who was devoured by the famous, or rather fabulous, horſes of *Diomedes*. In proceſs of time a colony of *Clazomenians* ſettled there; whence the city is by ſome writers called alſo *Clazomene*. The *Clazomenians* were driven out by the natives, who ſuffered the *Teians* to live peaceably in *Abdera* and other places of *Thrace*, after they had been driven out of their own country by *Cyrus the Great*; and hence *Abdera* is called by *Strabo* [r] and other writers a colony of the *Teians*. The *Abderitani* were looked upon by the ancients as a dull, ſtupid people; but nevertheleſs their city gave birth to ſome great men, namely to *Protagoras* and the famous *Democritus* (I). This city is now generally known by the name of *Polyſtylo*, tho' *Niger* calls it *Aſteroſa*, and *Nardus Aſtrizza*. Near *Abdera* were the famous gold and ſilver mines ſpoke of by *Plutarch* [s], *Thucydides*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and moſt of the ancient hiſtorians and geographers. The place was called *Scapteſyle*. *Stephanus* ſays it was a ſmall town, and places it over-againſt the iſland of *Thaſus*. Here *Thucydides*, as *Plutarch* informs us [t], wrote the hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* war, his wife being a native of that place, as we read in *Marcellinus* [u]. On the ſame coaſt of the *Ægean* ſea were the cities of *Dicæa*, *Tirida*, *Iſmaros*, *Stryma*, *Maronea*, and *Ænos*. The two laſt places were conquered by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, and upon the defeat of the latter by the *Romans*, promiſed by that republic to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*; but afterwards, for political reaſons, declared by the ſenate free and independent [w]. On the

[h] Strabo, l. xiv. Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [i] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [k] Isidor. de origin. l. ix. [l] Hieronym. de quæſt. Hebraic. [m] Zonar. l. iv. [n] Pomp. Mela, l. xi. c. 11. Ptolemæus, l. iii. c. 11. [o] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [p] Appian. in Syriac. [q] Herodot. l. v. [r] Strab. l. xiv. p. 443. [s] Plut. in Cim. [t] Idem, de exilio. [u] Marcel. in vita Thucyd. [w] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 31. Polyb. l. v. c. 34.

(I) This made *Juvenal* ſay, in ſpeaking of this philoſopher,

——— *Cujus prudentia monſtrat*
Summos poſſe viros, & magna exempla daturos,
Vervecum in patria, craſſoque ſub aere naſci (82).

(82) *Juvenal. ſatyr* 10.

a the *Propontis* were the cities of *Macrontichos*, *Biſanthe*, *Ganos*, *Arzus*, *Perinthus*, called afterwards *Heraclea*, *Selymbria*, and *Bethynia*. On the *Thracian Boſphorus*, *Byzantium*, and the port of *Daphne*. On the *Euxine* ſea, *Phinopolis*, *Phrygia*, *Philea*, *Aulæum*, *Apollonia*, *Anchialus*, and *Meſembria*. *Byzantium*, now known by the name of *Conſtantinople*, was founded, according to *Euſebius* [x], about the XXXth olympiad, while *Tullus Hoſtilius* reigned at *Rome*; but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the foundations of this city to have been laid in the time of the *Argonauts*, by one *Byſas*, who then reigned in the neighbouring country, and from whoſe name the city was called *Byzantium* [y]. This *Byſas*, if *Euſtathius* is to be credited [z], arrived in *Thrace* a little before the *Argonauts* came into thoſe ſeas, and ſettled there with a colony of

b *Megarenſes*. *Velleius Paterculus* aſcribes the glory of founding this great metropolis to the *Mileſians* [a]; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* to the inhabitants of *Attica* [b]. Some ancient medals of *Byzantium*, which have reached our times, bear the name and head of *Byſas*, with the prow of a ſhip on the reverſe, probably of that ſhip which brought him into *Thrace*. *Juſtin* was greatly miſtaken as to the origin and founder of this city, when he wrote, that *Pauſanias* king of *Lacedæmon* built it, ſince it is certain, that *Pauſanias* took it from the *Perſians*, who had made themſelves maſters of it before the king of *Lacedæmon* had ever ſet foot in *Aſia* [c]. It underwent many revolutions, having been ſometimes ſubject to the *Perſians*, ſometimes to the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſometimes to the *Athenians*. It is not without reaſon that *Byzantium* was

c looked upon by the ancients as the moſt pleaſantly, and alſo the moſt conveniently ſituated for trade of any city in the world; but we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of it more at length. *Perinthus* was founded, according to *Stephanus*, by a companion of *Oreſtes* bearing that name, and afterwards called *Heraclea*, from *Hercules*, who conquered it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that it was built by *Hercules*; but *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* will have it to be a colony of the *Samians*. *Euſebius* ſays it was founded in the XLIVth olympiad, which was many years after the time of *Hercules*. This city maintained its liberty againſt *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*, after all the other cities of *Thrace* had ſubmitted to him.

d THE inland cities of *Thrace* were, *Jemphorina*, the metropolis of the *Mædi*; *Pantalia*, the capital of the *Danthelitæ Uſcudama*, the chief city of the *Beſſi*; *Philippopolis*, built by *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, near the *Hebrus*; *Nicopolis*, founded by *Trajan* on the banks of the *Neſtus*; *Mulolitum*, ſtanding between the *Neſtus* and the *Hebrus*; *Tempyrum*, mentioned by *Ovid* [d] as ſituated on the banks of the *Hebrus*; *Adrianopolis*, built by *Adrian*, between the *Hebrus* and mount *Rhodope*; and *Plotinopolis*, ſo called from the wife of *Trajan*, that emperor having founded it.

Mountains and rivers.

THE mountains of this country, ſuch as may be proper to take notice of, are *Hæmus*, the higheſt of all the mountains in *Thrace*, and parting it from *Lower Myſia* to the north; *Rhodope*, the higheſt after mountain *Hæmus*, and famous among the poets for the fate of *Orpheus*; *Pangæus*, ſeparating *Thrace* from *Macedon*; and *Orbe-*

e *lus*, not far from the river *Neſtus*. *Hæmus* and *Rhodope* are two long chains of mountain, running almoſt in a parallel line from the confines of *Macedon* to the *Euxine* ſea. *Pomponius Mela* tells us, that, from one of the ſummits of mount *Hæmus*, one may diſcover the *Euxine* on one ſide, and the *Adriatic* on the other [e]; but herein he was certainly miſtaken. The rivers of note are, the *Hebrus*, which ſprings from mount *Hæmus*, and waters the territories of *Philippopolis*, *Adrianopolis*, *Plotinopolis*, and *Trajanopolis*, diſcharges itſelf by two mouths into the *Ægean* ſea, over-againſt the iſland of *Samothrace*; the *Strymon*, which riſes on mount *Pangæus*, on the borders of *Macedon*, and falls into the ſame ſea between *Amphipolis* and *Oeſyma*; the *Neſſus* or *Neſtus*, ſpringing from mount *Rhodope*, and diemboguing itſelf into the ſea over-

f againſt the iſland of *Thaſus*; the *Melas*, the *Arzus*, the *Panyſus*; the firſt emptying itſelf into the *Ægean*, the ſecond into the *Propontis*, and the third into the *Euxine* ſea [f].

The Thracian Cherſoneſus.

THE *Thracian Cherſoneſus* is a peninſula, incloſed on the ſouth by the *Ægean* ſea, on the weſt by the gulf of *Melas*, and on the eaſt by the *Helleſpont*, being joined on the north to the continent by a neck of land about thirty-ſeven furlongs broad. It contained the following cities, *Cardia*, *Agora*, *Panormus*, *Alopeconneſus*, *Elæus*, *Seſtus*, *Madytos*,

[x] EUSEB. in Chron. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [z] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. [a] VEL. PATERC. l. ii. [b] AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. iii. [c] THUCYD. l. iii. HERODOT. l. iv. [d] OVID. Triſt. l. i. eleg. 9. [e] POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. ii. [f] Vide POMP. MELA, ibid. PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. STRABO l. vii. p. 220.

Madytos, *Ciſſa*, *Callipolis*, *Lyſimachia*, and *Pactye*. *Cardia* was ſituated on the gulf of *Melas*, at the entrance into the peninſula, and ſo called, according to *Pliny* [g], from its being built in the form of a heart. *Agora*, *Panormus* and *Alopeconneſus* ſtood on the ſame gulf; the latter was ſo called from the great number of foxes which infeſted its territory. *Pliny* [h], miſled by the name, which ſignifies in the original *Greek* the *iſland of foxes*, took it to be an iſland; but all the other geographers ſpeak of it as ſtanding on the *Cherſoneſus*. *Elæus* ſtood on the coaſt of the *Helleſpont* over-againſt cape *Maſtuſia*, now *Capo Græco*. *Callipolis*, now *Gallipoli*, is placed by *Strabo* and *Pliny* on the coaſt of the *Propontis*, near the northern mouth of the *Helleſpont*. It gives its name to the famous ſtreights which divide *Europe* from *Aſia*. Of *Seſtus* and *Lyſimachia* we ſpoke in the hiſtories of *Perſia* and *Syria*. As for the other cities of the *Cherſoneſus*, they contain nothing worthy notice.

Soil.

The inland parts of *Thrace* are very cold and barren, the ſnow lying on the mountains the greateſt part of the year; but the maritime provinces are productive of all ſorts of grain, and neceſſaries for life, and withal ſo pleaſant, that *Mela* compares them to the moſt fruitful and agreeable countries of *Aſia* [i].

Manners, religion, &c.

The ancient *Thracians* were deemed a brave and warlike nation; but of a cruel and ſavage temper, being, generally ſpeaking, quite ſtrangers to all humanity and good-nature. In point of religion they ſcarce differed from the *Macedonians* their neighbours, adoring *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Diana*, *Bacchus*, and more eſpecially *Mars* and *Hermes* or *Mercury*, by whoſe name alone their kings uſed to ſwear, pretending to be deſcended from him [k]. *Herodotus* gives us the following account of their cuſtoms and manners: When a child is born, his relations ſitting round him in a circle, deplore his condition, on account of the evils he muſt ſuffer in the courſe of his life, enumerating the various calamities incident to mankind; but when any one dies, they inter him with great rejoicing, repeating the miſeries he has exchanged for a complete happineſs. Among the *Creſtoneans*, who inhabit the mountainous parts of *Thrace*, each man has many wives, who, at his death contend warmly, being ſupported by their ſeveral friends, who ſhall be accounted to have been the moſt dear to the huſband. In the end, ſhe who is adjudged to have merited that honour, after having received great commendations, both from the men and women, is killed upon the grave by the neareſt of her relations, and buried in the ſame tomb with her huſband; which is a great mortification to the reſt, they being ever after looked upon by all with the utmoſt contempt [l]. The *Thracians* in general, as our hiſtorian tells us, ſell their children, and take no care of their daughters, ſuffering them to live with whom, and in what manner they pleaſe; nevertheleſs they keep a ſtrict guard over their wives, and purchaſe them of their relations at a very great rate. To be marked on the forehead is honourable; and a man without ſuch marks is accounted ignoble. Idleneſs is eſteemed an appendix of greatneſs; huſbandry is looked upon as unbecoming, and to ſubſiſt by war and rapine highly glorious. The funerals of eminent perſons among them are celebrated in the following manner: they expoſe the dead body to public view for three days, during which time they perform their lamentations, and ſacrifice to the infernal gods various ſorts of animals. When the ſacrifices are over, they either burn or bury the body in the ground, and having thrown up a mound of earth over the grave, they apply themſelves to feaſting, and celebrate all manner of combats and ſports round the place [m].

Government and inhabitants.

Thrace was anciently divided into numberleſs kingdoms quite independent of each other. *Herodotus* tells us, that if the *Thracians* had been either under the government of one prince, or unanimous in their counſels, they would have been the moſt powerful nation in the world; but that they were no-ways formidable, being divided, as it were, into many different nations, and ever at variance among themſelves [n]. Theſe different nations were the *Dolonci*, *Denſeletæ*, *Beſſi*, *Biſtones*, *Odomantes*, *Cicones*, *Edoni*, *Brygi*, *Thyni*, *Pieres*, *Odryſæ*, *Autonomi*, *Crobyzi*, *Mædi*, *Sapæi*, and *Celetæ*.

Dolonci.

The *Dolonci* were ſo called from *Doloncus* one of their kings, who according to *Euſtathius*, firſt introduced polygamy among them [o]. At the time of *Darius*'s expedition into *Greece*, they were poſſeſſed of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, and governed by princes of the family of *Miltiades*, who acquired the ſovereignty in the following manner: The *Dolonci* having ſuffered much in a war againſt the *Abſynthians*, ſent ſome of

[g] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [h] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [i] Pomp. Mela, ibid. [k] Herodot. l. v.
[l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Herodot. l. v. ſub. init. [o] Eusath. in Dionyſ.

of their chief men to consult the oracle of *Delphos* about the event of it. The *Pythian*, a instead of answering the question they proposed, ordered them to desire the first man, who, after their departure, should invite them to lodge in his house, to lead a colony into their country. With this answer the *Dolonci* departed, and passed through the territory of the *Phocians* and *Bœotians*, without receiving any offer of entertainment, turned into the road of *Athens*. As they passed through *Athens*, *Miltiades*, the son of *Cypselus*, seeing them cloathed and armed in a different manner from the *Athenians*, and knowing thereby that they were strangers, invited them to lodge in his house. They accepted the invitation, and, being hospitably entertained, acquainted him with the answer of the oracle, and exhorted him to comply with the admonition of b the god. As *Miltiades* was grown weary of the government of *Pisistratus*, and wanted only some plausible pretence to withdraw from *Athens*, he immediately went to consult the *Delphian* oracle, whether he should yield to the request of the *Dolonci* or not; and having received an encouraging answer, he took with him such of the *Athenians* as were willing to join in this expedition, and setting sail for the *Chersonesus* with the *Dolonci*, was, upon his arrival, invested with the sovereign power. The first thing he did after he was raised to the throne was, to build a wall upon the isthmus of the *Chersonesus*, from the city of *Cardia* to that of *Pactya*, to prevent the *Absynthians* from infesting the country for the future with their incursions. Having completed this work, he, in the next place, made war on the *Lampsacenians*, and c falling into an ambuscade, was taken by the enemy; but *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, who had a great esteem for him, being acquainted with his misfortune, dispatched a messenger to *Lampsacus*, with orders to demand the liberty of *Miltiades*; and to let them know, that in case they refused to comply with his demand, *he would use them like pines*. The *Lampsacenians*, differing in their opinion about the meaning of that menace, were not a little perplexed at this message; but one of their senators observing, that of all trees the pine alone perishes intirely when cut down, without leaving any shoots, they immediately set *Miltiades* at liberty, and sent him home without ransom. Having thus, by means of *Cræsus*, escaped slavery, he resumed the government; but died soon after, leaving the kingdom, as he had no children of his own, to *Stesagoras*, d the son of his brother *Cimon*. The *Dolonci* honoured his memory with sacrifices, celebrating annually on this occasion gymnastic and equestrian exercises, no *Lampsacenian* being permitted to contend at them for the prize[p]. During the war, which still continued with the people of *Lampsacus*, *Stesagoras* likewise died without children, being mortally wounded with the blow of an ax, which he received on the head, from one who pretended to be a deserter. After his death the sons of *Pisistratus* sent *Miltiades*, the son of *Cimon* and brother of *Stesagoras*, to the *Chersonesus* with one ship, to take upon him the government of that peninsula. On his arrival he kept himself retired, under colour of honouring the memory of his brother *Stesagoras*; which the *Chersone-* *sians* hearing, sent the chief men of each city to his house, to condole with him in e the name of the whole nation. As he found that they had no inclination to bestow the crown upon him, he caused all those to be seized who were come to visit him, and by that means reduced, with the few troops he had, the cities thus destitute of their leading men. In the third year of his government he abandoned his dominions, not daring to wait the coming of the *Scythian Nomades*, who having been irritated by the expedition of *Darius*, had assembled their forces, and were advancing to the frontiers of the *Chersonesus*. Upon the departure of the *Scythians*, he was re-instated in the sovereignty by a strong party he had among the *Dolonci*. In the sixth year of his reign the *Phœnicians*, who attended *Darius* in his expedition into *Greece*, being arrived at *Tenedos*, with a design to invade the *Chersonesus*, he put all his riches on f board five ships, and sailed for *Athens*. The *Phœnicians*, upon his retreat, made themselves masters of the *Chersonesus*; and on this occasion it was, that the *Byzantians* and *Chalcedonians*, leaving their ancient habitations, fled to the coasts of the *Euxine* sea and there built the city of *Mesambria*[q]. This is all we can gather from the ancients concerning the *Dolonci*.

THE *Densletæ* are mentioned by *Tully*[r], *Pliny*[s], *Strabo*[t], who calls them *Denthe-* Denseletæ. *litæ*, and *Livy*[u]. All we know of them is, that they had at first a king of their own; that they were afterwards reduced by the *Macedonians*; that they assisted the

[p] HERODOT. l. vi. [q] Idem. ibid. [r] Cic. orat. in Pison. [s] PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. [t] STRAB. l. vii. [u] Liv. l. ix. decad. 4.

the *Romans* againſt *Philip* and *Perſes* kings of *Macedon*, and continued faithful to *Rome*, till being provoked by the oppreſſions and cruelties of *Piſo*, they took up arms againſt him, and committed great devaſtations in the neighbouring countries ſubject to the *Romans* [w]. In the reign of *Auguſtus* they were ſtill governed by their own princes; for we find one *Sitas* mentioned by *Dion Caſſius*, [x] as reigning over them, and making war upon the *Baſtarnæ*, whom he entirely defeated with the troops ſent to his aſſiſtance by *Craſſus*, at that time prætor of *Macedon*.

Beſſi. The *Beſſi* inhabited mount *Hæmus*, living there in huts, and maintaining themſelves by plundering their neighbours. They were by far the moſt ſavage and inhumane of all the *Thracians*, as appears from St. *Jerom* [y], *Paulinus* of *Nola* [z], *Eutropius* [a], and *Ovid* [b], who make particular mention of their cruelty. Their chief city, *Uſcudama*, is now known by the name of *Adrianople*. They lived under their own kings, the neighbouring princes not thinking it worth their while to diſturb them, till the conſulate of *M. Licinius Lucullus* and *C. Caſſius Varus*; that is, to the 681ſt year of *Rome*, when the conſul *Lucullus* invaded their country, and, having gained a ſignal victory over them, took their metropolis, and ſubjected the whole nation to the *Roman* laws [c]. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding they had reduced them by force of arms, ſtill ſuffered them to live under their own kings; for *Piſo*, while he governed *Macedon* in quality of proconſul, having treacherouſly ſeized *Rabocentus*, whom *Suetonius* calls prince of the *Beſſi*, cauſed him to be publicly beheaded; which affront ſo exaſperated the whole nation, that they ſhook of the *Roman* yoke; but were overthrown in a great battle by *Octavius* the father of *Auguſtus* [d]. During the civil wars of *Rome*, they attempted anew to recover their liberty; but were again conquered by the famous *M. Brutus Junior* [e]. In the reign of *Auguſtus*, one *Vologæſes*, a native of the country, and prieſt of *Bacchus*, having, under pretence of religion, drawn to himſelf great crowds of people, made himſelf maſter of the whole country; and entering the *Cherſoneſus*, committed there moſt dreadful ravages; but was at laſt overcome by *L. Piſo*, who obliged the ſavage inhabitants to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to ſuch conditions as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. From this time the *Beſſi* continued ſubject to the *Romans*, without making any further attempts towards the recovery of their ancient liberty [f].

Biſtones. The *Biſtones* inhabited that part of *Thrace*, which lies between mount *Rhodope* to the north, the river *Hebrus* to the eaſt, the *Neſſus* to the weſt, and the *Ægæan* ſea to the ſouth. Their metropolis *Tinda* is famous among the poets on account of the fabulous horſes of *Diomedes* king of this country. The *Biſtones* underwent the ſame fate as the other people of *Thrace*, having been firſt ſubdued by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*.

Odomantes. The *Odomantes* bordered on *Macedon*, being parted from that country by the river *Strymon*. *Pliny* confounds them with the *Odryſæ* [g]; but *Thucydides* ſpeaks of them as a diſtinct people [h]. *Suidas*, upon the authority of *Ariſtophanes*, tells us, that they uſed circumciſion. In the time of the *Peloponneſian* war they were governed by *Polles*, the only king of the *Odomantes* we find mentioned in hiſtory, who, in that war, ſided with the *Athenians*, as we read in *Thucydides* [i].

Cicones. The *Cicones* inhabited the country lying between the *Hebrus* and the *Mælas*, and are mentioned by *Homer* [k], *Virgil* [l], *Ovid* [m], and *Pliny* [n]. The city of *Ænos*, famous on account of the tomb of *Polydorus*, was their capital. *Homer* ſpeaks of three of their kings, *viz. Pirous*, *Imbraſus* and *Rhigmus*. *Pirous*, if that poet is to be credited, eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Trojans*, and was killed by *Thoas* the *Ætolian* [o]. *Rhigmus*, his ſon and his ſucceſſor, was killed in the ſame war by *Achilles* [p].

Edoni. The *Edoni* or *Edones* poſſeſſed that country which lay between the *Strymon* and the famous city of *Philippi*, and are mentioned by *Herodotus* [q], *Thucydides* [r], *Pliny* [s], &c. *Thamyris*, the celebrated muſician, was a native of this country. He is ſaid to have been the diſciple of *Linus*, and contemporary with *Hercules* and *Orpheus*. He was ſo eminent for his ſkill in muſic, that he had the confidence to challenge the muſes themſelves

[w] Cic. ibid. [x] Dio Cass. l. li. [y] Hieron. in epitaph. Nepotiani. [z] Paul. Nolan. carm. 17. ad Nicet. ver. 206. [a] Eutrop. l. vi. c. 8. [b] Ovid. Triſt. l. iv. eleg. i. [c] Eutrop. ibid. Oros, l. vi. c. 3. Hiſt. Miſcel. l. vi. Flor. in epit. l. xcvii. [d] Suet. in Octav. [e] Dion. Cass. l. xlvii. [f] Dion. Cass. l. liv. Flor. l. iv. c. 12. [g] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [h] Thucyd. l. 2. [i] Idem, l. v. [k] Homer. Iliad. β'. [l] Virg. Georg. l. iv. [m] Ovid. Metam. x. [n] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [o] Homer. Iliad. β' & ε'. [p] Idem, Iliad. υ'. [q] Herodot. l. vii. [r] Thucyd. l. v. [s] Plin. l. iv. c. 11.

themſelves, by whom he was overcome, and deprived both of his art and ſight [t].
a The *Edoni* were governed by kings, like the other *Thracian* nations. The following princes are mentioned by the ancients, *viz.* *Dryas* I. *Lycurgus*, *Dryas* II. and *Pittacus*. *Dryas* is mentioned by *Apollodorus* [u] and *Ovid* [w]; *Lycurgus* by *Virgil* [x], *Apollodorus* [y], *Hyginus* [z], and *Diodorus Siculus* [a], who tells us, that he made war with *Bacchus*. *Dryas* II. was killed, according to *Apollodorus* and *Hyginus* [b], by his father *Lycurgus*. *Pittacus* lived in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, and was murdered, as *Thucydides* informs us [c], by the children of *Goaxes*, another petty prince of *Thrace*.

ALL we know of the *Brygi* is, that they were ſubdued by *Mardonius*, and ſerved under *Xerxes* when he invaded *Greece* [d]. Of the *Thyni* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak
b in the hiſtory of the *Bithynians*. The *Pieres* firſt inhabited part of *Macedon*, where they conſecrated to the muſes, from them called *Pierides*, the countries of *Pieria*, *Libetrus*, and *Pimplia*, as they did alſo *Helicon* in *Bœotia*, having ſent ſome colonies into that country. Being driven out of *Macedon* by the *Temenidæ*, they ſettled under mount *Pangæus* near the banks of the *Strymon*. Thoſe who had ſettled in *Bœotia* were likewiſe driven from thence; and on this occaſion it was that they ſettled in *Phocis*, and conſecrated mount *Parnaſſus* to the muſes [e]. The kings of the *Pieres* mentioned by the ancients are, *Atlas*, *Tharops*, and *Oeager*. *Linus* and *Orpheus*, ſo much celebrated by the poets, were the ſons of the latter [f].

Brygi. Thyni. Pieres

c THE *Odryſæ* poſſeſſed great part of that country which lies between the mountains of *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, and were by far the moſt powerful people of all *Thrace*. When this kingdom began, is uncertain; *Ovid* [g] will have *Eumolpus*, who waged war with *Erechtheus* king of *Athens*, to have been the founder of the kingdom of the *Odryſæ*. However that be, it is certain that the *Odryſæ* made no figure till the reign of *Teres*, who was contemporary with *Perdiccas* II. king of *Macedon*. He was the ſon of *Sitalces*, the firſt king of the *Odryſæ* whom we find mentioned in hiſtory. *Sitalces* attended *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*, and loſt his life in that war, as we read in *Æſchylus* [h]. He was ſucceeded by *Teres*, the firſt, according to *Thucydides* [i], who raiſed the kingdom of the *Odryſæ* above the other petty ſtates of *Thrace*; whence he
d is called by that writer the firſt king of the *Odryſæ*. He reduced great part of *Thrace*, and made himſelf formidable to the neighbouring princes; but was at laſt overthrown in a great battle by the *Thyni*. He died in the ninety-ſecond year of his age, having ſpent moſt part of his life in waging war with the other kings of *Thrace* [k]; for *Plutarch* tells us, that he uſed to ſay there was no difference between a pacific king and a groom [l].

Kings of the Odryſæ. Sitalces. Teres. Sitalces II.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Sitalces*, who entered into an alliance with the *Athenians* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and even delivered up to the former the embaſſadors who had been ſent to his court from *Sparta*, in order to perſuade him to abandon his allies. He received into his kingdom, and entertained with great magnificence,
e *Scylis* king of the *Scythians*, who had been driven out of his kingdom, for attempting to introduce among his ſubjects the cuſtoms of the *Greeks*; but *Octamaſas*, the baniſhed king's brother, who had been raiſed to the throne, threatening to invade *Thrace* with a very numerous army, unleſs *Sitalces* delivered up the fugitive prince into his hands, he choſe rather to betray his gueſt, than engage in ſo dangerous a war. This prince afterwards made war upon the *Pæonians*, *Macedonians*, and *Chalcedonians*, in which he is ſaid by *Thucydides* to have had one hundred and fifty thouſand men under his command [m]. In all theſe expeditions he was attended with good ſucceſs, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the other princes of *Thrace*, that moſt of them voluntarily ſubmitted to him; inſomuch, that, at his death, he was poſſeſſed of all
f thoſe provinces, which extend from the city of *Abdera*, on the *Ægean* ſea, to the mouth of the *Iſter*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Euxine* ſea [n]. *Sitalces* dying without children, left the kingdom to *Seuthes* the ſon of his brother *Spardocus*, who having married *Stratonice* the daughter of *Perdiccas* II. king of *Macedon*, entered into an alliance

Sitalces II. Seuthes.

[t] Vide HOMER. Iliad. β'. PLATO, dialog. 8. de legib. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. ult. PAUSAN. in Atticis, & NATAL. COM. l. vi. c. 14. [u] APOLLODOR. l. iii. [w] OVID. in Ibin. [x] VIRG. Æneid. 3. [y] APOLLODOR ibid. [z] HYGIN. fab. 132. [a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. 5.
[b] APOLLODOR. & HYGIN. ibid. [c] THUCYD. l. iv. [d] HERODOT. l. vi. [e] THUCYD. l. ii. STRABO, l. ix. [f] Vide DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. 5. EUSEB. de præpar. evang. l. x. c. 2.
[g] OVID. l. ii. de Ponto, eleg. 9. [h] ÆSCHYL. Perſis. [i] THUCYD. l. ii. [k] THUCYD. l. i.
XENOPH. Αναβ. l. vii. [l] PLUT. in apoph. [m] THUCYD. l. ii. [n] Idem ibid. HERODOT. l. iv. & vii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii.

alliance with that prince, and being assisted by him, made several new acquisitions, a
Amadocus. extending the confines of his dominions even beyond mount *Hæmus* [o]. *Amadocus*
Mesades. and *Mesades*, the sons of *Seuthes*, succeeded each other in the kingdom; but performed
Seuthes II. nothing worth mentioning. *Seuthes* II. who succeeded his father *Mesades*, subdued the *Thyni*, joined the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Persians*, obtained a considerable victory over the *Athenians*, who had made a descent on the coasts of *Thrace*, &c. But as he was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his subjects to defray the expences of the many wars he was ingaged in, the chief lords of his kingdom, entering into a conspiracy against him, drove him from the throne; however, he was afterwards
Cotys. restored by *Iphicrates*, and left the kingdom to *Cotys* the son of *Amadocus* [p]. *Cotys* was a most voluptuous prince; but at the same time a man of courage and resolu- b
tion. He maintained, during the whole time of his reign, a war with the *Athenians*, and was at last assassinated by *Python* and *Heraclidas*, both natives of *Ænos*, who, after the murder, flying to *Athens*, were kindly received by the *Athenians*, made free of their city, and presented with crowns of gold, for having thus delivered
Cersobleptes. them from so troublesome an enemy [q]. Upon his death his son *Cersobleptes* took possession of the kingdom, which the *Athenians* obliged him to divide with his two brothers, *Berisades* and *Amodocus*. The *Chersonesus* he gave up to the *Athenians*, chusing rather to part with that peninsula, than engage in a war against so powerful an enemy. However, he could not avoid coming to a rupture with *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, by whom he was overcome, and stripped of great part of his domi- c
nions [r]. He died after a reign of eleven years, leaving the kingdom to his son
Seuthes III. *Seuthes*, who was then an hostage at the court of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who immediately sent him home to take possession of the throne; but he was scarce well seated in it, when he fell upon the *Macedonians* who inhabited the countries which had been taken from his father, drove them quite out, and recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of the *Odrysæ*. These he held under *Alexander the Great*, whom he assisted against the *Persians*; but, upon that prince's death, he marched against *Lysimachus* at the head of twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse, protesting, that he would not submit to the division which the captains of *Alexander* had made. He engaged *Lysimachus* twice; in the first battle d
no considerable advantage was gained on either side; but in the second *Seuthes* was intirely routed, and his army cut in pieces [s]. He died soon after this overthrow,
Ariopharnes. and was succeeded by his brother *Ariopharnes*, who having, on his accession to the throne, espoused the cause of *Eumelus* against *Satyrus* king of *Bosphorus*, was by the latter overthrown, with the loss almost of his whole army [t]; which so grieved him, that he died soon after.

Seuthes IV. Next to him reigned *Seuthes* IV. who, as we read in *Livy*, was attacked in the heart of his dominions by *Philip* the father of *Perses*, and by that prince reduced to great straits, having lost *Philippopolis* and several other strong holds [u]. *Seuthes* was
Cotys II. succeeded by *Cotys* II. who joined *Perses* against the *Romans*, assisting him with a e
body of a thousand chosen horse; but *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* having stirred up against him a neighbouring prince named *Atlesbis*, and sent a body of troops into his dominions, under the command of *Corrabus*, one of his generals, *Cotys* was obliged to leave *Perses*, and hasten to the defence of his own kingdom. As he had been ever faithful to *Perses*, and almost the only ally on whom he could depend, the king of *Macedon* followed him in person, put the *Pergamians* and *Thracians*, who infested his territories, to flight, retook the cities he had lost, and restored tranquillity to his dominions. *Perses*, on his parting with *Cotys* to return to *Macedon*, distributed two hundred talents among the *Thracians*, who had served under him the last campaign; but as this was only six months pay, whereas he had promised a whole year's, *Cotys*, f
taking it amiss that his men should be thus defrauded of what was their due, refused to assist him the ensuing year, and no sooner heard he was defeated and taken by the *Romans*, than he sent embassadors to *Rome* to congratulate the senate on the success of their army, and excuse his joining *Perses*. The embassadors were received very kindly by the senate, and the *Thracian* hostages, that had been taken together with
Diegylis. *Perses*, restored to them without ransom [w]. *Cotys* was succeeded by *Diegylis*, who having

[o] Thucid. ibid. & l. iv. [p] Xenoph. ibid. [q] Demosthen. contra Aristocrat. Athen. l. xii. c. 14. [r] Demosthen. ibid. Polyæn. l. vii. Isocrat. orat. de pace. [s] Æschyn. de fals. legat. Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Curt. l. xi. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. [u] Liv. decad. 5. l. ii. & decad. 4. l. ix. [w] Liv. decad. 5. l. ii. & v. Zonar. Tom. II. Eutrop. l. iv. Oros. l. iv. c. 20. Hist. Miscell. l. iv.

a having led a body of *Thracians* to the assistance of *Prusias* his son-in-law, was defeated and taken prisoner by *Attalus* [x]; and this is all we know of him. *Sothymus* the son of *Diegylis* reigned at the time of the social war, or the war between *Rome* and her *Italian* allies. These domestic divisions he improved to his advantage, invading *Greece*, and laying waste *Macedon*, whence he returned with an immense booty; but was at last overcome, and obliged to abandon the countries he had possessed himself of, by *C. Sentius*, prætor of *Macedon* [y]. *Cotys* III. the son of *Sothymus*, succeeding his father, entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and prevailed upon *Piso* proconsul of *Macedon*, by a present of three hundred talents, to put to death *Rabocentus* king of the *Bessi*, and bestow part of his dominions on him. In the civil war of *Rome* he sent b five hundred horse to the assistance of *Pompey* [z]. *Cicero* and *Cæsar* call him *Cottus*; but *Lucan Cotys* [a]. His son *Sasales*, after his death, followed the same party, and had great share in the signal victory which was gained over *L. Cassius Longinus*. He distinguished himself in the battle of *Pharsalia*; but nevertheless was pardoned by *Cæsar*. He died not long before the battle of *Philippi*, and left his kingdom, as he had no children, to the people of *Rome*; but *M. Brutus* seized it after *Cæsar*'s death [b]. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was still alive at the time of the battle of *Actium*, and served in that war under *Antony* [c]. That writer calls him *Sadalus*, as does also *Cicero*; but we have followed *Cæsar*, who gives him the name of *Sasales*. Tho' he had bequeathed his dominions to the *Romans*, yet *M. Brutus* bestowed them on his c brother *Cotys*, who, dying soon after, left them to his son *Rhymetalces*, who being, at his father's death, under-age, was carefully educated, together with his brother *Rhascisporis*, by *Rhymetalces* their uncle by the mother. Both brothers served under *Tiberius* in the *Pannonic* war, and had a great share in the victories he gained over those barbarians [d]. Upon the death of *Rhymetalces*, *Augustus* divided his kingdom between *Rhascisporis* his brother and *Cotys* his son. In this partition the cities and countries bordering upon *Greece* fell to *Cotys*, and the mountainous and barren provinces to *Rhascisporis*; who thereupon invading his nephew's dominions, seized the most fruitful parts of them for himself. *Cotys*, thus provoked, raised a powerful army; but, while the two princes were ready to take the field, *Tiberius*, who had d succeeded *Augustus* in the empire, dispatched messengers to them, ordering them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of their differences to the arbitration of the *Roman* people. *Cotys* forthwith dismissed his army, and, at the request of *Rhascisporis*, came to an interview with him, where he was treacherously seized, and loaded with chains, *Rhascisporis* pretending that he had formed a design of seizing him. When news of these proceedings were brought to *Rome*, *Tiberius* dispatched messengers to *Rhascisporis*, enjoying him to send *Cotys* to *Rome*, and to appear himself in person before the senate, to give an account of the whole matter; since neither he nor the senate could pronounce sentence without hearing the cause. Hereupon *Rhascisporis* caused *Cotys* to be murdered, giving out that he had laid violent hands on e himself. This *Tiberius* feigned to believe; but, however, insisted upon the king's coming to *Rome*; which he refusing to do, *Tiberius* preferred to the government of *Mœsia*, which bordered on the country of the *Odrysæ*, *Pomponius Flaccus*, an intimate friend of the king's, who, having treacherously drawn him into the *Roman* territories, caused him to be seized, and sent to *Rome*, where he was accused by the wife of *Cotys*, and, being convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, condemned to exile, and sent to *Alexandria*. He was soon after put to death by an order from *Tiberius*, for attempting to fly from the place of his banishment [d]. This prince is called by *Dion Cassius* *Rhascipolis*; by *Tacitus Rhescuporis*; by *Velleius Rhascupolis*. Upon the banishment of *Rhascisporis* the kingdom was divided between *Rhymetalces* his son, who had opposed f all his father's measures, and the sons of *Cotys*. As these were minors, *Trebellienus Rufus* was appointed their guardian, and charged with the administration. The sons of *Cotys* having some how or other disobliged the emperor *Caligula*, were by him driven out of their kingdom, which was conferred upon *Rhymetalces*, who by this means became the sole master of all the countries that had ever belonged to the *Odrysæ* [e]. From this time we find no mention made of the *Odrysæ* till the reign of *Vespasian*, who, as we read in *Suetonius* [f], reduced their country to a *Roman* province.

Sothymus.

Cotys III.

Sasales.

Cotys IV. Rhymetalces.

Rhascisporis *and* Cotys V.

Rhymetalces.

THE

[x] Strabo, l. xiii. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. [y] Oros. l. v. c. 18. Hist. Miscel. l. v. [z] Cic. in Pison. Cæs. de bell. civil. l. iii. Lucan. l. v. [a] Cic. Cæs. Lucan. ibid. [b] Dio. l. xli. & xlvii. Cæs. l. iii. de bell. civil. Lucan. l. v. [c] Plut. in Anton. [d] Tacitus, Annal. l. ii. Suet. in Tiber. Dio, l. xliv. Vellei. Patercul. l. ultim. [e] Dio. Cass. l. lv. Tacitus, Annal. l. ii, iii, iv. [f] Suet. in Vespas.

The Autonomi.

The *Autonomi*, so called because every man among them was a law to himself, inhabited the most rocky and barren places of *Thrace*, being separated from *Mœsia* by mount *Hæmus*[e]. *Herodotus* calls them sometimes *Autonomi*, and sometimes *Satræ*. They were, according to that writer, the most gallant and warlike people of all *Thrace*. They were not afraid even to engage *Alexander*, and on that occasion behaved with extraordinary valour; but their army was cut in pieces, their baggage taken, and their wives and children made prisoners. After this overthrow they submitted to the conqueror, who, to prevent them from revolting in his absence, took along with him into *Asia* all the chief men of their nation[f]. They served under *Perses* against the *Romans*; but, however, were allowed to live according to their own laws till the reign of *Vespasian*, who made their country part of the province of *Thrace*. a b

Crobyzi.

The *Crobyzi* possessed that part of *Thrace* which lay between mount *Hæmus* and the *Euxine* sea. They are mentioned by *Herodotus*[k] and *Athenæus*, the last writer telling us, that they had kings of their own, and amongst others one *Isanthus*, who was one of the most wealthy and comely princes of his age[l].

Mœdi.

The *Mœdi* inhabited that part of *Thrace* which bordered upon *Macedon*, and are mentioned by most of the ancients, namely, by *Thucydides*[m], *Plutarch*[n], *Vegetius*[o], *Pliny*[p], *Livy*[q], *Stephanus*, &c. who all tell us, that they were a brave and gallant nation, strangers to all manner of effeminacy, and inured to the fatigues of war. Their warlike temper gave occasion to poets to feign, as *Vegetius* observes[r], that *Mars* the god of war was born in their country. However, they were reduced by *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*; but having shaken off the yoke while he was employed against the *Byzantii*, they were anew subdued by his son *Alexander*, who possessed himself of their metropolis, called formerly *Jampharina*; but from him *Alexandropolis*[s]. But, notwithstanding the great loss they sustained on this occasion, *Alexander* no sooner left *Macedon*, than they invaded that country anew, and penetrated as far as *Greece*, committing every-where most dreadful ravages; and thus they continued to harass the *Macedonians*, till that kingdom became a *Roman* province, when they were at last, after a long war, intirely reduced by the *Romans*, in the consulate of *Cn. Octavius* and *C. Scribonius*, in the year of *Rome* 675. They had some years before plundered the rich temple of *Delphos*, and with part of the booty bribed *L. Scipio*, who had been sent against them, to let them depart unmolested, and even to conclude an alliance with them[t]. To this sacrilegious connivance of the *Roman* general, *Appian* ascribes the civil wars, and the many calamities which not long after fell upon *Rome*[u]. c d

Sapæi.

The country of the *Sapæi* lay between the rivers *Mela*, and *Arzus*, bordering on the gulf of *Melas*, on the *Chersonesus*, and the *Propontis*. The *Sapæi* were governed by their own kings. Those, whose names have reached us, are, *Olorus*, *Timotheus*, *Rhascipolis*, *Rhascus*, and *Cotys*. *Olorus* gave his daughter *Hegepole* in marriage to *Miltiades*, the second of this name. From this *Olorus* was descended the father of *Thucydides* the historian, called also *Olorus*, as *Plutarch* informs us[w]; but at what time, or on what occasion, he settled at *Athens*, is uncertain. *Thucydides* had great possessions and rich mines in *Thrace*[x]; and although they might have come to him by his wife, who was a native of *Scapte-Hyle*, as some have affirmed, yet it is manifest from *Plutarch*[y], *Cicero*[z], and *Ammianus Marcellinus*[a], that the great men of that country looked upon him as nearly related to them before his marriage. *Timotheus* is mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* as reigning in this part of *Thrace*; but neither he nor other writers give us any account of his actions. *Rhascipolis* and *Rhascus* reigned many years, or rather ages, after *Olorus*; that is, in the time of the civil wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; but as to the actions, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, we are quite in the dark, the works of *Callisthenes* and *Socrates*, who wrote a particular and distinct account of the affairs of *Thrace*, as *Plutarch* informs us[b], having been long since lost. *Rhascipolis* and *Rhascus*, in the civil wars, sided with *Pompey*, and afterwards with *Brutus*; but being pardoned by *Octavianus*, assisted *Antony* with three thousand horse, till he fell out with *Octavianus*, when they both declared for the latter. *Cotys* was the son of one of these two brothers, succeeded them in the kingdom, and enjoyed it till the latter end of the reign of *Tiberius*, when he e f

[e] Thucyd. l. ii. [f] Herodot. l. vii. [g] Arrian. l. i. Frontin. l. ii. c. 11. [k] Herodot. l. iv. [l] Athen. l. xii. c. 17. [m] Thucyd. l. ii. [n] Plut. in Æmil. Paul. [o] Veget. l. i. c. ult. [p] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [q] Liv. decad. 3. l. vi. [r] Veget. ibid. [s] Pluatrch. in Alexand. [t] Liv. decad. 3. l. vi. Polyb. l. x. Appian in Illyric. [u] Appian ibid. [w] Plut. in Cimon. [x] Thucyd. l. ii. [y] Plut. ibid. [z] Cic. l. ii. de orator. [a] Ammian. Marcellin. l. iii. [b] Plut. in Parall.

a he was treacherouſly murdered by his own ſubjects, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a province [c].

THE *Celetæ* inhabited part of mount *Hæmus*, and part of mount *Rhodope*, and Celetæ. are called by *Pliny* [d] the moſt ſavage of all the *Thracians*. *Livy* tells us, that they fell upon *Cn. Manlius*, as he was returning out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and took from him great part of the booty which he had got by plundering ſome rich cities of *Gallo-græcia* [e]. And this is all we find recorded of them in hiſtory.

THE *Thracian Cherſoneſus* had likewiſe its own kings, among whom mention is *Kings of the* made of *Polymneſtor*, *Euſorus*, and *Acamas*. *Polymneſtor* married *Ilione* the daughter Thracian of king *Priam*, and, after the deſtruction of *Troy*, treacherouſly murdered *Polydorus*, Cherſoneſus. b who had been ſent by his father *Priam* to be brought up at his court as in a place of ſafety [f]. *Hyginus* tells us, that *Polydorus* being ſent very young into *Thrace*, *Ilione* his ſiſter brought him up as the ſon of *Polymneſtor*; and that not *Polydorus*, but his own ſon *Deiphilus*, was murdered by the cruel *Polymneſtor*. *Euſorus* and *Acamas* are mentioned by *Homer* [g], and the latter ſaid to have led a body of *Thracians* to the relief of *Troy*, during the ſiege of which city he was killed by *Ajax*. His daughter *Acete* married *Æneas* a *Theſſalian*, by whom ſhe had *Cyzicus*, who built the famous city bearing his name [h]. Before we diſmiſs this ſubject, we cannot help obſerving, that the *Greeks* were chiefly indebted to the *Thracians* for the polite arts that flouriſhed among them; for *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Muſæus*, *Thamyris*, and *Eumolpus*, all *Thracians*, c were the firſt, as *Euſtathius* informs us [i], who charmed the inhabitants of *Greece* with their eloquence and melody, and perſuaded them to exchange their fierceneſs for a ſociable life and peaceful manners; nay, great part of *Greece* was anciently peopled by *Thracians*, *Tereus* a *Thracian* governed at *Daulis* in *Phocis*, where the tragical ſtory of *Philomela* and *Progne* was acted. From thence a body of *Thracians* paſſed over to *Eubœa*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that iſland. Of the ſame nation were the *Aones*, *Tembices*, and *Hyanthians*, who made themſelves maſters of *Bœotia*; and great part of *Attica* itſelf was inhabited by *Thracians*, under the command of the celebrated *Eumolpus* [k]. It is not therefore without the utmoſt ingratitude and injuſtice, that the *Greeks* ſtyle them *Barbarians*, ſince to them chiefly they were indebted both for d the peopling and poliſhing of their country.

[c] APPIAN. l. iv. de bell. civil. DIO, l. xlvii. LUCAN. l. v. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. iii. [d] PLIN. l. iv. c. 7. [e] LIV. decad. 4. l. viii. [f] PLUT. in Parall. EURIPID. in Hecub. VIRGIL. Æneid. l. iii. ver. 45. & ſeq. OVID. Metam. l. xiii. [g] HOMER. Iliad. β & ζ. [h] Scholiaſt. Apollonii, p. 149. [i] EUSTATH. in Iliad. β. [k] STRABO, l. v. p. 392.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of EPIRUS.

e EPIRUS, the ancient kingdom of the *Æacidæ*, was at firſt called *Epirus Dodonæa*, *Name, ſituat-* that is, *the continent of the* Dodonæans, or the continent inhabited by the *Dodo-on*, &c. *næans*, and afterwards *Epirus*, or *the continent*, without any addition, that being the import of the *Greek* word *Epeiros*. It was bounded on the north by the *Ceraunian* mountains; on the ſouth by the *Ambracian* gulf; on the eaſt by *Theſſaly* and *Mace-don*; and on the weſt by the *Ionian* ſea [l]. It was anciently divided into three diſtricts or provinces, namely, *Chaonia*, *Theſprotia*, and *Moloſſis*, to which ſome authors add *Caſſopia*, *Caſſiope* or *Ceſtrine*, and *Pindus*. *Chaonia*, the moſt northern part of *Epirus*, was ſo called from its ancient inhabitants the *Chaones*, who were deſcended, according to the ſcholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, from the *Thracians*; according to *Ariſtotle*, f from the *Oenotrii*, one of the moſt ancient nations of *Italy*. Cities of note in this part *Cities.* of *Epirus*, were, according to *Ptolemy*, *Oricum* or *Oricus*, ſituated on the coaſt of the *Ionian* ſea, at the foot of the *Ceraunian* mountains. It was founded, according to *Pliny*,

[l] PTOLEM. l. iii. c. 14. PLIN. l. iv. c. 1. SOLIN. c. 12. POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 1.

Pliny [m], by a colony from *Colchis*, had a famous harbour, and was in the *Roman* a
times a place of great note, but of no ſtrength, as we read in *Livy* and *Cæſar* [n]. *Caſſtope*, or *Caſſope*, famous on account of the temple of *Jupiter Caſſius*; whence ſome are of opinion that it borrowed its name. *Torrentius* and moſt of the modern writers confound *Caſſiope* in *Epirus* with another city in the iſland of *Corcyra* bearing anciently the ſame name [o]. This city was the metropolis of the province *Caſſopia* or *Caſſiope*, which contained, according to *Strabo* [p] and *Pliny* [q], three other ſmall towns, *viz. Buchœtium*, *Elatria*, and *Pandoſia*. The inland towns of *Chaonia* were, *Antigonia*, founded by *Antigonus*, *Phœnice*, *Hecatompedum*, *Omphalium*, *Elæus*, and the ſtrong town, or, as *Pliny* calls it [r], caſtle of *Chimera*, much frequented on account of its hot baths. The moſt remarkable cities in *Theſprotia*, which lay between the b
Ambracian lake and the ſea, were, *Buthrotum*, *Ephyra*, *Nicopolis* built by *Auguſtus* after the *Actiac* victory, and called by *Pliny* [s] a free city and a *Roman* colony, *Mæandria*, *Caſtria*, *Charadra*, and *Ambracia*. The latter city, which was one of the moſt conſiderable of *Epirus*, ſtood not far from the mouth of the river *Arachtus*, near the gulf to which it gave its name. It was in the *Roman* times a place of great ſtrength, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of *Greece*, full of people, and about three miles in compaſs. In ancient times it was a free city; but afterwards reduced by the *Æacidæ* kings of *Epirus*, who choſe it for the place of their reſidence [t]. In proceſs of time the *Ætolians* made themſelves maſters of it, and held it till they were ſubdued by the *Romans* [u]. *Moloſſis* was an inland province, and, according to *Scylax*, c
only forty ſtades or furlongs in compaſs [w]. It was called *Moloſſis* from *Moloſſus* the ſon of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*, and contained the following cities, *Dodona*, *Paſſaron*, *Tecmon*, *Phylace*, and *Horreum*. *Dodona* is placed by ſome writers in *Theſprotia* [x], and by others in *Moloſſis* [y]; but *Strabo* [z] reconciles theſe two oppoſite opinions, by telling us, that anciently it belonged to *Theſprotia*, and afterwards to *Moloſſis*; for it ſtood on the confines of theſe two provinces. This city was once famous for the temple and oracle of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, much ſpoke of by all the ancient writers (K).

The

[m] Plin. l. iii. c. 23. [n] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40. Cæs. de bell. civil. l. iii. c. 7, 8, 15. [o] Vide Jac. Palmerium, l. ii. Antiq. Græc. c. 4. [p] Strabo, l. vii. p. 223. [q] Plin. l. iv. c. 1. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Polyb. legat. 28. Pomp. Mela, l. xi. c. 1. Strabo, l. vii. p 225. [u] Florus, l. xi. c. 9. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 6. [w] Scylax, in Periplo. [x] Marcian. Capella, l. vi. [y] Pausan. in Attic. c. xvii. [z] Strabo, l. vii. p. 227.

(K) The city of *Dodona* is ſaid to have been built by *Deucalion*, who, in that univerſal deluge, retreated to this place, which, by reaſon of its height, ſecured him from the waters. Hither reſorted to him all thoſe who had eſcaped from the inundation. With theſe he peopled his new-built city, calling it *Dodona*, according to ſome, from a ſea nymph of that name, according to others, from *Dodon* the ſon, or *Dodone* the daughter, of *Jupiter* and *Europa*. At the ſame time *Deucalion* is ſaid to have founded a temple, which he conſecrated to *Jupiter*, who is from thence ſtyled *Dodonæus*. This was the firſt temple of *Greece*; for the *Epirots* were anciently reckoned among the *Greeks*. But the oracle ſeems to have been a conſiderable time before it; for *Herodotus* (83) tells us, that it was the moſt ancient of all the oracles of *Greece*, which could not be true, if it had not been before *Deucalion*'s time; for he, having eſcaped the deluge, adviſed with the oracle of *Themis* on mount *Parnaſſus*, about the means he ſhould uſe to re-people the country; and the ſame oracle is ſaid to have belonged to the *earth* and *Neptune* before it was poſſeſſed by *Themis*. *Herodotus* (84) gives us two accounts of the origin of this oracle: in the firſt, which he received from the prieſts of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, he tells us, that the *Phœnicians* having carried away two prieſteſſes from that place, and ſold one of them in *Lybia* and the other in *Greece*, each of them eſtabliſhed the firſt oracles in thoſe nations, the one of *Jupiter Hammon*, the other of *Jupiter Dodonæus*. The other account was given him by the prieſteſs at *Dodona*, and confirmed by all thoſe who miniſtred in the temple, *viz.* That two black pigeons taking their flight from *Thebes* in *Egypt*, one of them arrived in *Lybia*, where ſhe commanded an oracle to be erected to *Jupiter Hammon*. The other came to *Dodona*, where ſhe perched on an oak, and admoniſhed the inhabitants with an articulate voice to found an oracle in that place in honour of the ſame *Jupiter*. Afterwards *Herodotus* delivers his own opinion relating to this ſubject, *viz.* that if the *Phœnicians* did really carry away two women from *Thebes*, and ſell one of them in *Lybia* and the other in *Greece*, the latter was in all likelihood bought by the *Theſprotians*, who inhabited that country, which, in his time, was called *Hellas*; but formerly named *Pelaſgia*, where, during her ſervitude, ſhe conſecrated an altar to *Jupiter* under an oak, nothing being more natural than to ſuppoſe, that ſhe, who had been a prieſteſs of that god in *Thebes*, would not be unmindful of his worſhip in another place. To confirm this conjecture he adds, that theſe two oracles had a near reſemblance to each other; and moreover tells us, that, in his opinion, the two pigeons, or rather women, were ſaid to be black, becauſe they came from *Egypt*, and called *pigeons*, becauſe they were *barbarians* or *foreigners*, and their ſpeech no more underſtood than the chattering of birds; but as ſoon as they learned the *Greek* tongue, they were ſaid to ſpeak with a human voice. *Euſtathius* gives two reaſons more for this appellation (85), *viz.* that they were called Πελειαι or *doves*, becauſe they made their predictions by the obſervation of theſe birds; as thoſe who made uſe of crows in divination were named Κοραχομάντεις; and ſecondly, becauſe,

(83) *Herodot. l.* ii. (84) *Idem ibid.* (85) *Euſtath. Odyſſ. ξ'. p.* 544, 545.

a The other cities of *Moloſſis* contained nothing worthy of obſervation. The kingdom of *Epirus* muſt have comprehended in the *Roman* times a great many cities, of which no mention is made by the ancient hiſtorians or geographers, if what *Polybius*, as quoted by *Strabo* [a], and after him *Livy* [b], tells us, be true, *viz.* that *Æmilius Paulus* diſmantled and plundered about ſeventy cities ſubject to the *Epirots*. *Strabo* [c] counts among the *Athamanes*, *Æthices*, *Tymphæi*, *Oreſtæ*, *Paroræi*, *Atintanes*, and *Perrhæbi* the

[a] Strabo, l. vii. p. 223. [b] Liv. l. xlv. c. 34. [c] Strabo, ibid.

in the *Moloſſian* language, old women were ſtyled Πελειαὶ, and old men Πελειοὶ; and that thoſe propheteſſes being old women, either by a miſtake of the word, or a poetical equivocation, were called *doves*. Why old perſons ſhould be thus termed, the old ſcholiaſt upon *Sophocles* informs us (86); for the old propheteſſes, ſays he, were called Πελειαὶ, becauſe of their *grey hairs*. *Servius* gives another reaſon for this appellation (87), *viz.* that, in the *Theſſalian* tongue, the word Πελειὰς ſignified both *a dove* and *a propheteſs*. Others tell us, that, in the hieroglyphical way of writing, by a black pigeon was ſignified *a widow*, who remained unmarried till death. Some writers ſay, that this oracle was founded by the *Pelaſgians*, who were the moſt ancient of all the nations that inhabited *Greece*. Of this opinion is *Strabo* (88), being led hereunto by *Homer*, who beſtows upon the ſame *Jupiter* the names of *Dodonæus* and *Pelaſgicus* (89). The ſame *Strabo* relates another fabulous opinion concerning the origin of this oracle out of *Suidas*'s *Theſſalica*. That writer, ſays *Strabo* (90), to gratify the *Theſſalians* with a new-invented fable, relates, that the oracle of *Dodona* was tranſlated out of *Pelaſgia*, a country of *Theſſaly*, into *Epirus*, being accompanied by a great number of women, from whom the propheteſſes in after-ages were deſcended; and that from them *Jupiter* received the appellation of *Pelaſgicus*. The perſons who delivered the oracles were at firſt men, as *Strabo* and *Euſtathius* obſerve out of *Homer*, who calls them in the maſculine gender Προφήτας and Σέλλους (91). The ſame *Strabo* tells us (92) in his deſcription of *Bœotia*, that, in after-ages, all thoſe who conſulted the oracle received anſwers from women, except the *Bœotians*, who had theirs from men; and of this cuſtom he gives the following reaſon: In a war between the *Bœotians* and *Pelaſgians*, the former conſulting the oracle of *Dodona* about the event of the war, received for anſwer, that their enterprize ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, if they acted wickedly. Hereupon the *Bœotians*, ſuſpecting that the propheteſs ſpoke in favour of the *Pelaſgians*, ſeized her, and threw her into the fire. Thoſe who miniſtred in the temple, immediately apprehended the *Bœotians*; but not thinking it lawful to put them to death in ſo ſacred a place, before they were tried, and juridically condemned, adviſed them to refer the matter to the two ſurviving propheteſſes. On the other hand, the *Bœotians* alledging, that no laws in the world allowed women to ſit upon life and death, it was agreed, that two men ſhould judge them jointly with the two propheteſſes. When the judges came to pronounce ſentence, the *Bœotians* were found guilty by the women, and cleared by the men; whereupon they were diſmiſſed without any puniſhment, as was uſual when the number of voices was equal on both ſides; but on that occaſion it was eſtabliſhed, that men only ſhould give anſwers to the *Bœotians*. The prophets of this temple were commonly called *Tomuri*, and the propheteſſes *Tomuræ*, from *Tomurus* a mountain in *Theſprotia*, at the foot of which ſtood the temple. In proceſs of time this word came to be a general name for any prophet; for thus *Heſychius* expounds it, and in this ſenſe *Lycophron* applies it to *Prylis* the ſon of *Mercury* (93).

Near the temple was a ſacred grove of oaks and beeches, which was ſuppoſed to be inhabited by the *Dryades*, *Fauni*, and *Satyri*, who, we are told, were often ſeen dancing under the ſhades of the trees. Before ſowing was invented, when men lived upon acorns, thoſe of this wood were in great requeſt, as appears from the following verſes of *Virgil*:

> Liber & *alma* Ceres, *veſtro ſi munere tellus*
> Chaoniam *pingui glandem mutavit ariſta* (94).

And again in the ſame book;

> *Prima* Ceres *ferro mortales vertere terram*
> *Inſtituit*; *cum jam glandes atque arbuta ſacræ*
> *Deficerent ſylvæ*, & *victum* Dodona *negaret* (95).

Theſe oaks or beeches were ſaid to be endued with a human voice and prophetical ſpirit; for which reaſon they are called *ſpeaking and propheſying oaks*. *Argo*, the ſhip of the *Argonauts*, which was built with the timber of this wood, is feigned to have been endued with the ſame power of ſpeech, whence *Lycophron* calls it λάληθρον κίσσαν, *a chattering magpye* (96). What gave occaſion to this fiction was, as ſome writers tell us, that the prophets, when they gave anſwers, placed themſelves in one of theſe trees, ſo that the oracle was thought to be uttered by the oak, which was only pronounced out of its hollow ſtock, or from amongſt its hollow branches. Some are of opinion, that the oracles were delivered from the branches of the tree, becauſe the prophetical pigeons are reported by *Herodotus* to have perched upon a tree (97); and the ſcholiaſt upon *Sophocles* tells us, that above the oracle there were two pigeons (98). Others are inclined to believe, that the oracles were uttered from the hollow ſtock, becauſe the propheteſs could beſt be concealed there (99). The brazen kettles of this place were no leſs famous than the *ſpeaking oaks*. Some writers affirm, and others deny, that they were made uſe of in delivering the oracles; however that be, *Demon* in *Suidas* ſays, that they were ſo artificially placed about the temple, that, by ſtriking one of them, the ſound was communicated to all the reſt. Theſe kettles were conſecrated by the *Corcyræans* to *Jupiter Dodonæus*, as *Strabo* informs us (100). About what time, or on what account, this oracle ceaſed, is uncertain; but the above-mentioned writer, who flouriſhed under *Auguſtus*, tells us, that, in his time, the gods had deſerted that and moſt other oracles (101).

(86) *Trachin. ver.* 176. (87) *Servius in Virg. Eclog.* 9. *ver.* 83. (88) *Strabo, l.* vii. (89) *Hom. Iliad.* π'. *ver.* 235. (90) *Strabo, ibid.* (91) *Homer. ibid.* (92) *Strabo, l.* ix. (93) *Lycoph. Caſſand. ver.* 223. (94) *Virgil. Georg. l.* v. *ver.* 27. (95) *Idem ibid. ver.* 146. (96) *Lycoph. Caſſand. ver.* 1319. (97) *Herodot. ibid.* (98) *Trachin. ver.* 174. (99) *Heſiod. Eoa.* (100) *Strabo, l.* vii. (101) *Idem ibid.*

the *Epirotic* nations; but *Pliny* [d] and *Livy* [e] reckon the *Athamanes*, *Tymphæi*, and *Perrhæbi* among the *Ætolians*. In *Chaonia* were the *Caraunian* or *Acroceraunian* moun-

Mountains, rivers, &c.

tains, now *monti della Chimera*, parting the *Ionian* and *Adriatic* seas, and so called from their being frequently struck with lightening. In *Thesprotia* were the *Acherusian* lake and the river *Acheron*, much spoke of by the poets. It had its springs, according to *Pliny* [f], in the abovementioned lake, and emptied itself into the *Ambracian* gulf; but according to *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Thucydides* [g], it rose in the country of the *Molossi*, and, passing through the *Acherusian* lake, discharged itself into the *Thesprotian* bay. The rivers *Aphas* and *Aracthus* are mentioned by *Livy* [h] as rising in the same country. The celebrated mount *Pindus* parted *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, and was therefore by some geographers placed in *Thessaly*, by others in *Epirus*. The inland parts of *Epirus* were very barren and full of forests, but the coast pretty fruitful. The horses of this country were in great request among the ancients, as were also the mastiffs of *Molossis*, from thence called by the *Latins Molossi* [i]. The *Epirots* were deemed a very warlike people, and generally behaved, as we shall see in the history of their kings, with great gallantry; but continued in their former savage condition long after their neighbours were civilized; whence the islanders used to threaten their offenders, as we read in *Athenæus* [k], with transportation to the continent, namely to *Epirus*.

Manners of the inhabitants.

Inhabitants.

This country was at first peopled by *Dodanim* the son of *Javan*, and grandson of *Japhet*, or at least by some of his posterity, as *Josephus* informs us [l]. *Eusebius* says, that *Dodanim* first settled in the island of *Rhodes*, and that some of his descendants being straightened there for want of room, passed over to the continent, and fixed their abode in *Epirus*, where they built a city, calling it *Dodona* from their progenitor *Dodanim* [m]. If the opinion of *Eusebius* be true, the *Dodonæans* were originally *Greeks*, and not *Barbarians*, as most of the ancients stile them. However, in process of time several barbarous nations settled among them; and hence they are said by *Strabo* [n] to have spoke promiscuously the languages of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. The various nations we find mentioned by the most ancient writers, as inhabiting *Epirus* before they became one people, and were blended under the common name of *Epirots*, are, the *Selli*, *Chaones*, *Molossi*, *Dolopes*, *Paravæi*, *Orestæ*, *Dryopes*, *Hellopes*, *Ænianes*, and *Pelasgi*; but as to the origin of these different tribes, there is a great disagreement among authors, whose various opinions it would be too tedious to relate. We shall only observe, that the *Selli* were by prophane authors thought to have been the first inhabitants of *Epirus*, and to have ministered in the temple of *Dodona*. *Homer* speaks of them as priests, *living round the abode of the* Pelasgian Jove *king of* Dodona, that is, round the temple of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, and insinuates, that they lay on the ground, and never washed their feet [o]; whence *Strabo* concludes, that they were not originally *Greeks*, but sprung from some savage unpolished nation [p].

Form of government.

The form of government, which prevailed in *Epirus*, was without all doubt monarchical, the whole country being divided into many small kingdoms quite independent of each other. *Strabo* indeed tells us, that first the *Chaones*, and after them the *Molossi*, were masters of all *Epirus*; but this, if true, must have been in the most early ages; for we find several kings mentioned by *Homer* and other ancient writers, as reigning at the time of the *Trojan* war, viz. *Aidoneus*, *Orcus*, *Phidon*, *Echetus*, and *Harpalicus*. The other *Epirotic* nations continued for a long time to be governed by princes of their own blood; but the *Molossi* fell very early under the power of *Pyrrhus*, a foreign prince, whose descendants were from him stiled *Pyrrhidæ*, and from his family *Æacidæ*, they being the progeny of *Æacus* [q]. Some of these petty kingdoms in process of time exchanged the monarchical for a republican form of government; for *Thucydides* [r] tells us, that in his time the *Thesprotæ* and *Chaones* were governed, not by kings, but by annual magistrates. But when, and on what occasion, this change happened, is what we find no-where recorded. At the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war the *Paravæi* and *Orestæ* were still ruled by kings of their own nation; the former by *Antiochus*, and the latter by *Oroedus*. But the kingdom of the *Molossi* soon eclipsed all the others, the *Molossian* princes having subjected the whole country, and united the many small kingdoms, of which it consisted, into one, known to the ancients by the name of *Epirus*. And this alone affords us

[d] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [e] Liv. l. xxxviii. sub init. [f] Plin. ibid. [g] Thucyd. l. ii. [h] Liv. l. viii. c. 24. [i] Vide Virg. Georg. l. iii. v. 405. & Servium ibid. [k] Athen. l. ii. c. 7. [l] Joseph. Antiq. l. iii. c. 7. [m] Euseb. in Chron. [n] Strab. l. vii. [o] Homer. Iliad. π. v. 235. [p] Strab. ibid. [q] Strab. ibid. [r] Thucyd. l. ii.

a us matter for a history, there being nothing upon record relating to the others, but the names of some of their kings, and a few fabulous accounts of their actions; for which we refer our readers to *Hyginus* [s] and *Cyrillus* [t], it being beneath the dignity of history to take notice of them.

Pyrrhus. We shall begin the history of the kings of *Epirus* with *Pyrrhus*, the first of the *Æacidæ* who reigned in that country, the times which preceded his reign being overcast with an impenetrable mist, and the kings, who are supposed to have ruled over the *Molossi* before his arrival, more spoke of by the poets than the historians. *Pyrrhus* was the son of *Achilles*, by *Deidamia* the daughter of *Lycomedes*, king of the island of *Scyros*. Upon the death of his father, who was killed at the siege of

b *Troy*, he was prevailed upon by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* to leave his grand-father's court, where he had been brought up, and take upon him the command of the troops, which his father had led against *Troy*. He distinguished himself at the siege of that city, if the poets are to be credited, by his brave and gallant behaviour; and after it was taken killed old king *Priam* with his own hand, threw *Astyanax*, the son of *Hector* and *Andromache*, headlong from a high tower, sacrificed *Polyxena*, the daughter of king *Priam*, on the tomb of his father, and carried *Andromache* with him into *Epirus*, where he settled, by the advice of the famous soothsayer *Helenus* one of *Priam*'s sons, with the *Myrmidones*, who had served, during the *Trojan* war, both under his father and himself. He maintained himself in this new settlement with the assistance of the

c *Pelopidæ*, to whom he was nearly related, against the natives, who, finding they could not drive him out, submitted at length, and acknowledged him for their king. But his reign was not long; for he had scarce settled the affairs of his new king-dom, when he was murdered by *Orestes* in the very temple of *Delphos* for marrying *Hermione*, the daughter of *Menelaus*, who had been bethrothed to the said *Orestes*. Some writers tell us, that, under pretence of consulting the oracle of *Delphos* about his issue by *Hermione*, he attempted to plunder the temple, and was in that attempt killed by the priests [u]. His death gave rise to the proverb *Neoptolemic revenge*, used by the ancients, when one suffered the same evils which he had brought upon others; for *Pyrrhus*, surnamed *Neoptolemus*, had barbarously murdered king *Priam* at the

d altar of *Jupiter Hercæus*, and was himself murdered at the altar of *Apollo Delphicus*. The surname of *Neoptolemus*, or *the young warrior*, was given him when he first went to the siege of *Troy*, he being then very young. His body by command of the oracle was buried in the temple where he had been murdered; but no honours were there paid to him till the irruption of the *Gauls*, which happened many ages after, when he is said to have appeared among other dead heroes, and to have with his ghastly looks struck great terror into those sacrilegious *Barbarians*. From that time he was honoured with yearly sacrifices, and solemn sports exhibited at his tomb [w]. The *Pyrrhica*, a kind of tournement or dance in armour, was so called from him, he having first used it round the tomb of his father *Achilles* [x]. *Pyrrhus* had two wives, *Lanassa* the

e daughter of *Cleodæus*, one of the descendents of *Hercules*, and *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*. By the latter he had no children; but the former brought him three sons, *Pyrrhus*, *Alevas*, and *Ethnestus*, and five daughters. By *Andro-mache*, whom some count among his lawful wives, others among his concubines, he had likewise three sons, *Molossus*, *Pielus*, and *Amphialus*. *Pyrrhus*, his eldest son by *Lanassa*, died in his infancy. *Alevas* was brought up by *Peleus* his great-grand-father, king of *Phthia* in *Thessaly*, and by him appointed his heir and successor in that kingdom [y]. *Ethnestus* lived in *Thessaly* with his brother, and gave his name to the tribe of the *Ethnestæ* mentioned by *Stephanus* [z]. *Molossus* lived after the death of Molossus. his father under the tuition of *Helenus*, the son of king *Priam*, on whom *Pyrrhus* had

f bestowed *Andromache* in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom, having always shewn a great kindness and particular friendship for that prophet [a]. *Helenus* brought him up with all possible care, and at his death left him that part of the kingdom which had been given him by *Pyrrhus*. As *Molossus* died without children, he be-queathed the whole kingdom to his brother *Pielus*; for he had succeeded his father Pielus. *Pyrrhus* as well as *Helenus*. Some authors write, that *Molossus* was succeeded by his son, and that from him were descended the *Æacidæ* or *Pyrrhidæ* of *Epirus*; but we have

[s] Hygin. fab. 123. 252. [t] Cyril. l. i. contra Julian. [u] Vide Scholiast. Pindar. Virgil. l. iii. v 333. & seq. Pausan. in Bœot. Euseb. in Chron. [w] Vide Ser. in 2. Æneid. & Constant. Manass. [x] Priscian. l. xiv. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. & Erasmi Chiliad. [y] Suidas voce Alevadæ. [z] Stephan. voce Ἐθνεῖς. [a] Pausan. in Attic. Scholiast. Pindar.

have followed *Pauſanias*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that *Moloſſus* died without children, was ſucceeded by his brother *Pielus*, and that from him the kings of *Epirus* were by the moſt ancient writers ſometimes ſtiled *Pielidæ* [b]. *Amphialus*, the third ſon of *Pyrrhus* by *Andromache*, ſurnamed *Pergamus*, paſſed over into *Aſia* with his mother, and having there killed in ſingle combat *Arias* king of *Teuthrania*, reigned in his ſtead, fixing the place of his reſidence at *Pergamus*, whence he was ſtiled *Amphialus Pergamus* [c]. *Pauſanias* will have the city of *Pergamus* to have been ſo called from him, but is herein contradicted by moſt of the ancients, who tell us, that this city was built long before his time by the *Myſians*. Among the deſcendants of *Amphialus* we find one *Praces* mentioned by *Pauſanias* [d], who is ſaid to have founded a temple in honour of *Achilles* in *Laconica*, whither the young men reſorted to offer ſacrifices to that hero, before they entered the liſts in the public combats. The five daughters, which *Pyrrhus* had by *Lanaſſa*, as we have obſerved above, were married, according to *Juſtin* [e], to the neighbouring princes.

The deſcendents of *Alevas* reigned in *Theſſaly*, and are ſaid by *Herodotus* [f] to have invited thither *Xerxes* king of *Perſia*, and betrayed the country to him. When *Alexander* the *Pherean* attempted to make himſelf maſter of all *Theſſaly*, they had recourſe to *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who aſſiſted them with a powerful army, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Macedon* [g]. They were at laſt ſtript of all their dominions, and the cities they poſſeſſed declared free, by *Philip* the brother of *Alexander*, king of *Macedon*, as we read in *Ulpianus* [h], *Diodorus Siculus* [i], and *Polyænus* [k]. As to the immediate deſcendants of *Pielus*, we are quite in the dark both as to their exploits and ſucceſſion, there being ſcarce any mention made of them by the ancients till the time of the *Perſian* war, when *Admetus* reigned in *Epirus*, and was maſter of the greateſt part of that country. *Antonius Liberalis* indeed names the following intermediate princes, viz. *Drius*, *Munichus*, *Aphidas*, *Genous*, and *Alcon*; but upon what authority we know not.

Admetus. *Admetus* reigned, as we have hinted above, in *Epirus*, when *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, and refuſed to join either party. Upon the defeat of the *Perſians*, he courted the friendſhip of the *Athenians*, offering to enter into an alliance with the republic; but his propoſals were, at the inſtigation of *Themiſtocles*, rejected with ſcorn, becauſe he had not lent them any aſſiſtance againſt their common enemy. Notwithſtanding the ill offices done him on this occaſion by *Themiſtocles*, he afterwards received him, when baniſhed from his own country, with great marks of friendſhip and eſteem, and refuſed to deliver him up to the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, though threatened with war, and plentifully ſupplied him with money and other neceſſaries on his leaving *Epirus* to paſs over *Aſia* [l].

Tharymbas. He was ſucceeded by *Tharymbas*, the only child he had by his wife *Phthia*; but as this prince was very young at his father's death, he was by a decree of the people put under the tuition of *Sabylinthus*, a man of great diſtinction in his country, and of an unblemiſhed character. *Sabylinthus* attended him to *Athens*, where he applied himſelf with great earneſtneſs to the ſtudy of polite literature; for he was reckoned one of the moſt learned princes of his age, and is ſaid to have been the firſt who introduced and encouraged learning among the *Epirots* his ſubjects. He likewiſe made many wiſe and wholeſome laws, and is on that account reckoned by *Plutarch* amongſt the ancient lawgivers. He is mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Thucydides*, *Pauſanias*, and *Juſtin*, under the following names, *Tharrytas*, *Tharyps*, *Tharypus*, *Arymbas*, and *Tharymbas*. The *Chaones*, who had been formerly ſubject to the *Moloſſian* kings, were in the reign of this prince, as we read in *Thucydides* [m], ſubject to no king, but governed by their own laws and magiſtrates; the *Moloſſians* and the *Antitanians* alone acknowledged *Tharymbas* for their king, the ſeveral other nations of *Epirus* having either their peculiar kings, or being free from all ſubjection, as is evident from the abovementioned writer [n].

Alcetas. *Alcetas* is the next king of *Epirus* we find mentioned in hiſtory: he was driven from the throne by his own ſubjects; on which occaſion he fled to *Dionyſius* tyrant of *Syracuſe*, by whom he was aſſiſted with a body of *Illyrians*, who replaced him on the throne, after having overthrown his rebellious ſubjects in a pitched battle. His dominions were ſoon after invaded by *Jaſon* of *Pherea*; but having by means of *Timotheus* prevailed

[b] Pausan. in Bœotic. [c] Hygin. fab. 97. [d] Pausan. ibid. [e] Justin. l. xvii. [f] Herodot. l. vii. [g] Vide p. 286. [h] Ulpian. in Olynthiac. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [k] Polyæn. l. iv. [l] Thucyd. l. iv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Aristid. in orat. pro quatuor viris Scholiaſt. Pindar. [m] Thucyd. l. ii. [n] Thucyd. ibid.

vailed upon the *Athenians* to enter into an alliance with him, *Jason* thinking it advise-
a able not to provoke so powerful a republic, withdrew his forces from *Epirus*, and suffered *Alcetas* to spend the remainder of his reign in peace °.

Alcetas was succeeded by his son *Neoptolemus*, who finding that his brother *Arybas* began to raise disturbances, and dreading the consequences of a civil war, took him of his own accord for his partner in the kingdom. Upon the death of *Neoptolemus*, for we are intirely in the dark as to the particulars of his reign, *Arybas* remained sole master of the kingdom, which, contrary to the expectation of his subjects, he governed with great prudence, equity, and moderation. He was an encourager of learning, and shewed great favour to such as excelled in any branch of polite litera-
b ture. To him *Xenocrates*, the *Chalcedonian* philosopher, dedicated, as *Laertius* informs us [p], four books, which he wrote on the art of reigning. He brought up with great care his brother's children, viz. *Alexander*, *Neoptolemus*, *Arybas*, *Troas*, *Olympias*, and *Cadmia*, and married his niece *Olympias* to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who had by her *Alexander the Great*. At his death, which happened after a reign of ten years, his nephew *Alexander*, whom *Gellius* calls *Molossus*, was raised to the sole pos- session of the throne by the favour of *Philip* his brother-in-law, who gave him in marriage *Cleopatra* his daughter by *Olympias*; so that *Alexander* was both brother and son-in-law to *Philip*. This marriage was solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence at *Ægæ*, but proved fatal to *Philip*, who on this occasion was mur-
c dered by *Pausanias*, as we have related at length in the history of *Macedon* [q], tho' *Alexander* in his letter to *Darius* says, that his father was murdered by assassins hired by him for that purpose, as we read in *Curtius* [r] and *Arrian* [s].

Neoptolemus. Arybas. Alexander.

Not long after the accession of *Alexander* to the crown of *Epirus*, *Archidamus* king of *Lacedæmon* being killed in fighting for the *Tarentini* against the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, the former invited *Alexander* into *Italy* to their assistance. The king of *Epirus*, pro-
d mising himself nothing less than the subduing of the west with as much rapidity, as *Alexander the Great* his nephew and brother-in-law had begun to conquer the east, readily closed with the proposal, and having made a descent at *Pæstum*, a maritime city near the mouth of the river *Sibarus*, reduced several cities of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, and became formidable to all the eastern parts of *Italy*. The *Romans* being at that time employed in suppressing the revolt of the *Latins*, and not caring to engage in a war with two so powerful enemies at once, entered into an alliance with the *Epirot*, as did also the *Metapontini* and *Pediculi*, after he had gained a signal victory over the united forces of the *Brutii* and *Lucani*. The success which attended his arms in the two first campaigns, made him believe that he should reap as great an harvest of glory in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, as his nephew was reaping in *Persia* and the rest of *Asia*; but the unhappy prince lost his life, where he hoped to have inlarged his conquests. This memorable event is thus related, and no doubt blended with many fables, by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians [t]. Before *Alexander* left *Epirus*, say
e they, he consulted the celebrated oracle of *Dodona*, about the success that was to attend him during the remaining part of his life. The god returned him this answer; *viz.* that the waters of *Acheron* would prove fatal to him; and at the same time admonished him to avoid the city of *Pandosia*, lest he should there finish his days. *Acheron* was a river of *Epirus*, and *Pandosia* a city of the same country: *Alexander* therefore, not knowing that in the country of the *Brutii* there was a river and a city bearing the same names, willingly complied with the invitation of the *Tarentini*, and left his own country, fearing it might prove fatal to him, to make war in that of the *Brutii*. As he was fully persuaded that his life could be in no danger there, he expos'd his person to the greatest dangers, took several cities, namely *Heraclea*, *Cosentia*,
f *Sipontum*, *Terina*, &c. and sent above three hundred hostages to *Epirus*, all chosen out of the best families of the places he had conquered. Having overcome the *Brutii* and *Lucani* in a second battle, to reduce their country the sooner, he divided his army into three bodies, posting them on three hills divided by deep vallies, and sending out from thence numerous parties to ravage the neighbouring countries. One of these vallies was washed by the *Acheron*, on the banks of which stood the small city of *Pandosia*. While *Alexander* continued in this camp, the vallies were by sudden rains laid under water, which broke off the communication between the three bodies

° Idem, l. iii Pausan. in Bœotic. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [p] Laertius, in vit. Philosoph. [q] Vide p. 314. [r] Q. Curtius. l. iv. c. 1. [s] Arrian. l. ii. p. 41. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Strabo, l. vii. Pausan. in Bœot. Liv. l. viii. c. 24. Oros. l. vi. Paul. Diac. Hist. Miscell.

bodies of the king's forces. The enemy laid hold of this favourable opportunity a
to attack firſt the two poſts, where the king was not, and which by reaſon of the
inundation he could not any ways aſſiſt. Theſe two bodies without much ado
defeated, and put to flight, the *Brutii* and *Lucani* without loſs of time ſurrounded
with all their forces the hill, on which the king himſelf was encamped. His guard
conſiſted of two hundred *Lucani*, who being driven from their country had fled to him
for refuge. Thoſe wrote to the generals of their nation, promiſing to deliver up to
them the king of *Epirus* dead or alive, provided they would receive them into favour,
and ſuffer them to return to their native country. The propoſal was accepted, and
the traitors only waited for a favourable opportunity to put their treachery in execu-
tion. As *Alexander* was a prince of great courage and reſolution, in ſpite of all oppo- b
ſition he forced his way through the enemy's army, killed one of their generals
with his own hand, and having with a ſmall attendance made his eſcape, and gained
a neighbouring wood, he took his rout from thence to the river, the name of which
he knew not, with a deſign to break down the bridge after he had croſſed it. But
finding the bridge carried away by the violence of the inundation, he threw himſelf
into the river on horſeback, when one of the *Epirots*, who attended him, ſeeing him
in danger of being drowned, cried out, *Curſed* Acheron, *thou art juſtly called by a
fatal name*; for the *Greek* word *Acheron* ſignifies *a torrent of grief*. At theſe words
Alexander, remembering the anſwer of the oracle, and fearing his fate approached,
began to heſitate, being in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould go quite croſs the river or c
no. While he was thus wavering, one of his attendants cried out to him, *Haſten,
betrayed prince, haſten to the oppoſite bank*; *the* Lucani, *your guard, ſeek to deſtroy you.*
At thoſe words the king turning about, and ſeeing the *Lucani* ready to fall upon him
drew his ſword, and made what haſte he could to reach the bank, which he had already
gained when one of the traitors, diſcharging a dart at him, killed him on the ſpot.
His body fell into the river, which carried it to the enemy's camp, where it was uſed
with all the indignity which rage and revenge could ſuggeſt. After they had bar-
barouſly defaced it, they cut it in two, ſending one part to *Coſentia*, and ſetting up
the other as a mark for the ſoldiers to diſcharge their arrows and darts at. At length
a woman, whoſe husband and children had been taken by *Alexander*'s troops, intreat- d
ing the ſoldiers with tears in her eyes, to give her the ſcattered remains of the unhappy
prince, ſince ſhe could eaſily purchaſe with them the redemption of her husband and
children, that part of the body, which the ſoldiers poſſeſſed, was delivered to her,
and conveyed by her means firſt to *Metaponton*, and from thence removed to
Epirus, where they were conſigned to *Cleopatra* and *Olympias*, the former the wife,
the latter the ſiſter of the deceaſed king. All the ancients ſpeak of this prince as no
ways inferior either in courage or conduct to his nephew *Alexander the Great*; but he
had the misfortune to engage on his firſt ſetting out with nations inured to the toils
of war, and no leſs brave than his own *Epirots*: whence he uſed to ſay, that the
country, which he propoſed to conquer, was inhabited by men, whereas the provin- e
ces, his nephew *Alexander* went to ſubdue, were peopled by women only[s]: Thus he
ſtyled the effeminate nations of *Aſia*, which the *Macedonian* had ſubdued. *Oroſius*[t]
tells us, that he was killed by the *Samnites*, while he was making the neceſſary pre-
parations for a war with *Rome*, and adds, that he was in ſuch favour with *Philip* his
brother-in-law, as made the world believe that the inclination which that prince had
for him, was more agreeable to the wickedneſs of thoſe times, than to the laws of
nature. *Theodectes* wrote a panegyric on this king, as *Suidas* informs us; he is alſo
mentioned by *Demoſthenes*[u], and cried up as an able and experienced commander by
all the ancients who mentions him.

Æacides. *Alexander* was ſucceeded in the kingdom by *Æacides* the ſon of *Arybbas* or *Arybas*, f
and grandſon of *Alcetas*. This prince, eſpouſed the cauſe of *Olympias* againſt *Caſ-
ſander*, raiſed a powerful army with a deſign to relieve her while beſieged in the city of
Pydna. But having on this occaſion forced many of his ſubjects into the ſervice much
againſt their will, they began to mutiny in the camp, eſpecially after they found all
the paſſes leading to *Pydna* ſeized on by *Atarchias*, *Caſſander*'s general. Hereupon
Æacides, being reſolved at all events to attempt the relief of *Olympias*, disbanded all
thoſe who ſeemed unwilling to follow him in this expedition, and taking with him
ſuch only as ſhewed themſelves ready to run the ſame riſk with himſelf, he advanced
towards

[s] Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21. [t] Oros. l. vi. [u] Demothen. in orat. orat. de Haloneſo.

a toward *Pydna*; but he had ſcarce left *Epirus*, when thoſe he had ſent back revolted from him, and drawing their fellow-citizens into the ſame revolt, declared by a common decree of the ſtate, that *Æacides* had forfeited the crown, baniſhed him the kingdom, and entered into an alliance with *Caſſander*. This, as *Diodorus Siculus* obſerves, was the firſt rebellion that had happened in *Epirus* from the time that *Neoptolemus*, the ſon of *Achilles*, had reigned there, the kingdom having ever before deſcended by right of ſucceſſion from father to ſon [w]. *Caſſander* immediately diſpatched *Lyciſcus* into *Epirus* to take upon him in his name the government of that kingdom, injoining him to uſe the natives with all poſſible moderation. However, the *Epirots* were ſoon reconciled to their king, and, recalling him from baniſhment, replaced him

b on the throne of his anceſtors, which he did not long enjoy, being killed the ſame year in a battle fought with *Philip* the brother of *Caſſander* [x].

Alcetas II.

Upon his death the crown was conferred upon *Alcetas* his brother, who had been baniſhed by his father *Arybas* on account of his violent temper. As he was an invete-

rate enemy to *Caſſander*, *Lyciſcus*, *Caſſander*'s general in *Acarnania*, marched with an army into *Epirus*, hoping as the affairs of that kingdom were not yet well ſettled, to depoſe him. *Alcetas*, hearing of the enemy's march, diſpatched two of his ſons, *Alexander* and *Teucer*, into all the provinces and cities of his dominions, to raiſe what forces they could; and in the mean time marched out himſelf with the few troops he had to make head againſt *Lyciſcus*, whom he found encamped at *Caſſopia*. As *Lyciſ-*

c *cus*'s army was far more numerous than the king's, they fell upon him before he had time to fortify his camp, and obliged him after he had been abandoned by moſt of his troops, to ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Eurymenas*, where he was cloſely beſieged. But in the mean time his ſon *Alexander* arriving with powerful ſuccours, a ſharp engagement enſued, in which great numbers of *Lyciſcus*'s men were cut off, and amongſt the others *Micythus*, a commander of great reputation, *Lyſander* the *Athenian*, governor of *Leucadia*, and many other perſons of diſtinction. A few days after this victory *Dinias* brought new ſupplies for *Lyciſcus*, whereupon a ſecond battle being fought, *Alexander* and *Teucer* with their father *Alcetas* were forced to ſave themſelves by flight, and abandon the city of *Eurymenas* to the enemy,

d who plundered it, and razed it to the ground. *Caſſander*, upon the news of the defeat of his forces, not having receiving any intelligence of the victory they gained afterwards, haſtened into *Epirus* to ſuccour his general; but being informed on his arrival of the ſucceſs that had attended him in the ſecond engagement, inſtead of purſuing the war, he thought it adviſeable to enter into a treaty with the *Epirots*; and having concluded a peace upon honourable terms, he withdrew his troops, and reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom of *Epirus*. *Alcetas* being thus diſengaged from ſo troubleſome a war, began to exerciſe, as he was a prince of a moſt tyrannical temper, all ſorts of cruelties over his ſubjects; which ſo provoked them, that having made a general inſurrection, they murdered both him and his two ſons, *Heſioneas*

e and *Niſus*, who were then very young. *Alexander* and *Teucer* had the good fortune to make their eſcape, and never afterwards appeared in *Epirus* [y].

Pyrrhus.

Alcetas was ſucceeded by *Pyrrhus*, a prince of great fame in hiſtory. He was the ſon of *Æacides*, of whom we have ſpoke above, by *Philip* the daughter of *Menon* the *Theſſalian*, one of the *Heraclidæ*; ſo that *Pyrrhus* was by the father deſcended from *Achilles*, and from *Hercules* by the mother [z]. When the *Epirots* revolted from his father, and drove him from the throne, it was with much difficulty that *Pyrrhus*, then an infant at the breaſt, eſcaped falling into the hands of the rebels. He was after various adventures conveyed by *Androcles* and *Angelus*, two *Epirot* lords, to the court of *Glaucias* king of *Illyricum*, who, as ſome authors conjecture, had married

Narrowly eſcapes falling into the hands of the rebellious Epirots.

f his aunt *Beroa*, the daughter of *Arybbas*, and grand-daughter of king *Alcetas* [a]. *Glaucias* heſitated a great while, as *Plutarch* informs us [b], before he would admit the young prince into his palace, the fear he was in of provoking *Caſſander*, an implacable enemy to *Æacides*, keeping him in ſuſpenſe. Hereupon thoſe who had reſcued the infant prince from the fury of the rebels, had recourſe to intreaties, and implored the king's protection, laid the child at his feet, who taking hold of his royal robes, raiſed himſelf up, and with his arms graſped the king's knees. Hereupon *Glaucias* tenderly embracing him, and proteſting that he would defend him at the hazard of his life and dominions, delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own children.

[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Plut. in Pyrrh. [a] Vide Reiner. Reineccium, Hiſt. Jul. tom. 2. in regno Epiri. [b] Plut. in Pyrrho.

children [c]. Other writers tell us, that the infant, actuated by some extraordinary impulse, fixed his eyes on the altars of the domestic gods, as if he claimed the protection of those deities, who were lovers of hospitality; and that *Glaucias*, struck at this sight, concluded, that the gods took the young prince under their protection, and thought it his duty to bring up young *Pyrrhus* with all possible care [d]. In the mean time *Cassander*, hearing that the unfortunate prince had found a retreat in the court of *Glaucias*, solicited the king to deliver him up into his hands; but neither his repeated instances, nor the two hundred talents he offered *Glaucias*, could induce him to commit so base an action; he was struck with horror at the proposal, rejected it with indignation; and having given the banished and persecuted prince an education suitable to his rank, as soon as he attained the twelfth year of his age, he sent him back into *Epirus* at the head of a powerful army, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors [e]. *Justin* tells us, that the *Molossians*, his subjects, changing their hatred into compassion, recalled him of their own accord, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom in his name till he was of age [f]. He enjoyed the kingdom in great peace and tranquillity till he was seventeen, when thinking himself sufficiently settled on the throne, he left *Epirus* for a while in order to be present in *Illyricum* at the nuptials of one of the sons of *Glaucias*, with whom he had been educated. But he was no sooner gone than the *Molossians*, taking advantage of his absence, revolted anew, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized on his treasures, and conferred the crown on *Neoptolemus* his great uncle. *Pyrrhus* being by this unexpected revolt devested of all his dominions, and destitute of sufficient succours, to recover them, retired to *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, commonly known by the surname of *Poliorcetes*, who had married his sister *Deidamia*. From that great commander he learnt the art of war, serving under him with the companions and fellow-soldiers of *Alexander the Great*. In the famous battle of *Ipsus* he distinguished himself, young as he was, in a very eminent manner, having fought with incredible bravery, and repulsed the enemy on that side, where he was posted [g]. *Demetrius* nevertheless lost the battle; but *Pyrrhus* very seasonably covered *Greece*, and saved for his brother-in-law the *Greek* cities, which that prince had confided to his care. Nor was this the only proof he gave of his affection for *Demetrius*; for a peace being at length concluded between him and *Ptolemy* by the interposition of *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus* consented to be one of the hostages, who were sent into *Egypt* to secure the execution of the treaty.

Placed on the throne by Glaucias *king of* Illyricum.

The Epirots *place* Neoptolemus *on the throne.*

During his abode at the court of *Egypt* he was generally admired for the sweetness of his temper, the regularity of his conduct, and his great dexterity and address in all sorts of manly exercises. His chief aim was to make his court to *Berenice*, who had the greatest ascendant over *Ptolemy*, and surpassed all the other women of the court in beauty as well as prudence. And herein he was very successful, for he so gained her by his noble and obliging behaviour, that she prevailed upon her husband to give him her daughter *Antigone* in preference to several young princes who demanded her. *Antigone* was the daughter of the favourite queen by *Philip* her first husband, a *Macedonian* lord of no great fame. After *Pyrrhus* had married her, *Berenice*, desirous to see her daughter become a queen, induced *Ptolemy* to supply her son-in-law with sufficient forces to recover his kingdom. With these he sailed into *Epirus*, and having defeated in a battle *Neoptolemus*, whom the *Molossians* had placed on the throne, he recovered his paternal dominions. *Neoptolemus* had recourse to the neighbouring princes; but *Pyrrhus*, to avoid the evil consequences of a civil war, condescended to give him up part of his dominions. *Neoptolemus* at first seemed to be well satisfied with part of the kingdom; but having soon after at the instigation of the enemies of *Pyrrhus* attempted to poison him, he was by his orders put to death [h]. *Pyrrhus* having by his death got possession of the whole kingdom of *Epirus*, continued no longer idle in his dominions; but marching into the neighbouring countries performed those great feats we have described in the history of *Macedon* [i], and therefore shall not repeat in this place.

Recovers his kingdom with the assistance of Ptolemy *king of* Egypt.

This warlike prince being obliged by *Lysimachus* to abandon the kingdom of *Macedon*, which he had taken from his brother-in-law *Demetrius*, as we have related elsewhere [k], might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, enjoying the

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Pausan. in Attic. [e] Plut. ibid. [f] Justin. l. xvii. c. 3. [g] Plut. ibid. Arrian. l. vii. Appian. in Syriac. [h] Plut. ibid. & Pausan. in Attic. [i] Vide p. 464, 465, & seq. [k] Vide p 468.

a the ſweets of peace, and governing his people agreeable to the rules of juſtice. But his reſtleſs temper and unbounded ambition made him ſeize with joy on the firſt opportunity that offered of plunging himſelf into new troubles.

THE inhabitants of *Tarentum* were then at war with the *Romans*, and not finding themſelves in a condition to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy with their own ſtrength, they caſt their eyes upon *Pyrrhus*, and diſpatched embaſſadors to him, not only from themſelves, but from all the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, enjoining them to acquaint him, that they wanted only a leader of experience and reputation; that *Tarentum* was not the only city, whoſe forces would join him; that the *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, *Brutians*, and many other rich and populous nations, weary either of bearing the b *Roman* yoke, or of being in continual dread of it, were ready to aſſiſt him in exterminating the haughty and imperious republic; that he might depend on being ſupplied at his arrival with three hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, *&c.* The joy with which *Pyrrhus* received a propoſal ſo agreeable to his diſpoſition, may be eaſily imagined. His head was filled with the exploits of *Alexander the Great*, and his frequently converſing with the generals, who had ſerved under that conqueror, had ſtrongly inclined him to attempt in the weſt what *Alexander* had with ſo much glory performed in the eaſt. He therefore willingly cloſed with the propoſal of the *Tarentine* embaſſadors, promiſing to paſs over into *Italy* with all poſſible expedition, and employ the whole ſtrength of his kingdom in reſcuing them from the oppreſſion they groaned under. However, before he began to make the neceſſary prepara- c tions, he is ſaid to have conſulted the oracle of *Delphos*, about the ſucceſs of his intended expedition; on which occaſion the anſwer of the god was uttered in ſuch terms as might equally ſignify, either that he ſhould conquer the *Romans*, or the *Romans* him; but the deſire he had of embarquing in this expedition, made him interpret the ambiguous anſwer in his own favour [1].

Invited by the Tarentines into Italy.

A *Theſſalian*, named *Cyneas*, was at this time *Pyrrhus*'s prime miniſter and chief favourite. He was a man of moſt extraordinary parts, being an experienced officer, an able politician, and the moſt eloquent orator of his age: the art of oratory he had learned under *Demoſthenes*, that of war under the companions of *Alexander the Great*, d and politics by long experience, having been always employed by *Pyrrhus* in the moſt difficult negotiations. The art of perſuaſion, of which he was maſter, and the ſecret he had of inſinuating himſelf into the affections of thoſe he dealt with, enabled him to conquer all difficulties in the buſineſs he tranſacted for his maſter; inſomuch, that *Pyrrhus* himſelf uſed to ſay, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence and perſuaſive diſcourſes of *Cyneas*, than he could poſſibly have conquered by force of arms. He was by profeſſion a philoſopher of the ſect of *Epicurus*, which was not then come into diſrepute through the ill uſe that corrupt men afterwards made of the principles they profeſſed. At court he maintained the character of a man of virtue, and a lover of truth, who was not capable of deceiving by mean flatteries, and yet had e ſubmiſſion enough to execute, without murmuring, the orders that were given contrary to his advice. *Pyrrhus*, who repoſed an intire confidence in this great man, could not help communicating to him the vaſt projects he was forming: having therefore called him into his cabinet, after he had diſmiſſed the *Tarentine* embaſſadors, The *Tarentines*, ſaid he, invite me over into *Italy*, which opens to me a large field of glory. To ſubdue the *Romans* is to conquer the weſt: and how eaſy is it to ſubdue them! *Hetruria* finds them employment on one hand, and all the nations on this ſide of the *Tyber*, quite to the ſea-ſhore, are ready to take up arms under my command againſt that ambitious and haughty republic. Tell me impartially what you think of this expedition. *Cyneas*, without diſapproving his deſign upon *Italy*, aſked him f whither he deſigned to turn his arms, if the gods ſhould be ſo gracious as to crown his attempts upon that country with the wiſhed-for ſucceſs. To this queſtion *Pyrrhus* without heſitation anſwered, that from *Italy* he deſigned to paſs over into *Sicily*, where he ſhould find all things in confuſion on account of the death of king *Agathocles*, who had kept the *Sicilians* in awe. And how many fruitful provinces, ſaid he, ſhall I find there, either ready to receive me after the conqueſt of *Italy*, or not in a condition to oppoſe my victorious troops! And when *Sicily* ſhall have ſubmitted to you, where do you intend to make war next? replied *Cyneas*. The thing ſpeaks itſelf, anſwered *Pyrrhus*; from *Sicily* I will ſail over into *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* are

Diſcloſes his deſign to Cyneas.

[1] PLUT. ibid. & CIC. de Divin. l. ii.

are not invincible. *Agathocles* surprized them with a few ships, and was very near making himself king of *Carthage*. And when I shall have taken that city, who will be able to make head against me? *Macedon*, which I formerly conquered, and every province of *Greece*, shall be part of my future conquests. And after all these victories, said *Cyneas*, how shall we employ ourselves, and dispose of our time? I will then, subjoined *Pyrrhus*, take some rest after all my fatigues, and enjoy the pleasures of life with you. At these words the wise philosopher interrupting him, And what prevents you, said he, from enjoying that happiness now, which you propose to seek through so many toils and labours, with the hazard of never being able to find it? Why should you purchase, at so dear a rate, the gratifications which you may now enjoy without the least trouble? These words made some impression upon the king; but his ambition getting the better of his understanding, he persisted in his design; and covering his ambitious views with the appearance of virtue, It is hereditary in my family, said he, to assist the miserable: we ought not to make war for ourselves alone, but to relieve the oppressed. Being thus unalterably fixed in his design of subjecting all *Italy*, the better to conceal it, he caused a very artful clause to be inserted in his treaty with the *Tarentines*, viz. that when he had once relieved *Tarentum*, he should not be detained in *Italy*, but allowed to return to *Epirus*. He likewise required that some of the embassadors should continue in his dominions, under pretence of assisting him in making the necessary preparations for war; but in reality, that they might be as so many hostages to secure the fidelity of the *Tarentines* [m].

Resolves on a war with the Romans.

Having taken these prudent precautions, he immediately dispatched *Cyneas* with part of his fleet and a detachment of three thousand foot to *Tarentum*, where that artful minister soon changed the face of affairs, the chief men of the city being, notwithstanding the embassy they had sent to *Pyrrhus*, inclined to come to an agreement with the *Romans*; nay, they had even chosen for their chief magistrate one *Agis*, who was a sincere friend to the *Romans*, and acted in concert with *L. Æmilius Barbula* the *Roman* general, hoping by that means to reconcile his countrymen to *Rome*, and make them lay aside their design of receiving the king of *Epirus*. But *Cyneas* by his eloquence and insinuating behaviour prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to depose *Agis*, and place one of the embassadors, who had been sent into *Epirus*, in his room. After this he persuaded them to deliver up their citadel to one *Milo* an *Epirote*, who was arrived a few days before with fresh succours, and the agreeable news, that *Pyrrhus* would soon be there in person at the head of a numerous army. The *Tarentines*, impatient to see the king of *Epirus* among them, upon this advice dispatched their gallies and a great number of transports with all sorts of provisions and a large sum of money, to *Epirus*, in order to convey *Pyrrhus* with his troops and elephants safe to *Tarentum*. The convoy no sooner arrived than the king imbarqued, *Cyneas* and *Milo* having paved the way for him so well, that his authority was already as well established in *Tarentum*, as in *Epirus*. Before the arrival of the *Tarentine* fleet he had settled the government of his dominions during his absence. He left *Ptolemy*, his son by *Antigone* the daughter of *Berenice*, who was then fifteen years old, regent of *Epirus* under the tuition of *Ptolemy Ceraunus* king of *Macedon*. He took his two younger sons *Alexander* and *Helenus* (L) with him into *Italy*, to amuse and entertain him in this long expedition. Before his departure, he had likewise borrowed ships, men, and money, of the kings his friends; so that his army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, three thousand horse, five hundred slingers, and fifty elephants, according

Pyrrhus *imbarques for* Italy.

Year after the flood, 2719. *Year before* Christ 280.

[m] Plin. ibid. Dion. in excerpt. Zonar. l. viii.

(L) After the death of *Antigone*, the daughter of *Berenice*, *Pyrrhus* married several wives. The first was the daughter of *Antoleon*, king of the *Pæonians*. The second, by name *Bircenna*, was the daughter of *Bardullis*, king of the *Illyrians*. The third was *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, king of *Syracuse*. The latter brought him the island of *Corcyra*, which her father had seized, for her portion. By her he had *Alexander*; and *Helenus*, the youngest of all his children, by *Bercenna*. *Plutarch* tells us, that all the children of *Pyrrhus* derived a warlike genius from their father, which was greatly improved by their education, and adds, that one of them having asked him, to which of his children he designed to leave the kingdom of *Epirus*? the king answered, To him who has the sharpest sword. *Lanassa*, who was once his favourite wife, grew at last jealous of him, thinking he preferred his other wives to her, and retiring to *Corcyra*, there married *Demetrius* (102).

(102) *Plut. in Pyrrho.*

a according to *Juſtin*[n], which *Plutarch* reduces to twenty[o]. Among theſe troops were about ſeven thouſand of thoſe brave *Macedonians*, who had conquered *Aſia* under *Alexander the Great*. His fleet was compoſed of the ſhips of *Epirus*, the gallies of *Tarentum*, and thoſe which *Antigonus Gonatus* had ſent him. With theſe he immediately ſet ſail about the end of the winter, the eager deſire he had of getting to *Italy*, not ſuffering him to wait for a more favourable ſeaſon. But his impatience had like to have coſt him dear; for he had ſcarce got out into the open ſea, when a violent ſtorm from the north drove him out of his courſe, and diſperſed his fleet. *His fleet diſperſed by a ſtorm.*
The ſhip, on board of which the king was, being large and high-built, gained by the care of the pilot and mariners the coaſt of *Italy* the firſt, after a voyage of infinite
b fatigue and danger. The few ſhips that followed the king ſtruck againſt the rocks on the *Meſſapian* ſhore, and were daſhed to pieces. While *Pyrrhus* was preparing to come aſhore, the inhabitants having flocked from all quarters to ſee him, a freſh accident was very near deſtroying the deliverer of *Italy*, as they ſtiled him, and diſappointing the expectation of the *Tarentines*. For a land wind riſing all on a ſudden with great violence, drove *Pyrrhus* out to ſea again. This new danger was greater than any he had met with in his paſſage, the mariners expecting that his ſhip, being furiouſly beat by huge waves, would founder at each ſhock it ſuſtained. In this extremity the intrepid *Pyrrhus* did not heſitate a moment, but as the ſhore was not far off, threw himſelf into the ſea, and was immediately followed by his guards, *And himſelf in danger of being loſt.*
c and thoſe friends he had on board, without doubt, to take care of his perſon, and ſave him at the danger of their own lives; but as the night was extremely dark, and the ſea ran very high, he ſtruggled with the waves till day-break, when the wind abating, he reached the land with the aſſiſtance of the *Meſſapians*, who ſtood on the ſhore. The long fatigue he had ſuſtained during great part of the night, weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he could not ſtand without being ſupported by his guards. But what gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs was the apprehenſion he was under of his army being loſt; for he had with him only two thouſand men, a few horſes, and two elephants, animals which had never before been ſeen in *Italy*. With theſe he croſſed *Meſſapia*, and marched directly to *Tarentum*[p].

d *Cyneas* no ſooner heard what had happened to *Pyrrhus*, but he advanced to meet him at the head of a ſtrong detachment, and conducted him ſafe to *Tarentum*, where he was received with loud acclamations and all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. The *Tarentines*, who were intirely devoted to their pleaſures, expected that he ſhould take all the fatigues of the war on himſelf, and expoſe his *Epirots* only to danger. And indeed *Pyrrhus* for ſome days diſſembled his deſign, and ſuffered the *Tarentines* to indulge without reſtraint their uſual diverſions. But his ſhips, which had been diſperſed all over the *Ionian* ſea, arriving one after another, and with them the troops which he had put on board of them in *Epirus*, he began to reform the diſorders that prevailed in the city. The theatre was the place to which the idle *Tarentines* reſorted
e daily in great numbers, and where the incendiaries ſtirred up the people to ſedition with their harangues; he therefore cauſed it to be ſhut up, as he did likewiſe the public gardens, porticos, and places of exerciſe, where the inhabitants uſed to entertain themſelves with news, and ſpeak with great freedom of their governors, cenſuring their conduct, and ſettling the government according to their different humours, which occaſioned great diviſions, and rent the city into various factions. As they were a very voluptuous and indolent people, they ſpent whole days and nights in feaſts, maſquerades, plays, *&c.* and theſe *Pyrrhus* abſolutely prohibited as no leſs dangerous than the aſſemblies of prating politicians. They were utter ſtrangers to military exerciſes and the art of handling arms; but *Pyrrhus* having cauſed an exact
f regiſter to be made of all the young men who were fit for war, picked out the ſtrongeſt among them, and incorporated them among his own troops, ſaying, that he would take it upon him to give them courage. He exerciſed them daily for ſeveral hours, and on that occaſion behaved himſelf with an inexorable ſeverity, inflicting exemplary puniſhments on ſuch as did not attend, or failed in their duty. By theſe wiſe meaſures he prevented ſeditions among the citizens, and inured their youth to military diſcipline; and becauſe many, who had not been accuſtomed to ſuch ſeverity and rigour, withdrew from their native country, *Pyrrhus* by a public proclamation

Arrives at Tarentum.

Reforms the manners of the Tarentines.

[n] Justin. l. xvii. c. 2. [o] Plut. ibid. [p] Plut. & Justin. ibid.

mation declared all those guilty of death, who should attempt to abandon their a
country, or absent themselves from the common musters [q].

The *Tarentines*, being now sensible that *Pyrrhus* was determined to be their master, began loudly to complain of his conduct; but he being informed of whatever passed among them by his spies, who insinuated themselves into all companies, privately dispatched the most factious, and sent those, whom he suspected, under various pretences to his son's court in *Epirus*. Among the latter was *Aristarchus*, a famous orator, whose eloquence gave *Pyrrhus* no small jealousy; for orators had in those days a great influence over the multitude, especially in the *Greek* cities where popular government obtained. As *Aristarchus* had, we may say, an absolute authority in the city, *Pyrrhus* made it his chief business to lessen his reputation among his fellow- b
citizens, pretending a strict friendship for the orator, and giving out, that in many things, which were displeasing to the *Tarentines*, he had acted according to his advice. But *Aristarchus* in his private discourses undeceived them, letting them know, that he entertained the same thoughts of *Pyrrhus* as the multitude. The king therefore, thinking it necessary to remove so dangerous an enemy, sent him to his son on an embassy, which, he said, was of the utmost importance. *Aristarchus* saw through the artifice, but pretending to be altogether unacquainted with it, accepted the deputation, and chusing a vessel, the commander of which was intirely at his devotion, set sail, as *Pyrrhus* imagined, for *Epirus*. But he had no sooner lost sight of the land, than he ordered the pilot to return to *Italy*, and put in at some port, from whence he might c
go safely by land to *Rome*. The pilot obeyed, and *Aristarchus*, on his arrival in that metropolis, acquainted the senate with the state of *Tarentum* and the designs of *Pyrrhus*. Hereupon *Fabricius* was immediately dispatched to visit the *Roman* colonies and the allies of the republic, to fortify some places, and exhort the cities to continue steady in their alliance with *Rome*. And truly these precautions were necessary, the allies of the republic being in many places inclined to desert her, and ready to join a king famous for his exploits, who promised them a happy deliverance from all manner of subjection [r].

In the mean time *P. Valerius Lævinus* the *Roman* consul, entering the country of the *Lucanians*, who were in alliance with the *Tarentines*, committed great ravages d
there, and having taken and fortified one of their castles, waited in that neighbourhood for *Pyrrhus*. The king, though he had not yet received any succours from the *Samnites*, *Messapians*, and other allies of the *Tarentines*, thought it highly dishonourable to continue shut up in a city, while the *Romans* were ravaging the country of his friends. He therefore took the field with the troops he had brought with him from *Epirus*, some recruits of *Tarentum*, and a small number of *Italians*. But before he began hostilities he wrote the following letter to *Lævinus*: *Pyrrhus* to *Lævinus* health.

Writes a haughty letter to the consul Lævinus.

I am informed that you command an army, which is to make war upon the Tarentines. *Disband it without delay, and lay your pretensions before me. After I have heard both parties, I will give judgment, and know how to make my sentence be obeyed.* *Lævinus* e

The consul's answer.

answered the king with all the haughtiness of a *Roman*: *Know*, Pyrrhus, *that we neither admit you as a judge, nor fear yor as an enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to judge us, who have yourself injured us by landing in* Italy *without the consent of our republic? We will have no arbitrator but* Mars, *the author of our race, and protector of our arms.* The king upon the receipt of this letter immediately marched towards those parts where *Lævinus* was waiting for him. The *Romans* were encamped on the hither side of the river *Siris*, and *Pyrrhus*, appearing on the opposite bank, made it his first business to reconnoitre the enemy's camp in person, and see what appearance they made. With this view he crossed the river attended by *Megacles* one of his officers, and chief favourites; and having observed the consul's intrenchments, f
the manner in which he had posted his advanced guards, and the good order of his camp, he was greatly surprized; and addressing *Megacles*, These people, said he, are not such barbarians as we take them to be; let us try them before we condemn them (M). On his return he changed his resolution of attacking them, and shutting himself

[q] Plut. ibid. Frontin. Stratag. [r] Plut. ibid. Dion in excerpt. Ursin. Polyb. l. i. c. 7.

(M) *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* make *Pyrrhus* talk in a very different manner on this occasion, and altogether foreign to the purpose. The first tells us, that at the sight of the *Roman* army he cried out, that his fate was like that of *Hercules*, since he likewise had a *hydra* to encounter; and *Florus*, that when he saw the *Roman* troops, he complained of his being born under the same constellation with *Hercules*,

himſelf up in his intrenchments, waited for the arrival of the confederate troops. In the mean time he poſted ſtrong guards along the river to prevent the enemy from paſſing it, and continually ſent out ſcouts to diſcover the deſigns, and watch the motions of the conſul. Some of theſe being taken by the advanced guards of the *Romans*, the conſul himſelf led them through his camp, and having ſhewed them his army, ſent them back to the king, telling them, that he had many other troops to ſhew them in due time [s].

Attacked by the Romans.

Lævinus being determined to draw the enemy to a battle before *Pyrrhus* received the reinforcements he expected, having harangued his troops, marched to the banks of the *Siris*, and there drawing up his infantry in battalia, ordered the cavalry to file off, and march a great way about in order to find a paſſage at ſome place not defended by the enemy. Accordingly they paſſed the river without being obſerved, and falling upon the guards, which *Pyrrhus* had poſted on the banks over-againſt the conſular army, gave the infantry an opportunity of croſſing the river on bridges, which *Lævinus* had prepared for that purpoſe. But before they got over, *Pyrrhus* haſtening from his camp, which was at ſome diſtance from the river, hoped to cut the *Roman* army in pieces, while they were diſordered with the difficulties of paſſing the river, and climbing up the ſteep banks. But the cavalry covering the infantry, and ſtanding between them and the *Epirots*, gave them time to form themſelves on the banks of the river. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* drew up his men as faſt as they came from the camp, and performed ſuch feats of valour, that the *Romans* thought him worthy of the great reputation he had acquired.

Pyrrhus *is in great danger in the beginning of the battle.*

As the cavalry alone had hitherto engaged, *Pyrrhus*, who confided moſt in his infantry, haſtened back to the camp in order to bring them to the charge: but took two precautions before he began the attack; the firſt was to ride through the ranks, and ſhew himſelf to the whole army; for his horſe having been killed under him in the firſt onſet, a report had been ſpread that he was killed; the ſecond was to change his habit and helmet with *Megacles*; for having been known in the engagement of the horſe by the richneſs of his atture and armour, many of the *Romans* had aimed at him in particular, ſo that he was with the utmoſt difficulty taken up and ſaved after his horſe was killed under him. Thus diſguiſed, he led his phalanx againſt the *Roman* legions, and attacked them with incredible fury. *Lævinus* ſuſtained the ſhock with great reſolution, ſo that the victory was for many hours warmly diſputed. The *Romans* gave ſeveral times way to the *Epirots*, and the *Epirots* to the *Romans*; but both parties rallied again, and were brought back to the charge by their commanders. *Megacles* in the attire and helmet of *Pyrrhus* was in all places, and well ſupported the character he had aſſumed. But his diſguiſe at laſt proved fatal to him: For a *Roman* knight, by name *Dexter*, taking him for the king, followed him where-ever he went, and having found an opportunity of diſcharging a blow at him, ſtruck him dead on the ſpot, ſtript him of his helmet and armour, and carried them in triumph to the conſul, who by ſhewing to the *Epirots* the ſpoils of their king, ſo terrified them, that they began to give ground. But *Pyrrhus* appearing bare-headed in the firſt files of his phalanx, and riding through all the lines, undeceived his men, and inſpired them with new courage. The advantage ſeemed to be pretty equal on both ſides, when *Lævinus* ordered his cavalry to advance; which *Pyrrhus* obſerving, drew up twenty elephants in the front of his army with towers on their backs full of bowmen. The very ſight of thoſe dreadful animals chilled the bravery of the *Romans*, who had never before ſeen them. However, they ſtill advanced, till their horſes, not being able to bear the ſmell of them, and frightened at the ſtrange noiſe they made, took head, and either threw their riders, or carried them off full ſtretch in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts. In the mean time the archers, diſcharging ſhowers of darts from the towers, wounded ſeveral of the *Romans* in that confuſion, while others were trod

But at laſt defeats the Romans.

[s] Plut. ibid. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. Pausan. in Bœotic.

Hercules, ſince ſo many enemies, like the heads of the *hydra* of *Lerna*, ſtarted up out of their own blood. *Cyneas*, according to *Plutarch*, and not *Pyrrhus*, made this compariſon, after he had obſerved how quickly the *Roman* army was recruited, and the legions filled up, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained in the firſt battle. On this occaſion the reflection of *Cyneas* was a very ſenſible one, and the compariſon obvious and natural; but it would have been highly abſurd in the circumſtances in which the abovementioned authors ſuppoſe *Pyrrhus* to have made it, that is, before he had engaged the *Romans*, or gained any victory over them; for how could he then compare them to the *hydra*, whoſe heads grew up as faſt as *Hercules* cut them off?

trod to death by the elephants. Notwithstanding the disorder of the cavalry, the legionaries still kept their ranks, and could not be broke, till *Pyrrhus* attacked them in person at the head of the *Thessalian* horse. The onset was so furious, that they were forced to yield, and retire in disorder. The king of *Epirus* restrained the ardour of his troops, and would not suffer them to pursue the enemy, an elephant which had been wounded by a *Roman* soldier, named *Minuccius*, having caused a great disorder in his army. This accident favoured the retreat of the *Romans*, and gave them time to repass the river, and take refuge in *Apulia*[t]. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* make the loss of the *Romans* in this first battle amount to fifteen thousand men; but *Hieronymus*, quoted by the same historian, reduces it to seven thousand: according to the former *Pyrrhus* lost thirteen thousand, and four thousand only according to the latter. The *Epirot* remained master of the field, and had the pleasure to see the *Romans* fly before him; but the victory cost him dear, a great number of his best officers and soldiers having been slain in the battle; whence he was heard to say after the action, that he was both conqueror and conquered, and that if he gained such another victory, he should be obliged to return to *Epirus* alone. He was so far from being elated with the advantage the had got, that when he hung up the spoils he had taken from the enemy, in the temple of *Jupiter* at *Tarentum*, he caused this memorable inscription to be engraved upon them: *Great* Jupiter, *I have conquered an invincible nation, and am conquered by the same* (N)[u]. His first care after the action was to bury the dead, with which the plain was covered; and herein he made no distinction between the *Romans* and his own *Epirots*. In viewing the bodies of the former, he observed that none of them had received any dishonourable wounds, that they had all fallen in the posts assigned them, still held their swords in their hands, and shewed even after their death a certain martial air and fierceness in their faces; and on this occasion it was, that he uttered those famous words: *O that* Pyrrhus *had* Romans *for his soldiers, or the* Romans Pyrrhus *for their leader! Together we should subdue the whole world*[w].

His victory cost him dear.

The king of *Epirus* understood the art of war too well not to reap what advantage he could from his victory. He broke into the countries in alliance with the *Romans* like a torrent, plundered the lands of the republic, and made incursions even into the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Many cities opened their gates to him, and in a short time he made himself master of the greatest part of *Campania*. While he was in that fruitful province, subsisting his troops there at the expence of the *Romans*, he was joined by the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Messapians*, whom he had so long expected. After having reproached them for their delay, he gave them a good share of the spoils he had taken from the enemy; and having by this means gained their affections, he marched without loss of time to lay siege to *Capua*; but *Lævinus*, having already received a reinforcement of two legions, threw some troops into the city, which obliged *Pyrrhus* to drop his design, and leaving *Capua* to march strait to *Naples*. *Lævinus* followed him, harassing his troops on their march, and at length, by keeping his army in that neighbourhood, forced him to give over all thoughts of making himself master of that important city. The king then all of a sudden took his rout towards *Rome* by the *Latin* way, surprized *Fregellæ*, and marching through the country of the *Hernici*, sat down before *Præneste*. There from the top of a hill he had the pleasure of seeing *Rome*, and is said to have advanced so near the walls, that he drove a cloud of dust into the city. But he was soon forced to retire by the other consul *T. Coruncanius*, who having reduced *Hetruria*, was just then returned with his victorious army to *Rome*. The king of *Epirus* therefore, having no hopes of bringing the *Hetrurians* into his interest, and seeing two consular armies ready to fall upon him, raised the siege of *Præneste*, and hastened back into *Campania*, where, to his great surprise, he found *Lævinus* with a more numerous army than that which he had defeated on the banks of the *Siris*. The consul went to meet him with a design to try the fate of another battle, which *Pyrrhus* being unwilling to decline, drew up his army, and to strike terror into the *Roman* legions, ordered his men to beat their bucklers

Makes himself master of the greatest part of Campania.

Takes Fregellæ.

Raises the siege of Præneste, *and returns to* Campania.

[t] Dion, Halicarnass. l. iii. Plut. ibid. Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. c. 2. [u] Plut. ibid. Oros. l. iv. c. 1. [w] Flor. l. viii.

(N) The words of this inscription, as they have been transmitted to us in verse, are,

Qui invicti ante fuere viri, pater optime Olympi,
Hos & et in pugna vici, victusque sum ab iisdem.

a bucklers with their lances, and the leaders of the elephants to force them to make their hideous noiſe. But the noiſe was returned with ſuch an univerſal ſhout by the *Romans*, that *Pyrrhus* thinking ſo much alacrity on the part of the vanquiſhed too ſure a prognoſtic of victory, altered his mind, and, pretending that the auguries were not favourable, retired to *Tarentum*, and put an end to the campaign.

WHILE *Pyrrhus* continued quiet at *Tarentum*, he had time to reflect on the valour and conduct of the *Romans*; which made him conclude, that the war, in which he was engaged, muſt end in his ruin and diſgrace, if not terminated by an honourable peace. He was therefore overjoyed when he heard that the ſenate had determined to ſend an honourable embaſſy to him, not doubting but their errand was to propoſe

b terms of peace. He pleaſed himſelf with the imagination of ſeeing thoſe haughty republicans at his feet in a ſuppliant manner, and ſaying to them with the air of a conqueror, *I grant you peace*. In full expectation of this, he ſent *Lycon* the *Moloſſian* to wait for them with a guard on the frontiers of *Tarentum*; and as they approached the city went out in perſon to meet them, received them with all poſſible marks of honour, and appointed them ſtately lodgings, commanding them to be plentifully ſupplied at the public expence with all neceſſaries. The embaſſadors were three men of diſtinguiſhed merit, viz. *Cornelius Dolabella*, who was famous for the ſignal victory he had gained over the *Senones*, the virtuous *Fabricius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, who had been his collegue in the conſulate two years before. When they were admitted to an

c audience, the only thing they demanded was a ſurrender of the priſoners, either by way of exchange, or at ſuch a ranſom as ſhould be agreed on; for *Pyrrhus* in the late battle had made eighteen hundred priſoners, moſt of them *Roman* knights, and men of diſtinction in the republic. They had fought with great bravery, till their horſes, frightened with the roaring of the king's elephants, had either thrown them, or obliged them to diſmount; by which unforeſeen accident they had fallen into the enemy's hands. The ſenate therefore pitying the condition of thoſe brave men, had determined, contrary to their cuſtom, to redeem them. *Pyrrhus* was greatly ſurprized and diſappointed when he found that they had no other propoſals to make; but concealing his thoughts, he only anſwered, that he would conſider of it, and

d let them know his reſolution[y].

ACCORDINGLY he aſſembled his council; but his chief favourites were divided in their opinions. *Milo*, who commanded in the citadel of *Tarentum*, was for coming to no compoſition with the *Romans*; but *Cyneas*, who knew his maſter's inclination, propoſed not only ſending back the priſoners without ranſom, but diſpatching an embaſſy to *Rome* to treat with the ſenate of a laſting peace. His advice was approved, and he himſelf appointed to go on that embaſſy. After theſe reſolutions the king acquainted the embaſſadors that he intended to releaſe the priſoners without ranſom, ſince he had already riches enough, and deſired nothing of their republic but her friendſhip. Afterwards he had ſeveral private conferences with *Fabricius*, whoſe virtue he

e tried with mighty offers of riches and grandeur; but finding him proof againſt all temptations, he reſolved to try whether his intrepidity and courage were equal to his virtue. With this view he cauſed an elephant to be placed behind a curtain in the hall where he received the *Roman* embaſſador. As *Fabricius* had never ſeen one of thoſe beaſts, the king taking a turn or two in the hall with him brought him within the elephant's reach, and then cauſed the curtain to be drawn all on a ſudden, and that monſtrous animal to make his uſual noiſe, and even lay his trunk on *Fabricius*'s head. But the intrepid *Roman*, without betraying the leaſt fear or concern, Does the great king, ſaid he, with ſurpriſing calmneſs, who could not ſtagger me with his offers, think to frighten me with the braying of a beaſt; *Pyrrhus*, aſto-

f niſhed at his immoveable conſtancy invited him to dine with him; and on this occaſion it was, that the converſation turning upon the *Epicuræan* philoſophy, *Fabricius* made that celebrated exclamation; *O that* Pyrrhus, *both for* Rome's *ſake and his own, had placed his happineſs in the boaſted indolence of* Epicurus![z].

EVERY thing *Pyrrhus* heard or ſaw of the *Romans* increaſed his earneſtneſs for peace. He ſent for the three embaſſadors, releaſed two hundred of the priſoners without ranſom, and ſuffered the reſt, on their parole, to return to *Rome* to celebrate the *Saturnalia*, or feaſts of *Saturn*, in their own families. Having by this obliging behaviour gained the good-will of the *Roman* embaſſadors, he ſent the famous

The Romans *ſend an embaſſy to him to deſire an exchange of priſoners.*

Cyneas *ſent to* Rome *to treat of a peace.*

Pyrrhus's *conference with* Fabricius.

[x] PLUT. & FLOR. ibid. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 4. [y] DION. HAL. legat. [z] HION. HALICAR. ibid.

famous *Cyneas* to *Rome* almoſt at the ſame time that they left *Tarentum*. The inſtructions he gave this faithful miniſter were to bring the *Romans* to grant theſe three articles: 1. That the *Tarentines* ſhould be included in the treaty made with the king of *Epirus*: 2. That all the *Greek* cities in *Italy* ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy their laws and liberties: 3. That the republic ſhould reſtore to the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*, all the places ſhe had taken from them. Upon theſe conditions *Pyrrhus* declared himſelf ready to forbear all further hoſtilities, and conclude a laſting peace. a

Cyneas's *negotiations at* Rome.

With theſe inſtructions *Cyneas* ſet out for *Rome*, where partly by his eloquence, partly by rich preſents to the ſenators and their wives, he ſoon gained a good number of voices. When he was admitted into the ſenate, he made an harangue worthy of a diſciple of the great *Demoſthenes*; after which he read the conditions *Pyrrhus* propoſed, and with a great deal of eloquence endeavoured to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and moderation of his maſter's demands, aſking leave for *Pyrrhus* to come in perſon to *Rome* to conclude and ſign the treaty. The ſenators were generally inclined to agree to *Pyrrhus*'s terms; but nevertheleſs, as ſeveral ſenators were abſent, the determination of the affair was poſtponed to the next day, when *Appius Claudius*, the greateſt orator and moſt learned civilian in *Rome*, old and blind as he was, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the ſenate, where he had not appeared for many years; and there, what with his eloquence, what with his authority, ſo prepoſſeſſed the minds of the ſenators againſt the king of *Epirus* and the conditions he offered, that when he had done ſpeaking, the conſcript fathers unanimouſly paſſed a decree, the ſubſtance of which was, that the war with *Pyrrhus* ſhould be continued; that his embaſſador ſhould be ſent back that very day; that the king of *Epirus* ſhould not be permitted to come to *Rome*; and that they ſhould acquaint his embaſſador, that *Rome* would enter into no treaty of peace with his maſter till he had left *Italy* [a]. b c

The Romans *refuſe to enter into a treaty with* Pyrrhus *till he has left* Italy.

Cyneas, ſurprized at the anſwer given him, left *Rome* the ſame day, and returned to *Tarentum*, to acquaint the king with the final reſolution of the ſenate. *Pyrrhus* on hearing it admired the conſtancy and intrepidity of a conquered people, who ſpoke the language of conquerors; and having aſked *Cyneas* his opinion of the ſenate, into which he had been introduced, that miniſter told him, that the ſenate ſeemed to him an aſſembly of kings, whoſe appearance filled the ſpectators with awe and reverence. This anſwer greatly increaſed the eſteem *Pyrrhus* had for the *Romans*; he would have willingly concluded a peace with them upon any honourable terms; but as the conditions they offered were not by any means conſiſtent with the reputation of his arms, he began, without loſs of time, to make all due preparations for the next campaign. On the other hand, the *Romans* having raiſed to the conſulate *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus*, diſpatched them both into *Apulia*, where they found *Pyrrhus* incamped near a little town called *Aſculum*. There the conſuls, joining their armies, fortified themſelves at the foot of the *Apennines*, having between them and the enemy a large deep ſtream, which divided the plain. Both armies continued a great while on the oppoſite banks before either ventured to paſs it to attack the other. The *Epirots* being informed that the father and grandfather of the conſul *Decius* had, by devoting themſelves to the *Dii Manes*, gained victories when every thing threatened the total defeat of their troops, believed that the *Decii* tranſmitted from father to ſon ſome unaccountable art of necromany, whereby they ſecured the victory to their party whenever they loſt their lives in the battle. This vain apprehenſion filled the *Epirots* with terror; and *Pyrrhus*, to deſtroy ſo dangerous a prepoſſeſſion, ſent a meſſenger to *Decius*, acquainting him, that if he attempted to devote himſelf, he ſhould find the *Epirots* upon their guard, and reſolved not to put him to death, but to take him alive, and that the moſt cruel puniſhments ſhould be inflicted upon him as an impoſtor after the battle. To this meſſage the conſuls returned the following anſwer; *Pyrrhus* is not ſo formidable an enemy as to reduce us to expedients, which we make uſe of only in the greateſt and inevitable dangers. To ſhew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice, either to paſs the river unmoleſted, or to ſuffer us to do ſo; we ſhall then try in the open field, and upon equal terms, which of us ſhall have need of employing extraordinary methods to gain the victory. The king could not in point of honour decline the challenge, and therefore choſe to continue where he was, and let the *Romans* croſs the ſtream; which they did accordingly, and drew up in the plain. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* placed his men likewiſe in order d

His meſſage to Decius *the* Roman *conſul.*

e f

[a] Plut. ibid. Ennius apud Cic. in Cat. Maj.

order of battle in the ſame plain; and all the ancients do him the juſtice to ſay, that no commander ever underſtood better the art of drawing up an army, and directing its motions. In the right wing he placed his *Epirots* and the *Samnites*, in his left the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Salentines*, and his phalanx in the centre. The centre of the *Roman* army conſiſted of four legions, which were to engage the enemy's phalanx; on their wings were poſted the light-armed auxiliaries and the *Roman* horſe. The conſuls, in order to guard their troops againſt the fury of the elephants, had prepared chariots, armed with long points of iron in the ſhape of forks, and filled with ſoldiers carrying firebrands, which they were directed to throw at the elephants, and by that means frighten them, and ſet their wooden towers on fire. Theſe chariots were poſted over-againſt the king's elephants, and ordered not to ſtir till they entered upon action. To this precaution the *Roman* generals added another, which was, to order a body of *Apulian* troops to attack *Pyrrhus*'s camp in the heat of the engagement, in order to force it, or at leaſt draw off part of the enemy's forces to defend it. At length the attack began, both parties being pretty equal in number; for each of them conſiſted of about forty thouſand men. The phalanx ſuſtained for a long time the furious onſet of the legions with incredible bravery; but at length being forced to give way, *Pyrrhus* commanded his elephants to advance, but not on the ſide where the *Romans* had poſted their chariots; they marched round, and falling upon the *Roman* horſe, ſoon put them into confuſion. Then the phalanx, returning with freſh courage to the charge, made the *Roman* legions in their turn give ground. On this occaſion *Decius* was killed, ſo that one conſul only was left to command the two *Roman* armies. But while all things ſeemed to favour *Pyrrhus*, the body of *Apulians*, which we have mentioned above, falling unexpectedly on the camp of the *Epirots*, obliged the king to diſpatch a ſtrong detachment to defend his intrenchments. Upon the departure of theſe troops, ſome of the *Epirots* imagining that the camp was taken, began to loſe courage, and retire; thoſe who were next to them followed their example, and in a ſhort time the whole army gave way. *Pyrrhus*, having attempted ſeveral times in vain to rally his forces, returned to the charge with a ſmall number of his friends, and the moſt couragious of his officers. With theſe he ſuſtained the fury of the victorious legions, and covered the retreat of his own men. But being after a moſt gallant behaviour dangerouſly wounded, he retired at laſt with his ſmall band in good order, leaving the *Romans* maſters of the field. As the ſun was near ſetting, and the *Romans* extremely fatigued, and a great number of them wounded, the conſul *Sulpicius*, not thinking it adviſeable to purſue the enemy, ſounded a retreat, repaſſed the ſtream, and brought his troops back to the camp (O). *Sulpicius* appeared in the field of battle the next day with a deſign to bring the *Epirots* to a ſecond engagement; but finding they had withdrawn in the night to *Tarentum*, he likewiſe retired, and put his troops into winter quarters in *Apulia* [b].

Both armies prepare for a general engagement.

The battle of Aſculum.

The Epirots *give way.*

Pyrrhus *is dangerouſly wounded.*

Both armies continued quiet in their quarters during winter; but early in the ſpring took the field anew. The *Romans* were commanded this year by two men of great fame, whom they had raiſed to the conſulate the ſecond time; theſe were the celebrated *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, who no ſooner arrived in *Apulia*, than they

[b] Plut. Dion. Hal. Flor. Justin. ibid.

(O) Hiſtorians give us very different accounts of the battle of *Aſculum*. *Plutarch*, who will have it to have been a double action, relates it thus: *Pyrrhus*, ſays he, was pent up in a place, where the cavalry could not be of any uſe; and could not bring up his elephants, the ground being very marſhy. In this diſadvantagious poſt many of his men were killed, and more wounded; ſo that night alone, which put an end to the battle, ſaved him from an intire defeat. The next day the king, to retrieve his reputation, took poſſeſſion of a more even ground, where he placed his elephants. Early in the morning, having ſeized thoſe narrow paſſes, which had proved fatal to his army the day before, he drew up his men in the plain, poſting a great number of archers and pikemen among his elephants. In this order he advanced towards the enemy, and charged the *Roman* troops with incredible fury. The legions fought a long time with great bravery; but at length, not being able to withſtand the elephants, betook themſelves to flight (103). On the other hand, *Eutropius* tells us, that the *Romans* gained a complete victory, that *Pyrrhus* loſt his elephants in the action, and was obliged, though wounded, to fly to *Tarentum* to avoid falling into the enemy's hands (104). But his account is contradicted by other hiſtorians. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, ſays, that there was but one battle fought near the city of *Aſculum*; that the ſucceſs of this great action was doubtful; that *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the arm with a ſpear, and that his baggage was plundered by the *Samnites*. The ſame author makes *Pyrrhus* on this occaſion give that famous anſwer to one, who congratulated him on his victory, *Such another would undo me* (105).

(103) *Plut. ibid.* (104) *Eutrop. l.* ii. (105) *Dion. Hal. l.* iii.

they marched their troops into the territory of *Tarentum*. *Pyrrhus*, who had received considerable reinforcements from *Epirus*, met them near the frontiers, and encamped at a small distance from the *Roman* army. While the consuls were waiting here for a favourable opportunity to give battle, a messenger from *Nicias*, the king's physician, delivered a letter to *Fabricius*, wherein the traitor offered to take off his master by poison, provided the consul would promise him a reward proportionable to the greatness of the service. The virtuous *Roman*, being filled with horror at the bare proposal of such a crime, immediately communicated the affair to his collegue, who readily joined with him in writing a letter to *Pyrrhus*, wherein they warned him, without discovering the criminal, to take care of himself, and be upon his guard against the treacherous designs of those about him. The letter was couched in the following terms: *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius* consuls, to king *Pyrrhus*, health. You are unhappy both in the choice of your friends and enemies. This letter will satisfy you, that the former are the worst of men, and the latter persons of honour and probity. You are betrayed, *Pyrrhus*, and the man, who ought to be most faithful to you, offers to poison you. We give you this information, not to curry favour with you, but fearing lest we should be suspected of consenting to an assassination, which we detest and abhor. We do not desire to end the war by secret and wicked attempts, but openly, and with our swords[c]. *Pyrrhus*, out of a deep sense of gratitude for so great a benefit, released immediately without ransom all the prisoners he had taken. But the *Romans*, disdaining to accept either a favour from an enemy, or a recompense for not committing the blackest treachery, declared, that they would not receive their prisoners but by way of exchange; and accordingly sent to *Pyrrhus* an equal number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* prisoners[d].

The king's physician offers to poison his master.

The consuls letter to the king on this occasion.

As the king of *Epirus* grew every day more weary of a war, which he feared would end in his disgrace, he sent *Cyneas* a second time to *Rome* to try whether he could with his artful harangues prevail upon the conscript fathers, to hearken to an accommodation, upon such terms as were consistent with his honour. But the embassador found the senators steady in their former resolution, and determined not to enter into any treaty with his master till he had left *Italy*, and withdrawn from thence all his forces. This gave the king great uneasiness; for he had already lost most of his veteran troops and best officers, and was sensible that he should lose the rest if he ventured another engagement. While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, embassadors arrived at his camp from the *Syracusians*, *Agrigentines*, and *Leontines*, imploring the assistance of his arms to drive out the *Carthaginians*, and put an end to the troubles which threatened their respective states with utter destruction. *Pyrrhus*, who wanted only some honourable pretence to leave *Italy*, laid hold of this, and, appointing *Milo* governor of *Tarentum*, with a strong garison to keep the inhabitants in awe during his absence, set sail for *Sicily* with thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, on board a fleet of two hundred ships. We have elsewhere related at length the great success that attended him at first in *Sicily*[e]; but the face of his affairs soon changed there likewise. The *Sicilians*, disgusted at the resolution he had taken of passing over into *Africa*, and much more at the enormous exactions and extortions of his ministers and courtiers, had submitted partly to the *Carthaginians*, and partly to the *Mamertines*. When *Carthage* heard of this change, new troops were raised all over *Africa*, and a numerous army sent into *Sicily* to recover the cities which *Pyrrhus* had taken. As the *Sicilians* daily deserted from him in crowds, he was no ways in a condition with his *Epirots* alone to withstand so powerful an enemy; and therefore when deputies came to him from the *Tarentines*, *Samnites*, *Brutians*, and *Lucanians*, representing to him the losses they had sustained since his departure, and remonstrating, that without his assistance they must fall a sacrifice to the *Romans*, he laid hold of that opportunity to abandon the island and return to *Italy*. His fleet was attacked by that of *Carthage*, and his army after their landing by the *Mamertines*, as we have related in the history of *Syracuse*[f]. But *Pyrrhus* having by his heroic bravery escaped all danger, marched along the sea-shore in order to reach *Tarentum* that way. As he passed through the country of the *Locrians*, who had not long before massacred the troops he had left there, he not only exercised all sorts of cruelty on the inhabitants, but plundered the temple of *Proserpine* to supply the wants of his army. The immense riches which he found there were by his orders

Cyneas sent a second time to Rome.

Pyrrhus sets sail for Sicily.

Returns to Sicily.

[c] Plut. ibid. & auth. de vir. illust. Gellius noct. Attic. Senec. epist. 120. Eutrop. l. ii. [d] Plut. ibid. & Eutrop. l. ii. [e] Vide p. 89, 90. [f] p. 90.

orders ſent to *Tarentum* by ſea; but the ſhips that carried them, being daſhed againſt the rocks by a tempeſt, and the mariners all loſt, this proud prince being convinced, ſays *Livy* [g], that the gods were not imaginary beings, cauſed all the treaſure, which the ſea had thrown upon the ſhore, to be carefully gathered up, and replaced in the temple; nay, to appeaſe the wrath of the angry goddeſs, he put all thoſe to death who had adviſed him to plunder her temple. However, ſuperſtition made the ancients aſcribe to this act of impiety all the misfortunes which afterwards befel that unhappy prince.

Pyrrhus at length arrived at *Tarentum*; but of the army he had carried into *Sicily*, he brought back into *Italy* only three thouſand horſe and not quite twenty thouſand foot, a ſmall body indeed to cope with two conſular armies. He therefore reinforced them with the beſt troops he could raiſe in the countries of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*; and hearing that the two new conſuls, *Curius Dentatus* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, had divided their forces, the one invading *Lucania*, and the other *Samnium*; he likewiſe divided his army into two bodies, marching with the choice of his *Epirots* againſt *Dentatus* in hopes of ſurprizing him in his camp near *Beneventum*. But the conſul having notice of his approach, went out of his intrenchments with a ſtrong detachment of legionaries to meet him, repulſed his van-guard, put many of the *Epirots* to the ſword, and took ſome of their elephants. *Curius*, encouraged with this firſt ſucceſs, marched his army into the *Tauraſian* fields, and drew it up in a plain, which was wide enough for his troops, but too narrow for the *Epirot* phalanx, the phalangites being ſo crowded, that they could not handle their arms without difficulty. But the king's eagerneſs to try his ſtrength and ſkill with ſo renowned a commander, made him engage at ſo great a diſadvantage. Upon the firſt ſignal the action began, and one of the king's wings giving way, the victory ſeemed to incline to the *Romans*. But that wing where the king fought in perſon, repulſed the enemy, and drove them back quite to their intrenchments. This advantage was in great part owing to the elephants, which *Curius* perceiving, commanded a corps-de-reſerve, which he had poſted near the camp, to advance, and fall upon the elephants. Theſe carrying burning torches in one hand, and their ſwords in the other, threw the former at the elephants, and with the latter defended themſelves againſt their guides, by which means they were both forced to give way. The elephants being put to flight, broke into the phalanx, cloſe as it was, and there cauſed a general diſorder, which was increaſed by a remarkable accident: For it is ſaid, that a young elephant being wounded, and thereupon making a dreadful noiſe, the mother quitting her rank, and haſtening to the aſſiſtance of her young one, put thoſe, who ſtill kept their ranks, into the utmoſt confuſion. But however that be, it is certain, that the *Romans* obtained at laſt a complete victory [h]. *Oroſius* [i] and *Eutropius* [k] tell us, that *Pyrrhus*'s army conſiſted of fourſcore thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, including his *Epirots* and allies, whereas the conſular army was ſcarce twenty thouſand men ſtrong. Thoſe who exaggerate the king's loſs ſay, that the number of the ſlain on his ſide amounted to thirty thouſand men; but others reduce it to twenty thouſand. All writers agree, that *Curius* took twelve hundred priſoners and eight elephants. This victory, which was the moſt deciſive *Rome* had ever gained, brought all *Italy* under ſubjection, and paved the way for thoſe vaſt conqueſts, which afterwards made the *Romans* maſters of the whole known world.

Arrives at Tarentum.

Attacks Curtius Dentatus *near* Beneventum.

But is utterly defeated.

Pyrrhus being no ways in a condition, after the great loſs he had ſuſtained, to keep the field, retired to *Tarentum*, being attended only by a ſmall body of horſe, leaving the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of his camp, which they ſo much admired, that they made it ever after a model to form theirs by. And now the king of *Epirus* reſolved to leave *Italy* as ſoon as poſſible, but concealed his deſign, and endeavoured to keep up the drooping ſpirits of his allies by giving them hopes of ſpeedy ſuccours from *Greece*. Accordingly he diſpatched embaſſadors into *Ætolia*, *Illyricum*, and *Macedon*, demanding ſupplies of men and money. But the anſwers from thoſe courts not proving favourable, he forged ſuch as might pleaſe thoſe whom he was willing to deceive, and by this means ſupported the courage of his friends, and kept his enemy in play. When he could conceal his departure no longer, he pretended to be on a ſudden in a great paſſion at the dilatorineſs of his friends in ſending him ſuccours, and acquainted the *Tarentines* that he muſt go and bring them over himſelf.

He retires to Tarentum.

[g] Liv. l. xxix. c. 18. [h] Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3. Liv. l. xxix. c. 18. Dion. Hal. in excerpt. p. 542. [i] Oros. l. iv. [k] Eutrop. l. ii.

ſelf. However, he left behind him a ſtrong gariſon in the citadel of *Tarentum* under the command of the ſame *Milo*, who had kept it for him during his ſtay in *Sicily*. In order to keep this governor in his duty, he is ſaid to have made him a very ſtrange preſent, *viz.* a chair covered with the ſkin of *Nicias*, the treacherous phyſician, who had offered *Fabricius* to poiſon his maſter[l]. After all theſe diſguiſes and precautions *Pyrrhus* at laſt ſet ſail for *Epirus*, and arrived ſafe at *Acroceraunium* with eight thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, after having ſpent, to no purpoſe, ſix years in *Italy* and *Sicily*[m]. a

And from thence into his own dominions.

On his return he found his treaſures exhauſted, and his people diſcouraged. To retrieve therefore his reputation, and make his troops ſome amends for the hardſhips they had ſuffered in *Italy*, he reſolved to invade *Macedon*, where *Antigonus Gonatus*, who had refuſed to ſend him any ſuccours, then reigned; and being reinforced with ſome companies of *Gauls*, he ravaged the country, took many cities, overthrew *Antigonus* in a pitched battle; and notwithſtanding that prince had a great many *Gauls* in his pay, *Pyrrhus* drove him from place to place, and at length made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom of *Macedon*. After the victory which he gained over *Antigonus*, he hung up the ſpoils of the *Gauls* in the temple of *Pallas* of *Itonia*, a ſmall city between *Phera* and *Lariſſa*, with the following inſcription; Pyrrhus, *king of the* Moloſſians, *conſecrates to the* Itonian Minerva *theſe bucklers of the fierce* Gauls, *after having defeated the whole army of* Antigonus. *The deſcendents of* Æacus *are ſtill the ſame, brave and valiant*[n]. *Pyrrhus* having taken *Ægæ*, the royal ſeat of the late kings of *Macedon*, treated the inhabitants with great ſeverity, and on his leaving the place, gariſoned it with part of his *Gauls*, who being told that rich treaſures were concealed in the tombs of the kings who were buried there, opened them, and after having carried away the wealth they found in them, threw the bones of the princes, whoſe remains were depoſited there, about the ſtreets, and ſacrilegioſly trampled them under foot. *Pyrrhus* diſſembled his knowledge of this infamous action, being unwilling to alienate the minds of thoſe barbarians by inflicting on them the puniſhment they well deſerved; and this ſhameful connivance raiſed a general diſſaffection among the *Macedonians*, who had abandoned *Antigonus* to ſide with him. b c

Makes himſelf maſter of all Macedon.

Antigonus after his defeat had retired into *Theſſalonica* with the remains of his ſhattered army, intending to wait there for a favourable opportunity of recovering his kingdom. But *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, a prince who almoſt equalled his father in bravery, though at that time but twenty-two years of age, purſued the unhappy *Antigonus* to his retreat, put to the ſword the few troops he had with him, made himſelf maſter of *Theſſalonica*, and reduced the king of *Macedon* to ſuch ſtraits, that he had no place to retire to in his misfortunes but the foreſts[o]. d

It was natural for *Pyrrhus* after theſe conqueſts, which had both inriched and increaſed his army, to return to the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines* and his allies in *Italy*. But his inconſtancy, or rather the fear he was in of the *Romans*, made him take another courſe. New enemies, and new hopes, drew him into *Peloponneſus*, whither he took with him his two ſons, *Ptolemy* and *Helenus*, inſtead of leaving at leaſt one of them in *Macedon* to keep that country in awe, and watch the motions of *Antigonus*. He had been invited thither by *Cleonymus* king of *Sparta*, who being driven from his capital by *Areus* his ambitious nephew, and by the intrigues of his wife *Chelidonis*, had recourſe to *Pyrrhus*, whoſe victories had made him famous all over *Greece*. The king, who was ever paſſing from one enterprize to another, readily complied with the requeſt of *Cleonymus*, and, taking with him five and twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve elephants, entered *Peloponneſus*, not ſo much with a deſign to re-eſtabliſh *Cleonymus*, as to make himſelf maſter of all *Greece*. But the obſtinate reſiſtance he met with at *Lacedæmon*, not only from the men, but alſo from the women, who on that occaſion behaved like true heroines, obliged him to drop this enterprize, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of the *Lacedæmonians*[p]. He had ſcarce reſolved with himſelf to retire from before *Lacedæmon*, when a new project made him haſten his departure, in order to try his fortune in another quarter. e f

His expedition into Peloponneſus.

Ariſtippus and *Ariſtias*, two of the principal citizens of *Argos*, having excited a great ſedition in that city, the former, to make good his party againſt his rival, had drawn *Antigonus* into his intereſt, which was enough for the latter to call *Pyrrhus* to his aſſiſtance

His expedition againſt the city of Argos.

[l] Zonar. l. viii. c. 7. [m] Plut. ibid. Justin. l. xxv. c. 3. Pausan. in Attic. d. 11. [n] Plut. ibid. & Pausan. in Attic. p. 11, 12. [o] Justin. l. xxv. c. 3. Plut. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xxii. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 266. [p] Vide Vol. II. p. 622, 623.

a ance. The king was overjoyed at the arrival of an expreſs from *Ariſtias*, inviting him to engage in a new war; and deſpiſing *Antigonus*, who had already recovered great part of *Macedon* he drew off from *Lacedæmon*, and haſtened to *Argos*. But *Areus*, having timely notice of his departure, concealed his troops in the moſt difficult paſſes, and having ſuffered the advanced guard of the *Epirot* army, commanded by *Pyrrhus*, to march by, fell unexpectedly on the rear, and cut off a great number of the *Gauls* and *Moloſſians*, who compoſed it. Hereupon *Pyrrhus* detached his ſon *Ptolemy* to their relief; but the young prince, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried on by his too great courage, was killed in the engagement by one *Oraſus* a *Cretan*. The king being informed of his ſon's death, which affected him in a very ſenſible manner,

His ſon Ptolemy killed.

b ſuddenly faced about, and falling upon the *Lacedæmonian* cavalry, who, under the command of *Evalcus*, an officer of great reputation, had imprudently advanced into the plain, made a great havock of thoſe troops. He was always dreadful in battles, but on this occaſion, when grief and the deſire of revenge inflamed his natural ardor, he even ſurpaſſed himſelf. He ſingled out *Evalcus* in the throng, and breaking through the troops that ſurrounded him, killed him on the ſpot at the firſt blow. The death of ſo brave a man diſheartened the *Lacedæmonians*, who now began to give ground. On the other hand the *Epirots*, being animated by the example of their king, purſued the advantage with ſuch ardor, that the enemy was put into the utmoſt confuſion, and at length obliged to ſave themſelves by a diſorderly flight, after

Pyrrhus *revenges his death.*

c having loſt the greateſt part of their cavalry. After this victory, when the dead body of his ſon was brought to him, he expreſſed the deepeſt concern; but at the ſame time ſeemed to blame him on account of his too great boldneſs, ſaying, *I am not at all ſurprized that my ſon has loſt his life; I did not expect he would have lived ſo long.* *Pyrrhus*, having thus revenged the death of *Ptolemy* with ſtreams of *Lacedæmonian* blood, purſued his march to *Argos*, and arriving before that city, encamped in an advantagious ſituation at a ſmall diſtance from *Antigonus*, who had got there before him. The very next morning he ſent a herald to *Antigonus*, challenging him to a ſingle combat; but that prince returned him the following anſwer; *If* Pyrrhus *is tired of his life, he may find ways enough to put an end to it.* The inhabitants of *Argos*

d ſeeing two foreign kings ready to engage at their gates, and not doubting but the conqueror would ſeize on their city, and from a free people reduce them to a ſtate of ſlavery, ſent embaſſadors to both princes, intreating them to withdraw their forces, and ſuffer the citizens to compoſe their differences by themſelves. *Antigonus* readily conſented to this propoſal, and, to convince them that he had no deſign upon their city, delivered up his ſon to them as an hoſtage. *Pyrrhus* likewiſe promiſed to retire; but as he offered no ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe, the *Argians* began to ſuſpect him of inſincerity. And indeed not without reaſon, the factious *Ariſtias* having agreed to open one of the gates to him that very night, and put him in poſ-

Attempts to make himſelf maſter of Argos.

ſeſſion of the city. The traitor kept his word, opening the gate in the dead of the

e night, and conveying a body of *Pyrrhus*'s *Gauls* into the market-place, which was in the centre of the city, without being diſcovered by any of *Ariſtippus*'s party. But *Pyrrhus*, not thinking that body ſufficient to make head againſt the citizens, ordered his elephants to advance with a deſign to draw them up likewiſe in the market-place. But it unfortunately happened, that the gate, which was delivered up to *Pyrrhus*, was not high enough for the elephants to paſs with their towers on their backs; ſo that it was neceſſary to take them off, and replace them, after they had entered the city. As this could not be effected in the dark without ſome noiſe, the *Argians* hearing it, ran to arms, and finding the enemy poſted in the centre of the city, fled to the fortreſs, and from thence ſent meſſengers to *Antigonus*, preſſing him

Enters Argos.

f to advance without loſs of time to their aſſiſtance. He immediately marched up to the walls, and ordered his ſon *Alcioneus* to enter the city at the head of his beſt troops. In this critical juncture *Areus* king of *Lacedæmon* arrived likewiſe at *Argos*, with a thouſand *Lacedæmonians* and the ſame number of *Cretans*; and joining the *Macedonians*, charged the *Gauls* with the utmoſt fury, and threw them into diſorder. *Pyrrhus* haſtened to their relief with a body of *Moloſſians*; but the darkneſs and confuſion were ſo great, that he could neither be heard nor obeyed. The fight laſted all night, and at break of day the ſtreets appeared covered with dead bodies, and ſtreaming with blood, the *Macedonians*, *Argians*, *Cretans*, *Epirots*, *Gauls*, and *Lacedæmonians*, having fought all pell-mell in the dark, without diſtinguiſhing their friends from their foes. *Pyrrhus* was not a little ſurprized to ſee the city filled with the enemy's troops; *Attempts to retire.*

troops; and imagining all was loſt, thought of nothing but a timely retreat. As he a was under ſome apprehenſion with reſpect to the gates of the city, which were too narrow, he ſent orders to his ſon *Helenus*, whom he had left without with the main body of the army, to make a large breach in the wall, and be ready to cover his retreat, in caſe he ſhould be overpowered by the enemy. But the perſon he ſent to his ſon, miſunderſtanding his orders, delivered a quite contrary meſſage; in conſequence of which *Helenus*, inſtead of making a breach in the wall, drew out the flower of his troops, and attempted to get in at the gate in order to aſſiſt his father. But the paſſage being ſtopt up by an elephant of an enormous ſize, and the *Agrians* crowding about the gate to prevent *Helenus* from entering it, a ſharp engagement enſued, in which great numbers were killed on both ſides. At length *Helenus*, fearing leſt b his father might be in danger, forced his paſſage through the thickeſt of the enemy's ranks, and made way for the reſt of his forces to follow him. But he had ſcarce got in, when he met his father ſurrounded by the enemy on all ſides, and fighting his way through them in order to retire by the ſame gate out of the city, which he could no longer hold, moſt of his men being either killed or wounded. The troops which *Helenus* led, were ſo thronged under the gate, that they wounded one another with their arms, and ſo obſtructed the paſſage, that it was impoſſible for *Pyrrhus* to get through them. He often cried aloud to them to retire, and clear the way; but his voice not being heard in that noiſe and confuſion, they ſtill continued to advance preſſing upon one another, and putting the few troops that were with the king in c great diſorder. Hereupon *Pyrrhus* pulling off his diadem, to prevent his being known faced about, and charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury. While he was thus fighting in the croud, and making a great ſlaughter of the enemy, a common ſoldier of *Argos* attacked and wounded him with his javelin. Hereupon the king, inflamed at the ſight of his blood, flew at the aggreſſor with a rage not to be expreſſed, and was ready to make him pay dear for his boldneſs; but the mother of the *Argian*, who with other women beheld the combat from the top of a houſe, being alarmed at the imminent danger of her ſon, threw down a tile, the firſt thing ſhe laid hold of, upon *Pyrrhus*, which falling upon his head, gave him ſuch a blow, that he ſtaggered a while, and fell ſenſeleſs to the ground; which one *Zopyrus* a *Macedonian* d obſerving, and knowing who he was, dragged him into a porch, and there with a trembling hand cut off his head, and carried it to *Alcioneus*, who rid full ſpeed with it to his father *Antigonus*, and threw it down at his feet. But that prince, reflecting on the inſtability of human affairs and viciſſitude of fortune, ſeverely rebuked his ſon for thus inſulting over the remains of ſo great a man; and taking up the head covered it with his own garment, and cauſed it to be honourably interred [q].

But is ſurrounded on all ſides.

And killed.

Year after the flood 2728. Year before Chriſt 271.

His character.

Such was the end of *Pyrrhus*, a prince to whom the title of a great captain is juſtly due, ſince he was ſo highly eſteemed by the *Romans* themſelves, and by a perſon the moſt worthy to be credited with relation to the merit of a warrior, and the beſt qualified to form a right judgment in that particular. For *Livy* tells us, that *Hannibal*, e when aſked by *Scipio*, who in his opinion were the greateſt generals in the world, named *Alexander* in the firſt place, *Pyrrhus* in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third (p).

[q] Plut. ibid. Val. Max. l. v. c, 1. Pausan. in Attic. p. 12. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4. [r] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 14.

(P) *Plutarch* in his life of *Pyrrhus* relates this matter in a different way; his words are, Hannibal *ſaid, that of all the great commanders in the world,* Pyrrhus *was the firſt both for experience and capacity; the ſecond place he gave to* Scipio; *and reſerved the third for himſelf, as we have obſerved in the life of* Scipio. We do not diſpute what *Plutarch* may have ſaid in the laſt-mentioned work, which has not reached our times; but only obſerve, that in the life of *Flaminius* he relates the opinion of *Hannibal* otherwiſe than he does in the life of *Pyrrhus*. *This general,* (ſays he, in the life of *Flaminius*) *and* Scipio Africanus *had an interview at* Epheſus, *and the converſation turning on this queſtion, Who were the greateſt generals?* Hannibal *named* Alexander *in the firſt place,* Pyrrhus *in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third. Scipio* is here excluded, whereas he is the ſecond in the life of *Pyrrhus*, where no mention is made of *Alexander*. *Livy* likewiſe gives us an account of this conference, and exactly agrees with *Plutarch* in the life of *Flaminius* (106). For according to him *Hannibal* gave the firſt place to *Alexander*, the ſecond to *Pyrrhus*, and the third to himſelf; whereupon *Scipio* ſeeing himſelf excluded, ſaid with a ſmile, *And what place would you claim, if you had overcome me? Had I overcome you,* replied *Hannibal, I ſhould look upon myſelf as ſuperior both to* Alexander *and to* Pyrrhus; which was implicitly owning, that *Scipio* had not his equal, and therefore was not to be brought into competition with other generals. The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, diſagreeing in this place with the ancients, tell us, that *Hannibal* named *Alexander* in

(106) *Liv. l.* xxxv.

a All the ancients tell us, that no general underſtood the art of war better than the king of *Epirus*, who learnt them by principles and rules, as well as by uſe and experience, and is ſaid to have wrote ſeveral volumes on encampments and the different ways of drawing up an army. Theſe books are mentioned by *Tully* [s]; and *Donatus* tells us, that *Pyrrhus* invented a ſort of game, like that of cheſs, to repreſent the different ways of making attacks and drawing up armies in battalia [t]. *Livy* gives us the ſame account of *Pyrrhus*, or rather makes *Hannibal* ſay as much of him; he was, ſays that great general, the firſt, who perfectly underſtood how to encamp, chuſe his ground, and poſt his men to advantage [u]. He is generally repreſented by the ancient hiſtorians as a prince of an uncommon underſtanding, and of great ſagacity
b and penetration. It is therefore ſurprizing, that *Tully* ſhould take him to be included in the famous verſes of *Ennius*, wherein that poet ſays, that the whole race of the *Æacidæ* were naturally ſtupid, and remarkable for nothing but their martial courage [w] (Q.) *Pyrrhus* had, beſides his military talents, many other commendable qualities, *viz.* a great deal of good nature, much compaſſion for the unhappy, and no leſs gratitude for thoſe who had obliged him. When *Æropus*, one of his chief favourites, who had done him conſiderable ſervice, died, he wept, and was heard to ſay, *It is not his death that moſt afflicts me; he has paid the debt he owes to nature. My concern is, that I ſo long delayed making him a ſuitable return for his ſervices, and by that means I am deprived of the pleaſure of ſhewing my gratitude* [x]. *Cicero* commends him even
c on account of his probity: two great generals, ſays that writer, diſputed the empire of *Italy* with the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*; the probity of the former is ſtill remembered, and ſpoke of with reſpect in *Rome*; but the cruelty of the latter has rendered his name and memory odious to this city [y]. His only faults were ambition and inconſtancy; the former did not ſo much proceed from an avaricious deſire of enriching himſelf and poſſeſſing vaſt dominions, as from a love of glory; he had propoſed *Alexander the Great* to himſelf for a model, and in all his enterprizes had no other view, but to equal and even ſurpaſs that conqueror. His inconſtancy indeed
d was very remarkable, as is plain from what we have already ſaid of him. He had ſcarce tried one enemy, when he was for engaging another; ſcarce undertaken one enterprize, when he was for entering upon another; ſo that his whole life was a continued ſeries of new projects ſucceeding one another. When he had once conquered a country, he neglected all proper meaſures for the preſerving of it, how dear ſoever the conqueſt might have coſt him. Hence *Antigonus* uſed to compare him, as *Plutarch* informs us [z], to a lucky gameſter, who did not know how to make a good uſe of his fortune, but laviſhly ſpent whatever he got by gaming. Some authors find fault with him, and indeed not without a great deal of reaſon, for expoſing his perſon in all his battles, without the leaſt precaution, like a common ſoldier. A good commander, ſay they, ought to pique himſelf upon the wiſdom and prudence of his conduct, and not upon any action, which only diſplays ſtrength and intrepidity. A
e commander who brags of his courage, and raſhly expoſes himſelf to danger, confounds his own merit and function with thoſe of a private ſoldier. It is not the duty of a general to fight in the foremoſt ranks, but to be vigilant for the common ſafety of the army. Such were the ſentiments of the ancients; but moſt of the generals and kings, who flouriſhed in the age we are now writing of, made no diſtinction between the duty of an officer and a ſoldier, being led aſtray by the fortunate temerity of *Alexander*, whom they pretended to imitate.

All the Epirots *in* Argos *ſurrender at diſcretion.*

But to return to the *Epirots* in *Argos*; they no ſooner heard of the death of their king, but they threw down their arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. But *Antigonus* treated them with great humanity, and generouſly ſent them back to *Epirus*, together with *Helenus*, the king's ſon, who was alſo taken priſoner, delivering to him the

[s] Cic. l. ix. epiſt. 25. [t] Donat. in comment. Eunuch. Terent. [u] Liv. ibid. [w] Cic. de divin. l. ii. [x] Plut. in Pyrrh. [y] Cic. de Amicit. [z] Plut. ibid.

in the firſt place, *Pyrrhus* in the ſecond, *Scipio* in the third, and himſelf in the laſt (107). It is an unpardonable fault in a writer to paſs his own conjectures upon the readers for matter of fact.

(Q) The verſes are,

Semper fuit ſolidum genus Æacidarum,
Bellipotentes magis quam ſapientipotentes.

(107) *Vide hiſt. Roman. ad ann. urb.* 474.

the body of his unfortunate father incloſed in a golden urn [a]. When news of *Pyrrhus*'s death was brought to *Tarentum*, the inhabitants ſent embaſſadors to *Carthage*, imploring the aſſiſtance of that republic both againſt the *Romans* and *Milo*, who ſtill held the citadel with a ſtrong gariſon of *Epirots*. The *Carthaginians*, deſirous to get footing on the coaſt of *Italy*, ſent immediately a powerful fleet to the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines*, pretending, that they had no other view but to drive the *Epirots* out of the citadel. While the *Carthaginians* beſieged the city by ſea, the *Romans* under the conduct of *Papyrius Curſo* attacked it by land; ſo that *Milo*, being incloſed on all ſides without any hopes of relief, ſent a deputation to the *Roman* camp, offering to ſurrender the citadel to *Papyrius* on condition that he would ſuffer him and his men to retire to *Epirus* with all their baggage and effects. The conſul, to fruſtrate the deſigns of the *Carthaginians*, willingly granted him all he aſked. Whereupon the citadel was by *Milo* delivered up to the *Romans*, as was alſo the city ſoon after by the inhabitants, who gave up their arms, their ſhips, and themſelves, into the conſul's hands, and thus put an end to their war with *Rome* [b].

Tarentum delivered up to the Romans. *Year of the flood* 2727. *Year before Chriſt* 272.

Pyrrhus was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Epirus* by his ſon *Alexander*, who ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne invaded *Macedon*, and there committed great depredations, while *Antigonus Gonatus* lay with his army before *Athens*. Hereupon the king of *Macedon* haſtened with all his forces to the defence of his own dominions. But the *Macedonians* deſerting him, when he leaſt expected it, and joining the enemy, he was by *Alexander* ſtript of his kingdom, and obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in *Greece*. Upon his retreat his ſon *Demetrius*, who was then very young, having drawn together a body of troops, engaged *Alexander*, defeated him in a pitched battle, and drove him not only out of *Macedon*, but alſo out of *Epirus*, his hereditary kingdom. *Alexander*, being thus in his turn expelled his dominions, fled to the *Acarnanians*, and having raiſed among them freſh forces, returned into *Epirus*, where he was joined by ſuch numbers of his own ſubjects, that *Demetrius* thought it adviſeable to quit that kingdom, and withdraw into *Macedon* [c]. He afterwards engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, and having gained over them a complete victory, paſſed the remainder of his reign in peace and tranquillity, without moleſting his neighbours, or being moleſted by them [d]. He is celebrated by *Ælian* as a great commander, and ſaid to have wrote a book on the method of drawing up an army [e]. *Athenæus* [f] tells us, that in this king's reign a certain kind of beans bloſſomed in a lake of *Epirus*, and for two years together brought their fruit to perfection; which ſeeming very ſtrange to *Alexander*, he placed a guard upon them with orders to let no one gather them, or even approach the lake. He no ſooner took this precaution, but the ſtalks of the beans withered, and the lake ſuddenly grew dry (R). *Alexander* left by his ſiſter *Olympias*, whom he had married, a ſon and a daughter. His daughter, by name *Phthia*, married *Demetrius* II. king of *Macedon*. His ſon, named *Ptolemy*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom under the tuition of his mother *Olympias*, he being very young at his father's death. He was a prince of great expectation, but died when he was ſcarce out of his minority, as he was leading his army againſt the *Ætolians*, who had ſeized that part of *Acarnania* which belonged to the crown of *Epirus* [g]. He left one ſon, by name *Pyrrhus*, who, after a ſhort reign under the guardianſhip of his grandmother *Olympias*, was treacherouſly murdered by the *Ambracians*, leaving behind him one daughter, called by *Juſtin*, *Laudamia*, by *Pauſanias*, *Athenæus*, and *Polyænus*, *Deidamia*.

Alexander II.

Ptolemy.

Pyrrhus III.

[a] Plut. ibid. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. [b] Zonar. ex Dion. Oros. l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Stratag. l. iii. [c] Juſtin. l. xxvi. c. 3. Pauſan. in Attic. [d] Frontin. Stratag. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. [e] Ælian. var. hiſt. l. ii. [f] Athen. l. iii. [g] Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Pauſan. ibid.

(R) The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their hiſtory of *Rome* (108), tell us, that he was perhaps murdered by the *Locrenſes* with the *Epirot* gariſon, which *Pyrrhus* left at *Locris*, when he ſet out on his expedition into *Sicily*. *For we don't ſee him appear*, ſay they, *with his brothers in the laſt adventures of the king their father*. He does not appear, 'tis true, in the laſt adventures of his father; but had the good fathers remembered what they muſt have read in *Plutarch*'s life of *Pyrrhus*, they would have inferred from thence, that he had been ſent back into *Epirus*; for he was there when his father was killed, as is manifeſt from the abovementioned writer, who tells us, that *Antigonus* delivered to *Helenus* the body of his father incloſed in a golden urn, deſiring him to carry it into *Epirus* to his brother *Alexander*. The ſame prince is mentioned, as ſucceeding his father in the kingdom of *Epirus*, by *Juſtin*, *Pauſanias*, *Frontinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Athenæus*, who give us a particular account of his wars with *Antigonus Gonatus*, with his ſon *Demetrius*, and alſo with the *Illyrians*.

(108) *Ad. ann. urb.* 477.

a *Deidamia*. This princeſs ſucceeded her father; but the *Epirots*, diſdaining to live under the government of a woman, ſuborned *Neſtor*, one of her guards, to murder her; but the aſſaſſin's heart failing in the attempt, the unhappy *Deidamia* fled for refuge to the temple of *Diana*, where ſhe was barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by one *Milo*, who being ſentenced to death for the murder of his own mother *Philotera*, redeemed himſelf from the puniſhment due to his wickedneſs by murdering his ſovereign [g]. But he did not long enjoy the fruit of his crime; for being ſeized with madneſs, he laid violent hands on himſelf twelve days after the death of *Deidamia*. As for the *Epirots*, they were ſeverely puniſhed by heaven, firſt with a dreadful famine, and afterwards with domeſtic troubles, foreign wars, and many other calamities; which reduced Deidamia.

b their country to the laſt extremity. This is the account we read in *Polyænus* [h]: but *Pauſanias* tells us, that *Deidamia*, after a ſhort and peaceable reign, died quietly in her bed, leaving the *Epirots*, as ſhe had no iſſue, free to chuſe what ſort of government they liked beſt [i]. But however that be, it is certain, (for in this the ancients are unanimous) that in this princeſs ended the family of the *Pyrrhidæ*, or the deſcendants of *Pyrrhus Neoptolemus*, and that upon her death the *Epirots* formed themſelves into a republic, which was governed by annual magiſtrates, or prætors, choſen in the general aſſembly of the whole nation. Of this republic we have already given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of *Greece* from the time it was firſt formed, till it was reduced by the *Romans* to a province [k]. We ſhall only obſerve here, that the *Ma-*

c *cedonians* on one ſide, and the *Illyrians* on the other, taking advantage of the inteſtine diviſions, which, generally ſpeaking, attend a popular government, ſeized on ſeveral provinces belonging to the *Epirots*, and annexed them to their reſpective crowns; and hence it is, that though the kingdom of *Epirus* made a conſiderable figure, the republic ſcarce made any. *Ariſtotle*, as *Stephanus* informs us, wrote a particular book on *the polity of the Epirots*, whence we may infer, that they were governed by excellent laws; but as that work has not reached our times, we can give no account of them. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Epirots* enjoyed a kind of liberty, and indeed the beſt ſort of liberty, under their kings; for, according to him, a general aſſembly of the people was yearly convened at *Paſſaron*, a city in the province of *Moloſſis*, where

d the king bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to govern agreeable to the laws, and the people to obey and ſupport him as long as he did ſo. Their form of government was, it ſeems, of the ſame nature with ours, and therefore far preferable to any other. But it is now time to diſmiſs this ſubject, and paſs to the hiſtory of other kingdoms.

[g] Justin. ibid. Polyæn. l. iii. Ovid. in Ibin. [h] Polyæn. ibid. [i] Pausan. in Meſſeniac. [k] Vide Vol. II. p. 746, 747.

CHAP. IX.

The History of Bithynia.

e THIS country, anciently known by the names of *Myſia*, *Mygdonia*, *Bebrycia*, *Mariandynia*, and *Bithynia*, was bounded on the weſt by *Boſporus Thracius*, and part of the *Propontis*; on the ſouth by the river *Rhyndacus* and mount *Olympus*; on the north by the *Euxine* ſea; and on the eaſt by the river *Parthenius* [l]. *Ptolemy* extends the confines of *Bithynia* on this ſide to *Citorum* on the coaſt, and to *Juliopolis* in the inland country, comprehending under the name of *Bithynia* ſome provinces belonging, according to other geographers, to *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*. *Names, ſituation, &c.*

The

[l] Plin. l. v. c. 32.

Cities. The chief cities of *Bithynia* on the coaſt were, *Myrlea* on the *Propontis*, not far from the mouth of the *Rhyndacus*. This city was ſo called from *Myrlus* of *Colophon* its founder, as *Stephanus* informs us, or, as others will have it, from *Myrlea*, a celebrated *Amazon*, who either founded or imbelliſhed it. It was demoliſhed by *Philip* of *Macedon* the father of *Perſes*, and rebuilt by *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, who from his wife called it *Apamea* [m]. It was afterwards honoured with the title of a *Roman* colony, many *Romans*, who had ſerved in *Aſia*, having ſettled there, as *Strabo* and *Pliny* informs us: but the latter was certainly miſtaken, when he placed this among the inland cities. *Daſcylos*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Rhyndacus*. *Cius*, built by the *Mileſians* on a river of the ſame name, deſtroyed by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, and rebuilt by *Pruſias*, whoſe name it bore ever after [o]. *Nicodemia*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, ſo called from *Nicodemus*, the ſon of *Zipoetes*, its founder [p]. *Strabo* ſeems to doubt by which of the *Bithynian* kings it was founded [q]. All the ancients ſpeak of it as a place of great note. *Pliny* calls it a plain and beautiful city [r]; *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the mother of all the cities of *Bithynia* [s]; *Pauſanias* the greateſt and firſt city of *Bithynia* [t]; *Libanus* compares it to *Rome*, *Byzantium*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, at that time the four greateſt cities in the world; and ſays, that though it was perhaps inferior to them in bigneſs, it equalled them all in beauty. This author lived in the time of the emperor *Julian the Apoſtate*. *Pauſanias*, *Marcellinus* [u], and *Trebellius Pollio* [w] tells us, that this city was formerly called *Aſtacus*. *Stephanus* will have its ancient name to have been *Olbia*! But *Nicodemia*, *Aſtacus*, and *Olbia*, are ſpoke of by *Ptolemy* as three neighbouring, but diſtinct cities. *Strabo* writes, that *Nicomedes* deſtroyed *Aſtacus*, and transferred its inhabitants to *Nicomedia*. In this city the *Roman* emperors reſided, when the affairs of the empire called them to the eaſt. *Conſtantine the Great* choſe *Nicomedia*, as we read in *Nicephorus* [y], for the place of his abode after he retired from *Rome*, and there remained till the buildings he had begun at *Byzantium* were finiſhed. This city, once ſo famous, is now but a ſmall village known to the *Turks* by the name of *Schemith*. *Pronectus*, a colony of the *Phœnicians*, as *Stephanus* informs us; *Drepanum* or *Drepane*, ſpoke of by *Livy*, *Florus*, and moſt of the *Latin* hiſtorians. All theſe cities ſtood on the *Propontis*, now the ſea of *Marmora*. On the *Boſporus*, which parts *Europe* from *Aſia*, and joins the *Propontis* with the *Euxine* ſea, ſtood the famous city of *Chalcedon* or *Calcedon*, anciently known by the names of *Proceraſtis* and *Colbuſa*. *Pliny* [z], *Strabo* [a], and *Tacitus* [b], call it *the city of the blind*, alluding, without all doubt, to the anſwer which the *Pythian Apollo* gave to the founders of *Byzantium*, who, conſulting the oracle about a place where to build a city, were directed to chuſe that ſpot which lay oppoſite *to the habitation of the blind*; that is, as was then underſtood, to *Chalcedon*, the *Chalcedonians* well deſerving that epithet, for having built their city in a barrren and ſandy ſoil without ſeeing that advantagious and pleaſant ſpot on the oppoſite ſhore, which the *Byzantines* afterwards choſe. *Conſtantine the Great*, if *Cedrenus* is to be credited, had been guilty of the like overſight, had he not been warned by an aſtoniſhing prodigy. For that author tells us, that *Chalcedon* being deſtroyed by the *Perſians*, *Conſtantine* undertook the rebuilding of it with a deſign to ſettle there; but that ſeveral eagles, appearing unexpectedly, carried away in their talons the lines of the workmen, and let them drop at *Byzantium*. This miracle, which was ſeveral times repeated, made *Conſtantine* alter his mind, and prefer *Byzantium* to *Chalcedon* [c]. But what credit *Cedrenus* deſerves, we leave our readers to judge. *Chalcedon* in the chriſtian times became famous on account of the council, which was held there againſt *Eutyches*. The emperor *Valens* cauſed the walls of this city to be levelled with the ground for ſiding with *Procopius*, and the materials to be conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, where they were employed in building the famous *Valentinian* aqueduct. The *Pelamides*, or tunny-fiſh, of *Chalcedon* were in great requeſt among the ancients, as *Gellius* and *Varro* inform us [d], and are to this day thought by ſome to have a better flavour than any taken elſewhere. It is therefore ſurprizing, that *Pliny* and *Strabo* [e] ſhould tell us, that this kind of fiſh never came near *Chalcedon*, but kept cloſe to the oppoſite ſhore of *Byzantium* for fear of the white rocks concealed under water on the coaſt of *Aſia*. *Chalcedon* is

[m] Strabo. l. xii. p. 388. [n] Strab. & Plin. ibid. [o] Plin. ibid. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 19. [p] Tzetzes chil. 3. hiſtor. 115. v. 950. [q] Strab. l. xiii. p. 388. [r] Plin. l. v. c. ultim. [s] Ammian Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 13. Pausan. Eliac. 1. c. 12. [u] Pausan. & Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. Trebell. Poll. in Gallienis, c. 4. [x] Strab. ibid. [y] Nicephor. l. vii. ſub. fin. [z] Plin. ibid. [a] Strab. l. vii. p. 221. [b] Tacit Annal. xii. c. 63. [c] Cedren. l. iii. [d] Aull. Gell. noct. Attic. Varro de re ruſtic. l. ii. [e] Plin. & Strab. ibid.

a is at preſent a poor beggarly place, known to the *Greeks* by its ancient name, and to the *Turks* by that of *Cadiaci*, or the *Judges town* [f].

Heraclea. ON the *Euxine* ſea ſtood the city of *Heraclea*, once a republic of no ſmall note. It is commonly called *Pontica*, or *Heraclea* on the *Pontus*, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities of the ſame name. *Pauſanias* [g] and the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* [h] tell us, that it was founded and peopled by a colony of the *Megarenſes* and *Tanagræi* of *Bœotia*. With them *Juſtin* agrees, and acquaints us on what occaſion the *Bœotians* undertook the building of this city. The *Bœotians*, ſays he, being reduced to great ſtraits by a plague, had recourſe to the oracle of *Delphos*, which enjoined them to ſend a colony into the country bordering on the *Pontus*, and there build a city in honour of *Hercules*. But

The ancient hiſtory of this city.

b the *Bœotians* chuſing rather to die in their own country, than expoſe themſelves to the dangers of ſo troubleſome a voyage, refuſed to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. Whereupon the *Phocenſes* invading their country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages, as they were not, by reaſon of the plague which ſtill raged among them, in a condition to defend themſelves, they ſent anew to conſult the oracle, which returned the following anſwer; *viz.* that what would put an end to the plague, would likewiſe put an end to the war. By this anſwer the *Bœotians* underſtood that the only means to redeem themſelves from the calamities they groaned under was to follow the direction of the oracle; and accordingly ſent a colony into the country bordering on the *Pontus*, which ſettled on the coaſt, and built the city of *Heraclea* [i].

c This city in proceſs of time acquired ſuch wealth and power, eſpecially by ſea, that it was not inferior to any of the *Greek* ſtates in *Aſia*. *Xenophon* tells us, that in his time the *Heracleans* had a numerous fleet, and that they ſupplied him with a ſquadron to convoy his men after their retreat into *Greece*. There are ſcarce any wars mentioned by the ancients as carried on by ſea in thoſe parts, in which the *Heracleans* were not concerned, their friendſhip being courted by all the princes of *Aſia* in regard of their maritime power. To them chiefly *Ptolemy Ceraunus* was indebted for the ſignal victory he had gained at ſea over *Antigonus Gonatus*; for they ſent him a numerous ſquadron of ſhips well manned and equipped, among which ſome were of an extraordinary ſize, eſpecially one, called the *Leontifera*, having on each ſide

d eight hundred rowers, beſides twelve hundred fighting men on board under the command of two experienced officers [k]. In the war which *Antiochus* waged firſt with *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, and afterwards with the *Byzantines*, the *Heracleans* aſſiſted the former againſt *Antiochus* with thirteen gallies, and the latter with forty [l]. They maintained for the ſpace of eleven years a ſquadron of gallies in the ſervice of the *Romans*, which were of great uſe to them in their wars with the *Aſiatic* princes, and likewiſe againſt the *Maruccini*, a people of *Africa*. Many other inſtances are to be met with in hiſtory, which ſhew that *Heraclea* was once one of the moſt powerful ſtates, at leaſt by ſea, in *Aſia*. The *Heracleans* ſeem to have maintained a good underſtanding with the kings of *Perſia*; and on that account refuſed, as *Juſtin* in-

e forms us [m], to pay their quota, when the *Athenians* impoſed a tribute on the *Greek* cities of *Aſia Minor* for the equipping and ſupporting of a fleet to be employed in the defence of the common liberty. Upon their refuſal *Lamachus* was ſent againſt them; but while he was ravaging their country with the troops he had landed, a violent ſtorm ſhattered his whole fleet, ſo that he ſaw himſelf abandoned to the mercy of thoſe he had provoked, not being in a condition to return to *Athens* either by ſea or land. But the *Heracleans*, inſtead of treating him like an enemy, as he had reaſon to expect, uſed both him and his troops with the greateſt humanity and kindneſs, ſupplying them not only with proviſions, but alſo with ſhips to convey them ſafe into *Greece*. They did not complain, ſays *Juſtin* [n], of the depredations committed in their

f territory, but looked upon them as highly advantagious to their ſtate, ſince they offered them an opportunity of gaining by civilities the friendſhip of ſo powerful a republic.

Form of government.

As to their form of government, it was, as we read in *Ariſtotle* [o], originally democratical; but democracy ſoon gave way to ariſtocracy; for the ſame writer tells us [p], that many of the nobles being ſent out to lead colonies into diſtant countries, the people, in whom the ſupreme power was lodged, began to oppreſs thoſe who ſtill remained; whereupon they ran to arms in their own defence, and having got the better

[f] TOURNEFORT. voyage au Levant, Vol. II. [g] PAUSAN. l. v. [h] Scholiaſt. APOLLON. p. 190. [i] JUSTIN. l. xvi. [k] MEMNON. excerpt c. 14, 15. [l] Idem, c. 17. [m] JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 3. [n] Idem ibid. [o] ARISTOT. l. v. Politic. c. 5. [p] Idem ibid.

better of their adversaries, took the whole power into their own hands. Soon after a new disturbances arising among the nobles, by reason that the most wealthy engrossed the whole management of affairs to themselves, it was agreed, that the supreme power should be lodged in the senate, and that the senate should consist of six hundred members all chosen out of the nobility. This new regulation incensed the common people to such a degree, that with one consent they rose against the nobles, and reduced them to such straits, that they were obliged to implore the assistance first of *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, and afterwards of *Epaminondas* the *Theban*. But neither of these generals caring to interfere with their domestic quarrels, they were

Tyrants of Heraclea. forced to recal *Clearchus*, a senator, whom they themselves had banished. But as his banishment had neither improved his morals, nor inspired him with better principles, b he made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his wicked design of subjecting it, and usurping the sovereign power. With this view he openly declared for the people, and having by their means humbled the nobles, he caused

Clearchus. himself to be invested with the whole power, which had been divided among them. Being thus become absolute, he exercised all sorts of cruelty upon such as gave him any umbrage: most of the senators were either barbarously assassinated, or stript of their estates, and banished their native country [p]. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that he

His cruelty. proposed to himself *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Syracuse*, for his model in the art of government [q]. The banished senators having stirred up the neighbouring cities against him, he compelled their wives and daughters to marry his slaves, and with the assistance of c these having vanquished the troops they led against him, and taken many of them prisoners, he put them all to death after he had made them suffer the most exquisite torments, which his cruel temper and an eager desire of revenge could invent. *Theopompus* of *Scio* tells us, that he frequently obliged, without any provocation, such of the citizens as came to wait on him, and even those he met in the streets, to drink a cup of the poisonous juice of hemlock, and that, during his reign, no citizen of any distinction dared venture out of his house till he had armed himself with rue, which is a powerful antidote, according to that writer, against the juice of hemlock, when taken before any other food [r]. *Clearchus*, after he had exercised a most cruel tyranny over his fellow-citizens for the space of twelve years, was at last put to death d

Is murdered. by *Chion* and *Leonides*, two young citizens, and disciples of *Plato* [s]. *Nymphis* of *Heraclea*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, tells us, that *Clearchus*, though he affected to be a god, and caused divine honours to be paid him, yet towards the end of his life was so apprehensive of conspiracies, that he not only kept at home, but gave audience shut up in a strong chest, answering those who applied to him, through holes made for that purpose. But as he was murdered by the conspirators, according to *Plutarch* [u] and *Diodorus Siculus* [w], while he was administering justice in public, we can hardly give credit to *Nymphis*.

Satyrus. The conspirators delivered their country from the tyrant; but the tyranny still subsisted. For *Clearchus* having left two sons, *Timotheus* and *Dionysius*, their uncle c *Satyrus* seized on the sovereign power, as their guardian and protector, and equalled his brother *Clearchus* in the tyranny of his government. For he not only put to death the conspirators, their children, and all those who were any ways related to them, but likewise such of the citizens as he imagined capable of following their example. However, he brought up his nephews with great care, and resigned the power to *Timotheus* as soon as he was of age, having held it himself seven years [x].

Timotheus. *Timotheus* governed with great equity and moderation; whence he had the surnames of *Euergetes* and *Soter*, that is, *the beneficent*, *the saviour* of his country. He ruled

Dionysius. fifteen years, and was succeeded by his brother *Dionysius*, who, taking advantage of the retreat of the *Persians* after the battle fought on the banks of the *Granicus*, reduced f some of the neighbouring provinces, and considerably increased the power of the *Heracleans* [y]. After the death of *Alexander* he married *Amestris*, the widow of *Craterus*, and daughter of *Oxiathres* the brother of *Darius*. Upon this marriage he assumed the title of king, and maintained it with great dignity, being a prince of a mild temper, and always ready to sacrifice his own ease and private interest to the welfare of his subjects. *Ælian* [z] and *Athenæus* [a] tells us, that he grew immoderately corpulent,

[p] Justin. ibid. Plut. de fortun. Alexand. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. [r] Athen. l. iii. c. 5. & Antigon. de Mirabil. Narration. p. 144. [s] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Suidas, Κλεαρχος. Polyæn. Stratag. l. ii. [t] Athen. ibid. [u] Plut. ad princ. indoct. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [x] Justin. l. xvi. Memnon. excerpt. c. 17. [y] Diodor. Sicul. & Memnon. ibid. [z] Ælian. V. H. l. ix. c. 13. [a] Athen. l. xii. c. 26.

a corpulent, and fell into a kind of lethargy, from which his domeſtics could ſcarce recover him by running long needles, made for that purpoſe, into his fleſh. He died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign, and is highly commended by all the ancients on account of his juſtice, moderation, good-nature, affability, and other princely qualities. *Strabo* no doubt had this prince and his brother *Timotheus* in view, when he wrote, that *Heraclea* had been governed by tyrants, and alſo by kings. He left two ſons by his wife *Ameſtris*, viz. *Clearchus* and *Oxatres*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Zathras*. Upon his death *Ameſtris* married *Lyſimachus*, one of *Alexander*'s captains, who by that means got poſſeſſion of *Heraclea*, which ſhe governed as guardian to her children; for they were both very young when their
b father died. *Lyſimachus* afterwards divorced *Ameſtris* to marry *Arſinoe* the daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*; but nevertheleſs kept poſſeſſion of the city, and brought up the two young princes with great care. They both attended him in his expedition againſt the *Getæ*, after which he ſuffered them to return home, and reſigned the government of *Heraclea* to *Clearchus* the eldeſt, allowing him to take upon him the title of king. With this title he governed *Heraclea*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, ſeventeen years, and was at laſt put to death by *Lyſimachus* with his brother *Oxatres* for aſſaſſinating their mother *Ameſtris* [b]; for they both conſpired againſt her, and cauſed her to be ſmothered, while ſhe was going by ſea from *Heraclea* to *Ameſtris*, a city which ſhe had built, and called by her own name. Upon their
c death *Lyſimachus* reſtored the *Heracleans* to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties. But they did not long continue in that happy condition, *Arſinoe*, who had a great aſcendant over her huſband *Lyſimachus*, having prevailed upon him to deprive them of the liberty which he had not long before granted them, and appoint one *Heraclitus* *Cimæus* governor of the place, a man intirely at her devotion. After the famous battle of *Coroupedion*, in which *Lyſimachus* was killed by one *Malacon*, a native of *Heraclea*, the *Heracleans* conſpired to ſhake off the yoke, under which they had groaned for the ſpace of ſeventy-five years, determined either to recover their former liberty, or die in the attempt. With this reſolution the chief citizens went in a body to wait on *Heraclitus*, intreating him to retire of his own accord, and ſuffer them to live according to their
d own laws. They offered him all poſſible ſecurity for his perſon and effects, and beſides a large ſum of money to defray the charges of his journey. At this propoſal *Heraclitus* in a great rage commanded the officers, who attended him, to put immediately to death ſome of the leading men whom he named. But the officers, to his great ſurprize, inſtead of obeying his orders, ſeized him, and carried him to the public priſon. For the *Heracleans* had before-hand gained them over to their party, by making them free of *Heraclea*, and promiſing to pay them the arrears which were due to them from *Heraclitus*. Having thus ſecured the tyrant, they demoliſhed the citadel which *Lyſimachus* had built, raiſed one of their own citizens, by name *Phocrites*, to the chief magiſtracy, and diſpatched an embaſſy to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*,
c to acquaint him with what they had done, and implore his protection [c]. *Seleucus* had been greatly prejudiced againſt the *Heracleans* by one *Aphrodiſius*, who being ſent by him to viſit the cities of *Aſia*, had laid many things to their charge, and repreſented them as diſaffected to his perſon. He was therefore ſo far from promiſing them his protection, that he threatened their embaſſadors, and let drop ſome expreſſions, which gave juſt grounds to ſuſpect that he had ſome deſign upon their city. Hereupon the *Heracleans* entered into an offenſive and defenſive league with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; the *Byzantines* and *Chalcedonians* recalled all their exiles, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But the death of *Seleucus* ſoon delivered them from their apprehenſions [d]. From this time the *Heracleans* enjoyed their liberties undiſturbed for
f many years. When the *Romans* became formidable in *Aſia*, they made an alliance with them, the articles of which were engraved on tables of braſs, and lodged at *Rome* in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and at *Heraclea* in a temple of the ſame god. Notwithſtanding this alliance, the *Heracleans* ſuffered greatly by the wars which they engaged in for the defence of their liberties, againſt the *Bithynians* and *Galatians*. However, they held out againſt their utmoſt efforts, and obliged them to withdraw their forces with diſgrace. In the war which the *Romans* waged with *Mithridates the Great*, they reſolved at firſt to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and accordingly refuſed to admit that prince's fleet into their harbour. But, on the approach of his general *Archelaus*

Clearchus II.

Heraclitus Cimæus.

The Heracleans *recover their ancient liberty.*

Enter into an allianee with Rome.

[b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Trog. in prolog. l. xvi. Memnon. excerpt. c. 19. [c] Justin. l. xvii. c. 3. Memnon. ibid. c. 8. & 10. [d] Memnon. ibid. c. 11, 12.

chelaus, they thought fit to change their measures, and side with him, after having murdered all the *Romans* who resided among them. Their treachery cost them dear; for *Cotta*, or rather *Triarius*, having after a two years siege taken their city, pillaged and reduced it to ashes, as we have related in the history of *Pontus* [e]. *Cotta* on his return to *Rome* was severely reprimanded by the senate for suffering so great and wealthy a city to be destroyed. *We gave you orders*, said the senate, *to take* Heraclea, *but not to destroy it*. All the captives were sent home without ransom, and the inhabitants restored to the possession of their lands, and allowed the use of their harbour, and the freedom of commerce. *Britagoras*, one of the chief citizens, spared no pains to repeople it; but could not obtain for his fellow-citizens the restitution of their liberty and ancient privileges. *Strabo* tells us that many of the citizens being killed during the siege, and more after the place was taken, a numerous colony was sent from *Rome* to repeople it. Some of the new-comers settled in the city, and some in the country; but the former were all to a man massacred by *Adiaterix*, the son of *Demenecelius*, king of the *Galatians*, not without the privity, as was then suspected, of *Marc Antony* the triumvir, who had bestowed on the *Galatian* that quarter of the city which was inhabited by the *Romans* [f]. But his cruelty did not go long unpunished; for *Octavianus* having taken him prisoner after the famous battle of *Actium*, carried him in chains to *Rome* to grace his triumph, and afterwards caused both him and his son to be put to death. From this time *Heraclea* continued subject to the *Roman* emperors till the downfal of the empire, being with its territory made part of the province of *Pontus*. It did not lose its ancient splendor even after the loss of its liberty, as appears from some ancient inscriptions, and also medals, which have reached us, and were struck under the emperors [g]. Near this city was the famous cave through which *Hercules* is feigned to have descended to the infernal regions, and brought up from thence the fabulous *Cerberus*. This cave was still to be seen in *Xenophon*'s time; but is now quite closed up, though once two furlongs deep. [h] The ancient history of *Heraclea* was wrote by *Pisander*, *Timagenes*, *Panyasis*, *Demitius*, *Callistus*, *Cynæthon*, *Nymphis*, and *Memnon*; for to these *Athenæus*, *Suidas*, *Stephanus*, and the scholiast of *Apollonius*, refer us for a more full account of what they briefly relate of the *Heracleans*. But the works of these authors have been long since lost, nothing now remaining of them but an extract of *Memnon* preserved by *Photius* in his *Bibliotheque*; and from him we have in great part copied what we have said here of *Heraclea*. This city is at present a very inconsiderable place, known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Pendrachi*, and to the *Turks* by that of *Eregri*. We cannot, with a modern traveller, take either of these names to be a corruption of *Heraclea Pontica*, or *Heraclea* [i].

Heraclea *destroyed by* Triarius.

Made afterwards a Roman colony.

The inland cities of Bithynia.

THE inland cities of *Bithynia*, which it may be proper to take notice of, were, *Prusa* at the foot of mount *Olympus*, built, according to *Strabo* [k], by *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who waged war with *Cræsus* and *Cyrus*, and not by *Hannibal*, as *Pliny* [l] would make us believe. Nay, this city must have been founded long before the times of *Cræsus* and *Cyrus*, if the tradition be true, which the inhabitants have transmitted to us, on several medals, *viz.* that *Ajax* stabbed himself here with his sword. 'Tis surprizing, that *Livy*, who has so well described the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus*, where the *Gauls* were defeated by *Manlius*, should not mention this place. *Prusa* was the place where the *Othoman* princes resided before they extended their conquests into *Europe*, and is still one of the most beautiful and populous cities of *Asia*. We must not, with some geographers, confound the city of *Prusa* with that of *Prusias*, of which we have spoke above. *Libyssa*, famous for the death of *Hannibal*, and the tomb of that great commander, which was still extant in *Pliny*'s time [m]. Some writers place *Libyssa* on the coast, but *Strabo*, and with him *Stephanus*, and most of the ancients, count it among the inland cities. *Cellarius* conjectures, that it stood three or four miles distance from the sea, and was on that account called by some a maritime, by others an inland city, or rather castle. *Nicæa*, or *Nice*, which stood on the lake *Ascanius*, now the lake of *Isnich*. This city was built, according to *Strabo*, who calls it the metropolis of *Bithynia* [n], by *Antigonus* the son of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and from him called at first *Antigonia*. Afterwards it was repaired and embellished by *Lysimachus*, who gave it the name of his wife *Nicæa*, the daughter of *Antipater*. *Stephanus*

[e] Vide p. 747. [f] STRAB. l. xii. [g] Vide TOURNEFORT. voyage, &c. Vol. II. [h] XENOPH. Exped. Cyri Minor. l vi. p. 220. EUSTATH. ad. DIONYS. v. 791. [i] TOURNEFORT. ibid. [k] STRAB. l. xii. p. 388. [l] PLIN. l. v. cap. ultim. [m] PLIN. l. v. cap. ult. STRAB. l. xii. p. 389.

a *phanus* tells us, that *Nicæa* was originally a colony of the *Bottiæi*, a people of *Thrace*, and called in the earlieſt times *Anchore*. *Pliny* ſpeaks of two cities in *Bythinia* bearing this name, the one he places twenty-five miles eaſt of *Pruſa*, now *Burſa*; the other forty-four north of *Nicomedia* on the lake *Aſcanius*. But *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus*, *Mela*, &c. ſpeak of one city only in *Bithynia* bearing that name (S), which they place on the lake *Aſcanius* lying to the north of mount *Olympus*, and at a ſmall diſtance from the river *Gallus*. *Nicæa*, according to *Strabo*, ſtood in a large and fruitful plain, was ſixteen furlongs in compaſs, well peopled, and in the *Roman* times declared the metropolis of the ſecond *Bithynia*, *Nicomedia* being the capital of the firſt. For *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were by *Auguſtus* made one province, but by his ſucceſſors divi-
b ded into two, called the *firſt* and *ſecond Bithynia*. The firſt general council held here, by the appointment of *Conſtantine the Great*, againſt *Arius*, gave new luſtre to this city; for it was ever after honoured with the title and privileges of a metropolis, as appears from the acts of the council of *Chalcedon*.

Rivers. THE chief rivers of *Bithynia* were the *Pſillis*, *Colpas*, *Sangarius* or *Sagaris*, *Hypius*, *Rhebas*, and the *Lycus*, all diſcharging themſelves into the *Euxine* ſea between *Chalcedon* and *Heraclea*. *Livy* was certainly miſtaken when he wrote that the *Sangarius*, the chief river of *Bithynia*, falls into the *Propontis*. It ſprings from mount *Dindymus*, in *Phrygia*, at a ſmall diſtance from a town, which *Strabo* calls *Sangia*; waters *Phry-*
gia and *Bithynia*, and receiving in its courſe the *Thymbrus* and the *Gallus*, falls into
c the *Euxine* ſea over-againſt the ſmall iſland of *Thynias*. Some geographers place the river *Parthenius* in *Bithynia*; but theſe extend the bounds of this country a great way into *Paphlagonia*. As *Bithynia* lies between the forty-firſt and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and is watered by a great many rivers, it once abounded with all the neceſſaries of life. The ancients compare ſome of the inland provinces to the fruitful and delicious vales of *Tempe* itſelf; but at preſent it lies in great part neglected and unmanured.

Inhabitants. *Bithynia* was anciently inhabited by various nations, differing in their manners, cuſtoms, and language, namely the *Bebryces*, the *Mariandyni*, the *Caucones*, the *Dolli-*
ones, the *Cimmerii*, &c. But to inquire into the origin of theſe different nations
d would be both a tedious and uſeleſs taſk. *Xenophon*[o] and *Strabo*[p] are of opinion, that the *Bithynians* and the *Mariandyni* were originally *Thracians*, who croſſing the *Boſporus* made themſelves maſters of this country, which from them was anciently called the *Aſiatic Thrace*. Some modern writers derive them from *Aſhkenaz*, one of *Gomer*'s ſons; but the only proof they alledge to ſupport their opinion is, the ſmall likeneſs they diſcover between *Aſhkenaz* and *Aſcanius*, the name of a lake in this country. *Stephanus* ſays, that the *Mariandyni* were ſo called from one *Mariandynus*, a native of *Æolis*, who with ſome of his countrymen ſettled in that part of *Bithynia*, which lies between the rivers *Hypius* and *Parthenius*[q]. *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Strabo*[r], will
e have this *Mariandynus* to have been a petty king of *Paphlagonia*, and to have ſubdued that part of *Bithynia*, then called *Bebrycia*, which bordered on his dominions. Theſe different nations were anciently governed by kings of their own, *Bithynia* being in the earlieſt times divided into as many kingdoms as nations or tribes. For *Plutarch*, *Polyænus*, and *Stephanus* mention *Mandron* and *Byſnus* as reigning over the *Bebryces*; and *Hyginus* ſpeaks of one *Lycus* king of the *Mariandyni*. But all we know of

[o] XENOPH. l. vi. de expedit. Cyr. [p] STRAB. l. xii. p. 373. [q] STEPH. ad DIONYS. v. 788.
[r] STRAB. ibid.

(S) The reverend fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* in their deſcription of *Nice*, tell us (110), that the ancient geographers place it on the lake *Aſcanius*, which, ſay they, is now called the lake of *Iſnich*; and a few lines after queſtion whether there ever was a lake of that name, thinking it very natural to ſuppoſe, that *Pliny*, the only author, ſay they, who mentions it, by the lake *Aſcanius* meant the gulf of *Olbia*, now the gulf of *Nicomedia*. If the ancient geographers place *Nice*, as they ſay, on the lake *Aſcanius*, *Pliny* is not the only author who mentions ſuch a lake; and if it be true, that the lake *Aſcanius* is by the modern geographers called the lake of *Iſnich*, how can we doubt whether there ever was a lake of that name? Beſides, it is ſo far from being natural to ſuppoſe *Pliny* to have meant the gulf of *Olbia* by the lake *Aſcanius*, that his words evidently deſtroy ſuch a ſuppoſition; for in the very paſſage, which the abovementioned writers quote, *Pliny* diſtinguiſhes the lake *Aſcanius* from the gulf, on which he places the ancient city of *Olbia* (111). Laſtly, *Pliny* is not the only author who makes mention of the lake *Aſcanius*. *Strabo* tells us in expreſs terms (112), that *Nicæa the metropolis of* Bithynia, *ſtood on the lake* Aſcanius; and *Ptolemy* ſpeaks of it as falling into the *Euxine* ſea between *Trufias* and the promontory *Poſidium*.

(110) *Ad. Ann. Urb.* 607. (111) *Plin. l.* v. *cap. ultim.* (112) *Strab. l.* xiii. *p.* 389.

of these small kingdoms, and the princes, who ruled over them, is, that in process of a
time they were reduced by the more powerful kings of the *Bithynians*. But as to the
beginning of this kingdom, we are quite in the dark. *Diodorus Siculus* pretends,
that the *Bithynians* were governed by their own princes in the time of *Ninus* king of
Assyria, who, according to him, subdued their country. *Pherecydes*, as quoted by
the scholiast of *Apollonius*, mentions *Amycus* and *Phyneus* as reigning in *Bithynia* at the
time of the *Argonautic* expedition; and *Appian* tells us, that nine and forty kings
had reigned in *Bithynia* before the *Romans* were acquainted with *Asia*. If what these
authors write be true, the kingdom of *Bithynia* must have been erected before the
Trojan war; which we can hardly believe, since *Homer*, who is so exact in enume-
rating the nations in the neighbourhood of *Troas*, never once mentions the *Bithynians*. b
From his silence some have concluded, that *Bithynia* was uninhabited in the time of
the *Trojan* war, and add, that the *Thracians*, who marched with *Rhesus* to the relief
of *Troy*, after the death of their king and the taking of the city, settled in that part
of *Asia*, which was afterwards known by the name of *Bithynia*. This name, say
they, the new-comers gave to the provinces, in which they settled, from the *Bithyas*,
a river in their own country. *Strabo* [s] speaks of one *Prusias* reigning in *Bithynia* in
the time of *Cræsus*, the last king of *Lydia*, by whom he was conquered. From this
time the *Bithynians* continued subject first to the *Lydians*, and afterwards to the *Per-
sians*, till the reign of *Alexander the Great*; for we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*
among the many nations that attended *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*. While c
they were subject to the *Persians*, they were still governed, it seems, by their own
princes; for *Memnon*, and *Strabo* tell us, that *Dædalsus* or *Dydalsus*, *Boteras*, and
Bas ruled in *Bithynia* with sovereign power in the time of the *Persian* monarchy.
Some writers place in the reign of *Dædalsus* the invasion of the *Byzantines*, *Chalce-
donians*, and *Thracians*, who entering *Bithynia*, committed there, as *Diodorus Siculus*
informs us [t], most dreadful ravages; and having taken several towns, made a great
many captives, whom they inhumanly murdered, when they found themselves obli-
ged to leave the country. *Boteras* was, according to *Memnon*, the son of *Dædalsus*,
and died in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was succeeded by his son *Bas*,
who having overcome *Calantus*, one of *Alexander the Great*'s generals, peaceably d
enjoyed the kingdom of *Bithynia* for the space of fifty years, and died in the seventy-
first of his age [u].

Kings of Bithynia, Dædalsus, Boteras, *and* Bas.

Zipœtes.
Year of the flood, 2718.
Before Christ 281.

Bas was succeeded by *Zipœtes*, who waged war first with the *Heracleans*, and after-
wards with the *Chalcedonians*. Over the former he gained no considerable advantage,
but reduced the latter to great straits, besieged their metropolis, and having drawn
them to a battle, killed eight thousand of them on the spot [w]. He was prevented
from pursuing the victory, which would have soon put him in possession of *Chal-
cedon*, by *Patrocles*, one of *Antiochus Soter*'s generals, who entering *Bithynia*, put
all to fire and sword. *Zipœtes* marched against him, and having concealed his men
in an ambush, fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut him off with his whole army, e
as we have related in the history of *Syria* [x]. *Zipœtes* was so overjoyed at this vi-
ctory, that he died soon after in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and forty-eighth
of his reign [y]. He left four sons, of which the eldest, called *Nicomedes*, took pos-
session of the throne, and caused, out of jealousy, two of his brothers to be put to
death. But the youngest, called by *Memnon Zipœtes*, by *Livy* [z] *Zibœas*, having saved
himself by a timely flight, seized on the coast of *Bithynia*, which was then known
by the names of *Thracia*, *Thyniacia*, and *Thracia Asiatica*, and there maintained a
long war with his brother; who being informed that *Antiochus Soter*, king of *Syria*,
was making great preparations to attack him at the same time, because he had
declared for *Antigonus Gonatus*, called in the *Gauls* to his assistance; and on this occa- f
sion it was that this people first passed over into *Asia*. The terms agreed on between
them and *Nicomedes* were, 1. That they should ever maintain a strict friendship with
Nicomedes and his successors in the kingdom of *Bithynia*: 2. That they should not
without his privity and consent lend assistance to any other prince or state: 3. That
they should at the same time enter into an alliance with the *Tianians*, *Heracleans*,
Chalcedonians, and *Cierians*; for these states had assisted *Nicomedes* against his brother
Zipœtes [a]. Upon these terms the *Gauls* passed over into *Asia* in the third year of the
hundred

Nicomedes.

[s] Strab. ibid. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. [u] Memnon excerpt. c. 8. & 10. [w] Idem ibid. c. 11. [x] Vide p. 522. [y] Memnon ibid. c. 21. [z] Liv. l. xxxviii. [a] Memnon ibid. c. 21. Liv. l. xxxviii. Strab. l. xii. p. 566.

a hundred and twenty-fifth olympiad, as we read in *Pauſanias* [b], *Nicomedes* having with their aſſiſtance repulſed *Antiochus*, overcome his brother, and acquired the poſſeſſion of all his father's dominions, beſtowed upon them that part of *Aſia Minor* which was called from them *Gallo-Græcia*, and *Galatia*. As for *Zipœtes*, he died in baniſhment, his army being routed by the *Gauls*, and the cities, which he poſſeſſed on the coaſt, obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror. *Livy* [c] and *Juſtin* [d] tell us, that the *Gauls*, having laid waſte the dominions of *Zipœtes*, kept the ſpoils for themſelves, but divided the country with *Nicomedes*, calling their portion *Gallo-Græcia*; and herein they agree with *Demetrius Byzantius*, who informs us, that *Gallo-Græcia* was not given by *Nicomedes* to the *Gauls*, but held by them againſt his will after they had driven out
b his brother *Zipœtes* [e]. *Demetrius Byzantius* wrote thirteen books on the migration of the *Gauls* out of *Europe* into *Aſia*; but none of them have reached our times. *Nicomedes* having no enemies to contend with after the defeat of his brother, and the advantages gained over the king of *Syria*, applied himſelf to the enlarging and embelliſh of the city of *Aſtacus*, which he called after his own name *Nicomedia*. This is what we read in *Pauſanias* [f], *Trebellius Pollio* [g], *Ammianus Marcellinus* [h], and *Euſebius* [i]. But *Memnon* ſays, that he built *Nicomedia* over-againſt the city of *Aſtacus*; ſo that *Nicomedia* and *Aſtacus* were, according to this writer [k], two diſtinct cities. *Nicomedes* had two wives, viz. *Ditizele* and *Etazeta*, the former brought him two ſons, *Zela* and *Pruſias*, and one daughter by name *Lyſandra*; by the latter he had one ſon
c named *Tibites*, to whom, at the inſtigation of his mother *Etazeta*, he left the king- Tibites.
dom. But *Zela*, who at the time of his father's death was in *Armenia*, whither he Zela.
had been baniſhed by the intrigues of his ſtep-mother, having hired an army of *Galatians*, returned into *Bithynia*, drove out *Tibites*, and peaceably enjoyed the crown till his death. He was taken in a ſnare, which he had laid for the *Galatians*; for ſuſpecting their fidelity, he invited their leading men to a banquet with a deſign to cut them all off; but they, upon private intelligence of what was preparing againſt them, were before-hand with the treacherous prince, murdering him in the beginning of the banquet [l].

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pruſias*, ſurnamed *Cholos*, or *the lame*, and alſo Pruſias.
d *Cunegos*, or *the hunter*. This prince in the very beginning of his reign entered into an alliance with the *Rhodians* againſt the *Byzantines*, whom he reduced to great ſtraits, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Rhodes* [m]. Not long after he engaged in a war with the *Galatians*, whom *Attalus* I. king of *Pergamus*, had invited over into *Aſia*, defeated them in a pitched battle, took ſeveral of their ſtrong-holds, and put all the *Galatians* he could get into his power to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age. When the war broke out between *Antiochus the Great* and the *Romans*, he was ſolicited by the former to join him againſt thoſe powerful republicans; but *Scipio* by a letter, and *Livius*, admiral of the *Roman* fleet, by the promiſes he made him in the name of the republic, fixed him in the intereſt of *Rome*, as the reader
e will find in the hiſtory of *Syria* [n]. But notwithſtanding his engagements with the *Romans*, he invaded the territories of *Eumenes* their conſtant friend and ally, being induced thereto by *Hannibal*, who had taken refuge in his dominions. The advantages he gained over *Eumenes* in this war were chiefly owing to *Hannibal*, who not only prevailed upon *Ortyagon*, one of the kings of the *Galatians*, and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, to ſend him powerful ſupplies, but took upon him the command of his forces, and in ſeveral encounters put the king of *Pergamus* to flight by ſome ſtratagem or other [o]. This awaked the jealouſy of the *Romans*, who thereupon ſent *T. Flaminius*, *Scipio Africanus*, and *Scipio Naſica* into *Aſia* to adjuſt the differences between the two kings, and to perſuade *Pruſias* to deliver *Hannibal* up to them [p]. On their arrival
f at the court of *Bithynia*, *Hannibal* retired to *Libyſſa*, a ſtrong caſtle, which he had been allowed by *Pruſias* to repair in ſuch manner as beſt ſuited the ſtate of his affairs. He had dug ſeveral private ways under-ground, which led from his lodgings to ſo many different iſſues, through which he could make his eſcape either by ſea or land upon the firſt alarm; for he had reaſon to ſuſpect that the king's inclinations might change with his intereſt. *Flaminius* after having propoſed a plan of accommodation between

[b] Pausan. in Phoc. p. 340. [c] Liv. l. xxxviii. [d] Justin. l. xxv. c. 2. [e] Laert. in vita Demet. Phal. [f] Pausan. in Eliac. l. ii. p. 159. [g] Trebell. Poll. in Gallienis. [h] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. [i] Euseb. in Chron. [k] Memnon. ibid. c. 21. [l] Memnon. ibid. Athen. l. ii. c. 18. Plin. l. viii. c. 4. [m] Vide p. 144, 145. [n] Vide p. 558. [o] Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Æmil. Probus in Hannib. [p] Polyb. legat. 47. Liv. l. xxxvi.

between *Prusias* and *Eumenes*, acquainted the former, that *Rome* would never look upon him as a sincere friend unless he delivered up *Hannibal*, that irreconcileable enemy to their republic, who made no other use of his liberty and talents, but to draw kings and nations into the same dangerous enterprizes which had proved his ruin. *Prusias* refused at first to comply with the request of the embassadors, pleading in excuse the laws of hospitality, and the age of *Hannibal*, which was too great for him to give any farther umbrage to the *Roman* senate. He also insisted on the reputation of that great general, whom he could not deliver up without drawing upon himself the indignation of all ages. But *Flaminius* threatening to treat him as an enemy if he persisted in favouring and protecting one who had swore an eternal hatred to *Rome*, the king thought it advisable to sacrifice his guest to the revenge of the republic, and his own interest. But *Hannibal*, without hesitating a moment between death and captivity, disappointed the designs of his enemies in a manner worthy of his great courage [q], as we have related in the history of *Pergamus*.

Prusias *delivers* Hannibal *to the* Romans.

Prusias having by thus abandoning his guest and ally to the revengeful temper of the *Romans*, gained their protection, in order to engage them still more in his favour, assisted them both with men and money in their war with *Perses*, king of *Macedon*; and upon the reduction of that country was not content, like the other princes of the east, with sending an embassy to *Rome* to congratulate the senate on the success of their arms; but went thither in person, and dishonoured the royal dignity with his mean and servile flatteries. The senate no sooner heard of his arrival in *Italy*, but they sent *Lucius Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Scipio Asiaticus*, as far as *Capua* to meet him, with orders to defray his charges and conduct him to the capitol. Before he entered the city, he caused his head to be shaved, and took the pileus, or cap which slaves wore after they had obtained their freedom, and in that odd dress advanced towards the forum, stopped at the tribunal, where the Prætors used to administer justice, and there declared with a loud voice, that he had crossed the seas, on purpose to return thanks to the *Roman* gods, and congratulate the republic on her late victories. His arrival being notified to the senate, they sent deputies to receive and introduce him. These *Prusias* received with such mean flatteries and submissions as were well suited to the attire he assumed; *I have taken the habit and appearance of one of your freedmen*, said he, *and am indeed no more than a* Roman *slave set at liberty by your favour*. The deputies were for introducing him to the senate immediately, but he desired that his audience might be put off for two days, being desirous to see first the city and temples, and visit his friends. The third day he was introduced, and on that occasion betrayed a baseness of mind unworthy of the rank and title he bore. For when he entered the senate, he kissed the threshold, saluted the senators with the titles of *visible deities*, *saviours*, *deliverers*, and pronounced an harangue suitable to that prelude; in the close of which he related what he had done for the republic in the course of the war, and desired the protection of the senate both for himself and his son. After this he presented to the conscript fathers a petition, which contained two articles; whereof the first was, that he might be allowed to offer up sacrifices in the capitol and at *Prænestе*, by way of thanksgiving to *Jupiter* and *Fortune*, for the success which had attended the arms of the republic in the late war; the second article was, that the senate would grant him a small territory, which had formerly belonged to *Antiochus the Great*, but was then held by the *Galatians*, who had seized it without the consent of the republic. The senate returned *Prusias* the following answer: We give the king of *Bithynia* leave to offer sacrifices at *Rome* and *Prænestе*, and order that the expences of the victims and all other things for the sacrifices be defrayed by the public, in the same manner as if our own magistrates were to offer up sacrifices. As to the territory which the king desires, we shall send commissioners to judge of the affair on the spot after both parties shall have been heard. After this the senate presented him with some silver vessels, and made over to him two hundred and twenty-five small ships, which had been taken from *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. Then *Prusias* left *Rome*, embarqued at *Brundusium*, and set sail with a squadron of twenty gallies to take possession of the fleet, which the republic had given him [r]. Some years after that war broke out between him and *Eumenes* II. which we have described in the history of *Pergamus*, where we have also related in what manner, and on what provocation, he was first driven from the throne, and afterwards assassinated by his

Goes to Rome.

His mean behaviour at Rome.

[q] Æmil. Prob. in Hannib. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 4. Plut. in Flam. Appian. in Syriac. p. 97. [r] Polyb. legat. 97. Liv. l. xlv. c. 44.

his own ſon *Nicomedes* [s]. *Polybius* tells us, that he was a monſter rather than a man; that he had not one ſingle virtue to make amends for the many vices which rendered him inſupportable to his ſubjects, and contemptible to foreigners. He was a ſtranger to all principles of honour or honeſty, of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper, timorous, cowardly, and ſo addicted to pleaſures of all ſorts, that he ſeemed another *Sardanapalus*. His moſt important buſineſs was to dreſs himſelf, ſays our hiſtorian, to conceal the deformity of his ill-ſhaped and disfigured body. He was not aſhamed to appear publicly in the attire of a woman, and ſhew his ſubjects a figure no leſs hideous than ridiculous, in a dreſs no-ways ſuited to it [t]. As he was himſelf unacquainted with the liberal arts, he deſpiſed all kinds of knowledge, diſcountenanced the ſtudy of philoſophy, and polite literature, and carefully avoided the converſation of ſuch perſons as could form his mind, or improve his taſte [u]. *Livy*, in his account of the audience which the ſenate gave him, takes no notice of his ſubmiſſions to the ſenators; perhaps he thought they reflected no leſs diſhonour on the ſenate, who ſuffered them, than on the king, who acted ſo mean a part. But *Polybius*, after having given us, as it were, a ſpecimen of the ſpeech the ſlaviſh king made on that occaſion, breaks it off abruptly, ſaying, that he was aſhamed to repeat the expreſſions he made uſe of before that venerable aſſembly [w]. He had two wives, viz. *Apame*, the daughter of *Dieglis*, one of the kings of *Thrace*, who brought him two ſons, *Nicomedes* and *Pruſias*: The latter was ſurnamed *Monodous*, or *the ſingle-toothed*, becauſe inſtead of diſtinct teeth, he had one continued ſemicircular bone in each jaw. *Pruſias* married to his ſecond wife the daughter of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, and had by her alſo children; for *Juſtin* tells us, that he intended to prefer his iſſue by the daughter of *Philip* to *Nicomedes* his eldeſt ſon by his firſt wife; and that *Nicomedes*, provoked at this unjuſt partiality, took up arms againſt his father, and drove him from the throne; but herein he diſagrees with other writers, whom we have quoted elſewhere in our account of this revolution [x].

His death and character.

Nicomedes II. ſucceeded his father, and proved a no leſs cruel tyrant; for he had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when he ſacrificed all his brothers to his jealouſy and ambition [y]. He aſſumed the name of *Epiphanes*, or *the illuſtrious*, though he performed nothing worthy of this title, or even of notice, during the whole time of his long reign. According to the accounts given us, by *Strabo*, *Juſtin*, and *Memnon*, he began to reign in the 607th year of *Rome*, and was ſtill on the throne in the 649th. All we know of him, beſides what we have related in the hiſtory of *Pergamus*, is, that he built a city, calling it by his mother's name, *Apame*, or *Apamea*. *Strabo* tells us [z], that he was killed, but by whom, or in what manner, we find no where recorded. Some writers conjecture, that as he had murdered his father, ſo he was treated in the ſame manner by his ſon *Nicomedes*, who on that account was by antiphraſis ſurnamed *Philopator*.

Nicomedes II.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Nicomedes* III. who, entering into an alliance with *Mithridates the Great*, invaded *Paphlagonia*, and having ſeized on that country, attempted to make himſelf maſter likewiſe of *Cappadocia*, at that time ſubject to *Mithridates*, who thereupon marching into *Bithynia* at the head of a mighty army, drove *Nicomedes* from the throne, and raiſed his brother *Socrates* to it in his room. The dethroned prince had recourſe to the *Romans*, who drove out the uſurper, and reſtored him to his hereditary dominions. For this favour they preſſed him, and at length prevailed upon him, contrary to his own inclination and the opinion of his friends, to make inroads into the territories of *Mithridates*, with whom *Rome* wanted to pick a quarrel. The king of *Pontus* bore for ſome time the devaſtations committed by *Nicomedes* with great patience, that he might not ſeem to be the aggreſſor; but at laſt he made him pay dear for them; for having intirely routed his army on the banks of the *Amnius*, he drove him a ſecond time from the throne, and obliged him to ſeek for ſhelter in *Paphlagonia*, where he led a private life till the time of *Sylla*, who replaced him on the throne [a]. He died not long after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Nicomedes* IV. who performed nothing which the many writers, who flouriſhed in his time, have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. His too great familiarity with *Julius Cæſar*, while that young *Roman* was making his firſt campaign in *Aſia* under the prætor *Thermus*, gave occaſion to ſeveral lampoons and ſevere ſatires, ſome of which

Nicomedes III.

Nicomedes IV.

[s] Vide p. 781. [t] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſii. [u] Athen. l. iii. c. 7. Suidas voce Pruſias.
[w] Polyb. legat. 97. [x] Vide p. 781. [y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 147. [z] Strab. l. xii.
[a] Appian. in Mithridatic.

which were ſung by the ſoldiery at *Cæſar*'s triumph over the *Gauls*, according to the liberty allowed them on ſuch occaſions (T) [z]. As he died without iſſue male, he left his kingdom by his laſt will to the *Romans*, who reduced it to the form of a province [a]. *Salluſt*, diſagreeing with the ancients, tells us, that *Nicomedes* left a ſon by name *Muſa*, or *Myſa*, and introduces *Mithridates* as complaining of the *Romans* to *Arſaces* king of *Parthia*, for ſeizing on the kingdom of *Bithynia*, and excluding the ſon of a prince, who had on all occaſions ſhewn himſelf a ſteady friend to their republic [b]. But this *Muſa* was the daughter, and not the ſon, of *Nicomedes*, as we are told in expreſs terms by *Suetonius*, *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Appian* [c]. All we know of her is, that upon the death of her father ſhe claimed the kingdom of *Bithynia* for her ſon as the next male heir to the crown, but without ſucceſs, no motives of juſtice being of ſuch weight with the ambitious *Romans*, as to make them part with a kingdom. *Cæſar* eſpouſed her cauſe, and ſupported her claim in the ſenate with his uſual eloquence. But as he was enumerating the many obligations he owed her father, *Cicero* interrupting him, *You need not*, ſaid he, O Cæſar, *enlarge on this topic; we all know how kind* Nicomedes *was to you, and what favours you granted to him* [d]. The name of *Muſa*'s ſon, ſo far as we can conjecture from *Hirtius* and *Appian*, was *Nicomedes*; but as to the name and condition of his father, hiſtory has left us quite in the dark. After the defeat of *Pharnaces*, *Cæſar* appointed *Nicomedes* high-prieſt of *Comana* in *Pontus*, depoſing *Archelaus*, whom *Pompey* had raiſed to that dignity, to make room for the grandſon of his old friend *Nicomedes* IV. in whom ended the ſucceſſion of the *Bithynian* kings, that country continuing ſubject to *Rome* from this time to the diviſion of the empire. Before we diſmiſs this ſubject, we muſt acquaint the reader, that ſome writers mention only three kings of *Bithynia* bearing the name of *Nicomedes*, and will have that *Nicomedes* to have died without iſſue, and bequeathed his kingdom to the *Romans*, who, at their inſtigation, made war upon *Mithridates*. But we have followed *Appian*, who ſeems to have wrote on this ſubject with the greateſt exactneſs.

[z] Vide SUETON. in Cæſar. DION. l. xliii. CATULL. &c. [a] LIV. l. xciii. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 4. & 39. APPIAN. l. i. bell. civil. p. 420. & Mithridatic. p. 175. 218. [b] SALLUST. hiſtor. l. iv. [c] VELLEI. PATERCUL. SUETON. APPIAN. ibid. [d] SUETON. ibid.

(T) The verſes were,

Cæſar Gallias ſubegit, Nicomedes Cæſarem.
Ecce Cæſar nunc triumphat, qui ſubegit Gallias;
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui ſubegit Cæſarem.

CHAP. X.

Of the kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Boſporus, Media, Bactria, Edeſſa, Emeſa, Adiabene, Characene, Elymais, Comagene, *and* Chalcidene.

Colchis. COLCHIS, now *Mingrelia*, was bounded on the eaſt by *Iberia*, on the weſt by the *Euxine* ſea, on the ſouth by *Armenia* and part of *Pontus*, and on the north by mount *Caucaſus*, parting it from *Sarmatia Aſiatica*. Cities of note in this country were, *Pityus*, called by *Strabo the Great City* [e], and by *Pliny* [f], *a place of great wealth* It ſtood on the frontiers of the *Boſporani*, and was on that account in the *Roman* times well

Cities.

[e] STRAB. l. xii. p. 378. [f] PLIN l. vi. c. 5.

a well fortified and garifoned, as we read in *Zofimus* and *Procopius*, who tells us, that it ſerved as a barrier to keep out the *Sarmatians* and other barbarous nations [g]. *Dioſcurias*, or *Dioſcorias*, on the *Euxine* ſea, built either by *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two of the *Argonauts*, as *Mela* will have it [h], or by *Amphitus* and *Cercius* their charioteers, as we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus* [i], and *Iſidorus* [k]. It was named *Dioſcurias* from *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, whom the *Greeks* called *Dioſcuroi*. This name was, according to *Arrian* [l] and *Ptolemy* [m], in proceſs of time changed into that of *Sebaſtopolis*: but *Pliny* [n] will have *Dioſcurias* and *Sebaſtopolis* to be two different cities. Be that as it will, *Dioſcurias* was anciently a place of great trade, and reſorted to by merchants from moſt parts of the world; for *Pliny* [o] tells us, that three hundred different lan-
b guages were ſpoke there; and that the *Romans*, who traded to *Colchis*, were obliged to maintain conſtantly in *Dioſcurias* a hundred and thirty interpreters. This city is at preſent known by the name of *Savatopoli*. *Aea*, on the *Phaſis*, and about fifteen miles from the *Euxine* ſea, called by *Pliny* [p] and *Apollonius* [q] *a famous city*. Some writers take this to be the ſame with the city of *Æopolis* mentioned by *Ptolemy*. *Phaſis*, ſo called from the river on which it ſtood. Here the *Argonauts* landed, which gave riſe to the *Greek* proverb, *to ſail to* Phaſis, expreſſing a long and dangerous navigation; for ſuch was that of the *Argonauts* eſteemed in thoſe early times. *Cyta*, at the mouth of the river *Cyaneus*, the birth-place of the famous *Medea*, called from thence by the poets *Cytæis* [r]. The cities of *Saracæ*, *Zadris*, *Surium*, *Madia* and *Zaliſſa*, are
c mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Ptolemy*, but contained nothing worthy of notice. *Colchis* was watered by a great many rivers, *viz.* the *Corax*, the *Hippus*, the *Cyaneus*, *Rivers.* the *Chariſtus*, the *Phaſis*, the *Abſarus*, the *Ciſſa*, and the *Ophis*, all emptying themſelves into the *Euxine* ſea. The *Phaſis* does not ſpring from the mountains of *Armenia*, near the ſources of the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Tigris*, as *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, *Dionyſius*, and after them *Hadrian*, *Reland*, *Calmet* and *Sanſon* have wrongly informed us; but riſes on mount *Caucaſus*, and flows, not from ſouth to north, but from north to ſouth, as appears from the map of *Colchis* or *Mingrelia* in *Thevenot*'s collection, and the account which Sir *John Chardin* gives us of that country. This river forms in its courſe a ſmall iſland, called alſo *Phaſis*, whence the pheaſants, if
d *Iſidorus* is to be credited [s], were firſt brought into *Europe*, and thence called by the *Grecks phaſianoi*. The other rivers of *Colchis* are ſcarce worthy notice.

The *Colchians* were, according to *Herodotus* [t], originally *Egyptians*, *Seſoſtris* *Inhabitants.* having left part of the army with which he invaded *Scythia*, in *Colchis*, to people that country, and guard the paſſes. The *Colchians*, ſays our hiſtorian, are undoubtedly of *Egyptian* deſcent, as is viſible from the perſonal ſimilitude they bear to the *Egyptians*, being, like them, ſwarthy and frizle-haired; but more eſpecially from the conformity of their cuſtoms, for they uſe circumciſion, as the *Egyptians* do, and many other ceremonies practiſed by the inhabitants of *Egypt*. There is likewiſe, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, ſuch an affinity between the language of *Colchis* and that which
e is commonly ſpoke in *Egypt*, as leaves us no room to doubt of their coming originally from that country. *Apollonius* [u], *Diodorus Siculus* [w], *Strabo* [x], *Euſtathius* [y], and *Marcellinus* [z] agree with *Herodotus*. *Bochart* [a] takes the *Colchians* and the *Caſluhim* of *Moſes*, from whom the *Philiſtines* were deſcended, to be one and the ſame people, forgetting therein, that the *Philiſtines* did not uſe circumciſion, which *Herodotus* aſſures us the *Colchians* did. In proceſs of time many other nations ſettled in *Colchis*, viz. the *Heniochi*, the *Ampreutæ*, the *Lazi*, the *Ligures*, the *Marſi*, the *Iſtri*, the *Moſchi*, and the *Manralæ*. From the latter people ſome derive the preſent name of *Mingrelia*. The whole kingdom of *Colchis* was, in ancient times, very pleaſant and fruitful, abounded with all neceſſaries of life, and was enriched with many mines
f of gold; which gave occaſion to the fable of the golden fleece, and the *Argonautic* expedition ſo much ſpoke of by the ancients.

The *Colchians* were governed by their own kings in the earlieſt ages; for *Pliny* *Government* tells us, that *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt* was overcome and put to flight by the king of *and kings.* *Colchis* [b]; which, if true, ſhews, that the *Colchians* not only had kings in thoſe times, but were a very powerful people. We have obſerved above, that *Herodotus* derives

[g] Procop. l. iv. bell. Goth. c. 4. & Zosim. l. i. c. 32. [h] Mela, l. i. c. 19. [i] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. c. 15. [k] Isidor. Orig. l. xv. c. 1. [l] Arrian. in Pont. periplo. [m] Ptol. in Colch l. v. c. 10. [n] Plin. l. vi. c. 4. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Apollon. l. xi. ver. 424 & 1096. [r] Propert. l. i. eleg. 1. Val. Flac. l vi. ver. 693, &c. [s] Isidor. Origin. l. iii. [t] Herodot. l. ii. [u] Apollon. l. iv. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. [x] Strabo, l. i. & xvi. [y] Eustath. in Dionyſ. [z] Marcellin. l. iii. [a] Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 31. [b] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

derives the *Colchians* from the *Egyptians*; but that writer must have meant the *Colchians* of his own time, and not the first inhabitants, since *Colchis*, even according to his own account, was peopled before the arrival of the *Egyptians* in those parts. It is not therefore improbable, that the descendents of *Hul*, who are said to have settled in *Armenia*, passed from thence into the neighbouring country, calling it *Colchis*, from their progenitor *Hul* or *Chol*[c]. But of their kings we know very little. The names of those we find mentioned in history, are *Helius*, *Æetes*, *Æetes* II. *Salauces*, *Eusubopes*, *Olthaces*, and *Aristarchus*. *Helius* is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanius*, *Strabo*, and *Cicero*, as reigning before the *Argonautic* expedition; but what they relate of him is altogether fabulous, and therefore not worthy of notice in history. He was succeeded by his son *Æetes*, whom he had, according to some, by *Ephyre*, according to others, by *Antiope* or *Persia*. *Æetes* received *Phryxus* flying with his sister *Helle* from their step-mother *Ino* in a ship, on whose head was a golden, or rather a gilt, ram. In his reign happened the famous expedition of the *Argonauts*, of which we have spoke elsewhere[d]. The *Argonauts* were a company of *Greek* adventurers, who hearing of the gold mines of *Cholcis* and the immense riches of king *Æetes*, resolved to sail thither, in hopes of making their fortunes by one voyage. Accordingly they caused a ship to be built at *Pegasa* by one *Argus*, from whom they called it *Argos*; and hence they were styled *Argonauts*. On this ship they imbarqued, and having one *Typhis* for their pilot, they steered their course through the *Ægean* sea, the *Hellespont*, the *Propontis*, the *Thracian Bosporus*, and, after many adventures entering the *Euxine* sea, landed at *Phasis*, where king *Æetes*, who then resided there, received them with great kindness. As that prince had great store of gold in his palace, the *Argonauts*, those heroes so much cried up by the ancients, conspired among themselves, either to seize on his treasures by force, or to steal them privately, and, saving themselves on board their ship, return with the booty into *Greece*; but finding them to be too well guarded to be either taken by force, or privately conveyed away, they corrupted the guards by means of *Medea* the king's Daughter, who was in love with *Jason*, got into the palace undiscovered, and carrying off the treasures, returned into *Greece* with *Medea*, whom *Jason* had promised to marry. This is, according to *Natalis Comes*[e], the genuine account of the *Argonautic* expedition, which the poets, as it was the most remarkable voyage the *Greeks* undertook in those early days, have embellished and disguised with innumerable fictions, but not without some ground as to the golden fleece; for *Strabo* tells us[f], that as the rivers issuing from the mountains of *Colchis* carried with them great quantity of gold ore, it was a custom among the inhabitants to lay fleeces in the water, and by that means stopt the ore. *Pasiphae* and the famous *Circe* are said by some to be the daughters of *Helius*, by others of *Æetes*. Of them many things are related by the poets, which it is beneath the dignity of history to take notice of. The reader will find the fables of the poets relating to *Circe*, *Medea*, and *Pasiphae* very ingeniously explained by *Natalis Comes* in his mythology[g]. Upon the death of *Æetes*, *Colchis*, as *Strabo* informs us[h], was divided into several petty kingdoms; but on what occasion we know not; for we find no further mention of the affairs of *Colchis*, or the princes who reigned there, till the time of *Xenophon*, who tells us, that the son of *Æetes*, the second of that name, reigned in *Colchis*, while he was making war in *Asia*[i]. *Salauces* and *Eusubopes* are mentioned by *Pliny*[k], and said to have discovered rich mines of gold in the country of the *Savani*; but that writer leaves us quite in the dark as to the time in which they reigned. *Colchis* was afterwards subdued by *Mithridates the Great*; but revolted from him while his forces were employed against the *Romans*. The king of *Pontus* had no sooner concluded a peace with *Sylla*, than he marched against the *Colchians*, who offered to submit, upon condition that he would appoint his son to reign over them, with the title of *king of Colchis*. This proposal provoked *Mithridates* to such a degree, that he caused the son, whom they had demanded, to be arrested and loaded with chains of gold, sacrificing him soon after to his jealousy and ambition. Hereupon the *Colchians* obstinately refused to submit upon any terms; which obliged *Mithridates* to draw together all his troops in order to reduce them by force: but as he passed through the country of the *Achæans*, that people attacked him with so much vigour, and defended the passes with such resolution,

Helius.

Æetes.

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[c] Vide BOCHART. Phaleg. l. ii. c. 9. [d] Vol. II. p. 383. [e] NATAL. COM. l. vi. c. 7. [f] STRAB. l. xi. [g] NATAL. COM. ibid. [h] STRABO, ibid. [i] XENOPH. Ἀναβάσ. l. v. [k] PLIN. l. vi. c. 3

a reſolution, that he was forced to return into *Pontus*, after having loſt great part of his army, what by the enemy's ambuſcades, what by the exceſſive cold of the country [l]. Theſe *Achæans* were originally *Greeks*, and are ſaid to have ſettled on the eaſtern coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, whither they had been driven by a ſtorm, as they were returning from the ſiege of *Troy*, *Colchis*, while ſubject to *Mithridates*, was governed by prefects ſent thither by him. One of theſe was *Moaphernes*, great-uncle to *Strabo* the geographer, as that writer informs us [m]. *Memnon* tells us, that *Mithridates* complied with the requeſt of the *Colchians*, and appointed his ſon *Mithridates* to reign over them; but ſoon after cauſed him to be put to death. Be that as it will, is it certain, that the *Colchians* ſided with *Mithridates* againſt *Pompey*, and
b were, during that war, governed by a king of their own, *viz.* by *Olthaces*, who was overcome, taken priſoner, and led in triumph by *Pompey* [n]. *Olthaces* was ſucceeded by one *Ariſtarchus*; but all we know of him is, that *Pompey* conferred upon him the kingdom of *Colchis* for his eminent ſervices during the *Mithridatic* war [o]. *Pharnaces* II. king of *Pontus* ſeized on the kingdom of *Colchis*, and recovered great part of *Pontus*, while *Cæſar* was diverting himſelf with *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*; but was ſoon obliged to abandon his conqueſts, and retire into the country of the *Boſporani*, where he was killed by *Aſander*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Pontus*. From this time we find no mention made of the *Colchians* till the reign of the emperor *Trajan*, to whom they ſubmitted of their own accord [p]. Perhaps they were governed by their own kings; for *Strabo* makes the river *Phaſis* the northern boundary of the *Roman* empire.
c Under the emperors *Colchis* was ſubject to the prætors who governed *Bithynia* and *Pontus*; but never was made part of any province.

Olthaces.

Ariſtarchus.

IBERIA.

Iberia.

IBERIA, now *Georgia*, was bounded on the weſt by *Colchis* and part of *Pontus*; on the north by mount *Caucaſus*; on the eaſt by *Albania*; and on the ſouth by *Armenia*. It contained the following cities, *Nubium*, *Varica*, *Sura*, *Artaniſſa*, *Meſtleta*, *Zaliſſa*, *Armaſtica*, and *Phryxum*, called afterwards *Ideeſſa*. Theſe cities are men-

Rivers.

d tioned by *Strabo* [q], *Pliny* [r], and *Ptolemy*. The only rivers of note in *Iberia* are the *Cyrus*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the deſcription of *Albania*, and the *Aragus*, which ſprings from the mountains ſeparating *Iberia* from *Colchis*, and falls into the *Cyrus*. *Pliny* mentions another river, which he calls *Iberus*, and from which ſome writers derive the name of *Iberia*. Of mount *Caucaſus*, which ſeparates *Iberia* from *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, we have ſpoke elſewhere [s]; and in the hiſtory of *Pontus* and *Armenia* deſcribed the *Paryadrian* and *Moſchian* mountains. This country was anciently inhabited by the following nations or tribes enumerated by *Pliny* [t], viz. the

Inhabitants.

Moſchi, the *Armenochalybes*, the *Sacaſſani*, the *Macrones*, the *Sylvi*, the *Diduri*, and the *Sodii*. *Iberia* was firſt peopled, according to *Joſephus* [u], by *Tubal* the brother of
e *Gomer* and *Magog*. His opinion is confirmed by the ſeptuagint; for *Meſheſch* and *Tubal* are by thoſe interpreters rendered *Moſchi* and *Iberians* [w]. Some have taken the *Iberia* which was peopled by *Tubal*, according to *Joſephus*, for *Spain*, called alſo *Iberia*; but this opinion we have confuted elſewhere [x]. *Strabo* [y], and after him *Euſtathius* [z], derive the *Iberians* in *Aſia* from the *Iberians* in *Celtiberia* or *Spain*; others, as *Appian* informs us, derive the latter from the former. As theſe two nations lay at a great diſtance from one another, and greatly differed in their manners, cuſtoms and language, ſome were of opinion, as we read in the ſame *Appian* [a], that they were no-ways related to each other. *Tacitus* ſuppoſes, both the *Iberians*, and the *Albanians*, their neighbours, to have come originally from *Theſſaly* with *Jaſon* [b];
f but whatever their origin was, they were a very brave and warlike nation, and maintained their independency, if *Plutarch* is to be credited [c], againſt the utmoſt efforts of the *Medes*, *Perſians*, and *Macedonians*. *Strabo* gives us the following account of their cuſtoms and polity [d]. The *Iberians*, ſays he, are divided into four ranks or claſſes; the firſt conſiſts of the nobility; the ſecond of prieſts; the third of ſoldiers and huſbandmen;

[l] Appian. in Mithridat. [m] Strabo, l. xi. [n] Appian. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. [o] Appian. ibid. Eutrop. l. vi. Sex. Ruf. in epitome Jornand. de regnor. ſucceſſ. [p] Euseb. in Chron. Sex. Ruf. in epitom. Eutrop. l. vi. [q] Strabo, l. xi. p. 344. & l. i. p. 31. [r] Plin. l. vi. c. 10. [s] Vol. i. p. 102. and Vol. II. p. 267. [t] Plin. l. vi. c. 10. [u] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [w] In Ezech. c. 27, 32, 38, 39. [x] Vide Vol. I. p. 167. & Vol. II. p. 166. [y] Strabo. l. i. [z] Eustath. in Dionyſ. [a] Appian. in Mithridat. [b] Tacitus, l. v. [c] Plut. in Pomp. [d] Strab. l. xi.

bandmen; and the fourth of the common people. Out of the first class they chuse their king, and, upon his death, raise always to that dignity the eldest of his relations. The next in age to him of the royal family administers justice, and commands the army. The common people are employed in the lowest ministries, and treated no better than slaves. The priests, besides their peculiar function, hear causes, and decide such controversies as arise between the natives and foreigners. The *Iberians*, who inhabit the champain country, are very industrious, and well skilled in agriculture; but those who live on the mountains, are a wild and savage race, and in their manners bear a great resemblance to the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*; whereas the former imitate both the dress and customs of the *Medes* and *Armenians*. Thus far *Strabo*. The monarchical form of government prevailed among them, as is plain from this passage; but we find no mention made of their kings till the reign of *Mithridates the Great* king of *Pontus*, when they were governed by one *Artoces*, who sided with that prince, first against *Lucullus*, and afterwards against *Pompey*. After the defeat of *Mithridates* by *Pompey*, *Artoces* sent embassadors to the *Roman* camp, enjoining them to conclude a peace with *Pompey* upon honourable terms, and, in the mean time, drew together an army of seventy thousand men, with a design to fall upon the *Romans* unawares, in case they did not grant him the conditions he required; but *Pompey*, being informed of the measures he was taking, advanced by long marches into *Iberia*, took *Horopolis*, a city or fort, built, as appears from the name, on the summit of a mountain, penetrated into the very heart of the kingdom, and obliged *Artoces* to shelter himself in the most remote parts of his dominions. From thence he sent embassadors anew to *Pompey*, and by their means obtained a peace upon very reasonable terms; but notwithstanding this agreement, *Artoces* still kept his troops together, designing to fall upon the *Romans* as they passed the river *Pelorus*. This *Pompey* suspected, and therefore following him close, came up with him before he reached the above-mentioned river, and drew him to an engagement, in which the *Iberians* behaved with great gallantry, but were obliged to give way to the superior valour of the *Romans*, who killed nine thousand on the spot, and took above ten thousand prisoners. Great numbers were drowned, as they attempted to save themselves by swimming over the *Pelorus*. Many fled to the forests, and climbing up to the tops of the tallest trees, defended themselves from thence with their arrows; but the *Romans* setting fire to the forest, obliged them to surrender at discretion[c]. After this defeat, *Artoces*, suing for a peace in good earnest, sent from beyond the *Pelorus* rich presents to *Pompey*, viz. his bed, his table, and his throne, all of massy gold, which the *Roman* general accepted, and delivered to the quæstor of the army; but would not hearken to any terms of an accommodation, till the king had delivered to him his sons as hostages; and then he concluded a peace upon terms no-ways dishonourable to the *Iberian* nation[f]. This king is called by *Appian Artocus*, by *Eutropius*, *Arthaces*, by *Sextus Rufus Arsaces*, and lastly, by *Dion Florus*, and *Orosius*, whom we have followed, *Artoces*. He was succeeded by his son *Pharnabazus*, who being overcome by *Canidius*, *Mark Antony*'s lieutenant, joined the *Romans* against *Zoberes* king of *Albania*[g]. The other kings of *Iberia* mentioned by the ancients, are, *Mithridates*, *Pharasmenes*, *Mithridates* II. *Rhadamistus*, and *Pharasmenes* II. But as these were also lords of *Armenia*, we have spoke of them in the history of that kingdom. *Pharasmenes* II. reigned in the time of the emperor *Adrian*, went to *Rome* with his wife and children, to clear himself before the emperor of several things laid to his charge by *Vologeses* II. king of *Parthia*, and was there not only allowed to offer sacrifices in the capitol, but honoured with an equestrian statue erected in the temple of *Bellona*[h]. From this time, to the division of the empire, there is a profound silence among authors with respect to the affairs of *Iberia*. They continued in all likelihood to be governed by their own kings, who were tributaries to *Rome*; for we do not find *Iberia* counted by any writer, or mentioned in the ancient notitias, among the provinces of the empire; and besides, we know, that, long after the division of the empire, they were subject to their own princes; for *Procopius* tells us, that after they had embraced the *Christian* religion, *Gyrgenes*, their king, being threatened with a war by *Cavades* king of *Persia*, in case he did not conform to that of the *Persians*, implored the assistance of the emperor *Justin*, which kindled a war between

Government and kings.

[a] [b] [c] [d] [e] [f]

[c] Plut. in Lucul. & Pomp. Dion. l. xxxvii. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Zonar. Tom. II. [f] Plut. Dion. Flor. ibid. Eutrop. l. vi. Oros. l. vi. c. 4. [g] Plut. in Anton. Appian. in Parthic. Dio, l. xlix. [h] Theodos. Minor, in fragment.

between the two empires. *Zonabarzes*, another of their kings, came to *Conſtanti-*
a *nople*, as the ſame author informs us, in the time of the emperor *Juſtinian*, to be baptized, with his queen, his children, and ſeveral noblemen of his court. *Iberia* is at preſent ſubject to the king of *Perſia*, and known to the *Perſians* by the name of *Gurgiſtan*, that is, the land of the *Georgians*; for *tan* is an ancient *Celtic* word, ſignifying *a country*, and ſtill in uſe among the eaſtern nations, as appears from the modern names of *Curdiſtan*, *Indoſtan*, &c. that is, *the country of the Curdes*, *of the Indians*, &c. As to the name of *Georgia*, ſome writers are of opinion, that the ancient *Iberia* was ſo called, either from St. *George* the famous *Cappadocian* martyr, held here in great veneration, or from *George* a *Cappadocian* biſhop, by whom the inhabitants
b were firſt converted to chriſtianity. Others, ſuppoſing the country to have been called anciently *Gordiæa*, and the inhabitants *Gordiæans*, from the *Gordiæan* mountains, take the words *Georgia* and *Georgians* to be a corruption of *Gordiæa* and *Gordiæans*; but this opinion is intirely groundleſs, the *Gordiæan* mountains being placed by all the ancient geographers in *Armenia*, at a conſiderable diſtance from *Iberia*. Some think, that the inhabitants were called *Georgi*, from their ſkill in huſbandry, the *Greek* word *georgos* ſignifying *a huſbandman*, and that the country was from them named *Georgia*. *Pliny*, enumerating the *Caſpian* nations, mentions the *Georgi*, from whom perhaps the ancient *Iberia* borrowed the name of *Georgia*, that country lying at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſts of the *Caſpian* ſea, which was inhabited, according
c to *Pliny*, by the *Georgi*, who, in proceſs of time, may have ſettled in *Iberia*, from which they were parted by the ſmall kingdom of *Albania*.

ALBANIA.

Albania. *ALBANIA* was bounded on the weſt by *Iberia*; on the eaſt by the *Caſpian* ſea; on the north by mount *Caucaſus*; and on the ſouth by *Armenia* [i]. It contained anciently a great many cities, but not of any note. The following are mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*; *Teleba*, *Thalbis*, *Gelda*, *Thiauna*, *Thabilaca*, *Albana*, *Cha-*
Cities and rivers. *daca*, *Miſia*, *Boziata*, and *Cabalica*, which *Pliny* calls the metropolis of *Albania*.
d The rivers which it may be proper to take notice of, are, the *Cyrus* or *Cyrnus*, the *Albanus*, the *Caſius*, the *Gerrhus*, the *Soana*, the *Cambyſes*, and the *Alazon* [k], all emptying themſelves into the *Caſpian* ſea. The *Cyrus*, now the *Kûr*, ſprings from the *Moſchian* mountains, which ſeparate *Colchis* from *Armenia*, waters the country now called *Mokau*, receives into its channel the *Aragus* and the *Araxes*, and falls into the *Caſpian* ſea, within, but at a ſmall diſtance from, the ſouthern borders of the ancient *Albania*. There is a great diſagreement among the ancient geographers about the mouths of this river; *Strabo*, *Plutarch* and *Appian* ſay, that it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea by twelve mouths. *Strabo* indeed, who advances nothing for certain in his deſcriptions of countries but what he has ſeen, ſpeaks with great reſerve, and only
e tells us, that the *Cyrus* is ſaid to diſcharge itſelf by twelve mouths into the *Caſpian* ſea. *Herodotus* will have this river to fall into the ſea by forty mouths; but *Pliny*, with whom all our modern travellers agree, allows it but one. The whole country, now known by the names of *Scirwan* and *Eaſt Georgia*, is extremely fruitful and pleaſant. *Strabo* deſcribes the ancient *Albanians* as tall and ſtrong-bodied men, and adds, that they had, generally ſpeaking, a very graceful mien, and far excelled all other nations in comelineſs, as well as in ſtature. Our modern travellers cry up the women of *Georgia* and *Scirwan* for perfect beauties, but find nothing extraordinary in the men; whereas the ancients admired the men, without taking any notice of the women.
f The ſame *Strabo* tells us, that the manners of the *Albanians* were very ſimple; that they were unacquainted with weights, meaſures, and the uſe of money; that they could not count above a hundred; and that trade was carried on among them only by exchange. *Pliny* tells us, that they held old age in great veneration; that they were of a very fair complexion, and thence, according to ſome, called *Albani*; that they could ſee as well by night as by day; and that not only the men were ſtout and courageous, but alſo the women, whom he pretends to be deſcended from the ancient *Amazons*. As to their origin, *Tacitus* [l] and *Pliny* [m] derive them from the *Theſſalians* who attended *Jaſon* in his expedition into *Colchis*, and ſettled in this part of the iſthmus

[i] Strabo, l. xi. p. 345. & Ptolem. l. v. c. 12. [k] Strabo & Ptolem. ibid. Plin. l. vi. c. 13. & c. 10. Pompon. Mela, l. iii. c. 5. [l] Tacitus, l. v. [m] Plin. l. vi. c. 13.

isthmus between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas. *Justin*[n] will have them to be descended from the inhabitants of *Alba* in *Italy*, who followed *Hercules* into those parts, after he had overcome *Geryon*. *Ammianus Marcelinus* takes the *Albani* and *Alani* to be one and the same people, and derives them both from the *Massagetæ*, of whom we have spoke elsewhere[o]. As to their form of government, the country was in ancient times divided into a great many small kingdoms. *Strabo* tells us, that no fewer than twenty-six different languages were spoke formerly in *Albania*; and that there were as many different kings and kingdoms as languages, each tribe having their peculiar king[p]. But the *Albani*, in process of time, prevailed over the other petty princes, and made themselves masters of the whole country. In *Pompey*'s time they could bring into the field, as *Strabo* informs us[q], sixty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. We find no mention made of their kings till the reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom the king of *Albania* is said, by *Pliny*[r] and *Solinus*[s], to have presented a dog of an extraordinary fierceness and size. The next king of *Albania* we find mentioned in history is *Oræses*, who, entering into an alliance with *Tigranes* the son of *Tigranes the Great*, obliged *Pompey* to march against him. *Cosis*, the king's brother, a brave and enterprizing prince, commanded the *Abanians*, and waited for *Pompey* on the banks of the *Cyrus*, which he fortified at certain distances with high palisades. Hereupon *Pompey* feigning to return to *Armenia*, marching his Army a great way about, and drawing up his cavalry and beasts of burden in the bed of the river, to break the force of the stream, passed it without being discovered by the enemy. From the *Cyrus* he pursued his march to the *Cambyses*, through a dry country, where his army suffered much for want of water. At length, after having rambled far out of the way, being led astray by his guides, who were *Albanians*, he reached the *Cambyses*, where his soldiers were seized with strange distempers, occasioned by their drinking too greedily of the water of that river while they were hot after their march; however, he still advanced, with the precaution of carrying ten thousand skins full of water, lest he should be again reduced to the same straits. He heard no news of the enemy till he had passed the *Abas* or *Albanus*, when he was informed, that *Cosis* was advancing full march against him, at the head of threescore thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. Upon his approach he concealed the legionaries among the thick bushes, with which the whole plain was covered, commanded them to cover their helmets with their bucklers, lest the rays of the sun reflecting on them, should discover them at a distance. Then he detached the cavalry, with orders to attack the enemy, and, retiring before them, draw them into the ambuscade. The stratagem had all the success *Pompey* could expect; for the legionaries starting up all on a sudden, and widening their ranks to let the cavalry retire, surrounded the *Albanians* on all sides, and put them to flight with great slaughter. On this occasion *Cosis* behaved with great valour and intrepidity; for he kept close to *Pompey* during the whole time of the engagement, and having had at last an opportunity of discharging a blow at him, pierced his breast-plate. Hereupon *Pompey* facing his adversary, threw his javelin at him with such vigour, that he laid him dead at his feet. The *Albanians*, disheartened by the death of their general, fled in disorder to the neighbouring forests, which the *Romans* set on fire, crying aloud, while the forest was burning, *Saturnalia*, *Saturnalia*, to remind the *Albanians*, that they had attempted to surprize them in their quarters during the feasts of *Saturn*, and therefore ought to expect no quarter. *Oræses*, after the defeat of his troops, retired to mount *Caucasus*, and from thence sent embassadors to strike up a peace with the conqueror, who willingly granted it, being desirous to put an end to this war, and turn his arms against the king of *Parthia*, who had entered *Gordyene* at the head of a mighty army[t]. It was constantly reported before the engagement we have spoke of above, that there were many *Amazons* in the *Albanian* army; but the *Romans*, who had given credit to that rumour, in stripping the dead in the field of battle, found none of those warlike females among them; whence they concluded this republic of military women to be a mere fable, adopted on too slight grounds by many credulous historians. *Oræses* is by some writers called *Orodes*, and said to have fought three unsuccessful battles with *Pompey*[u].

Government. *Kings.* *Oræses.*

a b c d e

Oræses

[n] Justin. l. xlii. [o] Vol. II. p. 268. [p] Strabo, l. xi. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Plut. l. viii. c. 4. [s] Sollin. l. ix. [t] Dio, l. xxxvi. Plut. in Pomp. Appian. in Mithridat. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Eutrop. vi. Oros. l. vi. c 4, Sex. Ruf. in epitome Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. 3. [u] Flor. Oros. Sex. Ruf. ibid. Jornand. de regnor. succeff.

a *Oræſes* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Zoberes*, who having ventured an engagement with Zoberes.
P. Canidius, *Mark Antony*'s lieutenant, was by him intirely defeated, and obliged to
ſue for peace. In this war *Canidius* was powerfully aſſiſted by *Pharnabazus* king of
Iberia [w]. The next king of *Albania* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Pharaſmanes*, Pharaſmanes.
who, in the time of the emperor *Adrian*, committed great devaſtations in *Armenia*,
Cappadocia, and *Media*, and was on that account ſummoned by the emperor to *Rome*.
Pharaſmanes refuſed to comply with the ſummons; but in the mean time, to appeaſe
Adrian, ſent him ſome valuable preſents, among which were many great-coats, ſuch
as were wore in thoſe days by military men, all of cloth of gold. Theſe alone the
emperor accepted, but with no other view than to affront the king who had ſent
b them; for he cauſed three hundred criminals to be clad with them, and in that attire
fight the wild beaſts in the public theatre. Upon *Adrian*'s death the king of *Albania*
came to *Rome*, upon the firſt ſummons from his ſucceſſor *Antoninus Pius*, who received
him with great marks of eſteem, and ſent him back loaded with preſents to his king-
dom [x]. *Trebellius* [y] and *Marcellinus* [z] ſpeak of two kings of *Albania*, whom they do
not name, the one contemporary with *Sapor* I. king of *Perſia* and the emperor
Valerian; the other reigning in the time of *Sapor* II. and entering into an alliance
with him againſt *Conſtantius*, the ſon of *Conſtantine the Great*. The *Albanians* con-
tinued to be governed by their own princes till the reign of *Juſtinian* II. who is ſaid
by *Zonaras* [a] and other writers [b], to have ſubdued *Albania* by his general *Leontius*.
c The three kingdoms which we have here deſcribed, *viz. Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*,
took up the whole iſthmus between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas, and extended from
the borders of *Media Atropatene*, *Armenia*, and *Pontus* on the ſouth, to the mountains
Corax and *Caucaſus* on the north. Theſe mountains have been the ſubject of many
poetical fables; but nothing has been feigned by the poets more improbable than
what we read in ſome of the ancient geographers, *viz.* that they were ſo high as to
be illuminated by the rays of the ſun even at mid-night, it being certain that they
are not much above two perpendicular miles in height [c]. They are known to the
preſent inhabitants by the names of *Cocas* and *Cachias*, which are, without doubt, a
corruption of the ancient name *Corax*. The *Arabs* call them the mountains of *Raf.*
d We ſhall conclude our account of theſe three kingdoms with the words of Sir *John*
Chardin, who, in deſcribing the preſent *Georgia*, which comprehends the greater
part of the ancient *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, ſpeaks of it thus: "*Georgia* is as fertil
" a country as can be ſeen; the bread is as good there as in any part of the world;
" the fruit of an exquiſite flavour, and of different ſorts; no place in *Europe* yields
" better pears and apples; no place in *Aſia* better pomegranates. The country
" abounds with cattle, veniſon, and wild fowl of all ſorts; the river *Kûr* is well
" ſtocked with fiſh; the wine is ſo rich, that the king of *Perſia* has always ſome of
" it for his own table, *&c.* The inhabitants are robuſt, valiant, and of a jovial
" temper, great lovers of wine, and eſteemed very truſty and faithful, endowed
e " with good natural parts, but, for want of education, very vicious. The women
" are generally fair and comely, and by their beauty recommended to the court of
" the king of *Perſia*, whoſe wives and concubines are for the moſt part *Georgian*
" women. Nature has adorned them with graces no-where elſe to be met with; it
" is impoſſible to ſee them and not love them; they are of a full ſize, clean-limbed,
" ſmall-waiſted, fair, and well-proportioned." Thus far Sir *John Chardin*, to whoſe
words, or rather panegyric on the *Georgian* women, we beg leave to ſubjoin a paſſage
out of another modern traveller of no mean character [d]: "As to the *Georgian* women,
" ſays he, they did not at all ſurprize us; for we expected to find them perfect
" beauties; they are not at all diſagreeable, and may be counted beauties if com-
f " pared with the *Curdes*; they have an air of health that is pleaſing enough; but,
" after all, they are neither ſo handſome nor ſo well-ſhaped as is reported. Thoſe
" who live in the towns have nothing extraordinary more than the others; ſo that I
" may, I think, venture to contradict the accounts that have been given us of them
" by moſt travellers." But it is now time for us to take our leave of *Georgia*, and
paſs into the neighbouring kingdom of *Boſporus*.

BOS-

[w] PLUT. in Anton. DIO, l. xlix. [x] DIO, ibid. ZONAR. & SPARTIAN. in Adrian. CAPITOLIN. in Antonin. Pio. [y] TREBEL. in Valer. [z] MARCELLIN. l. xviii. [a] ZONAR. in Juſtin. [b] Hiſt. Miſc. l. xix. [c] Vide Vos. in Melam, l. ii. c. 2. KIRCHER. in mundo ſubterr. l. i. c. 14. VAREN. in Geog. l. ii. c. 30. [d] TOURNEF. Voyage, &c. Vol. II. epiſt. 6.

BOSPORUS.

Bosporus. THE ancient kingdom of *Bosporus*, comprehending all the provinces that were subject to the *Bosporan* princes, was bounded on the east by *Colchis*; on the west by the gulf *Carcinites*; on the south by the *Euxine* sea; and on the north by the *Tanais*, where that river falls into the *Palus Mæotis*; so that it comprised the *Chersonesus Taurica* in *Europe*, and in *Asia* all that tract which lies between the *Palus Mœotis* and the *Euxine* sea. *Diodorus Siculus*[c] confines the kingdom of *Bosporus* within the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, the boundary of *Europe* and *Asia* on that side; but *Strabo*[f], whom we have followed, extends it to the gulf *Carcinites*, which, with the *Palus Mœotis*, form the isthmus of the *Chersonesus*. Cities of note in the *Asiatic Bosporus* were anciently, *Phanagoria*, placed by some geographers on the *Euxine* sea, by others on the *Palus Mœotis*; but by *Pliny*[g] and *Mela*[h] at some distance from both, on a peninsula, which they call *Corocondama*. Near this city was formerly a famous temple dedicated to *Venus Apatura*, so called from the *Greek* word *apate*, signifying *deceit*; for she is feigned to have overcome the giants here by a stratagem suggested to her by *Hercules*. This city was, according to *Strabo*[i], the metropolis of *Bosporus* in *Asia*. *Cepi*, *Hermonassa*, *Stratoclea*, and *Cimmerium* stood on the *Bosporus*, and are said by *Pliny* to have been once remarkable cities. From the latter the *Bosporus Cimmerius* borrowed its name. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Pomponius Mela* tell us, that *Cimmerium* was the chief city of the *Cimmerians*, a people famous for their robberies as early as in the days of *Homer*. These barbarians being driven out of their country by the *Scythian Nomades*, ravaged the finest provinces in the east, and penetrated as far as *Sardis* in *Lydia*, which they reduced; but being afterwards overcome by *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*, some of them returned to their ancient habitation; and others, as most historians conjecture, advanced towards the north as far as the *Baltic*, and settled in the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, now *Jutland*; for the *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii* are by most historians thought to be one and the same people. The other cities taken notice of by the ancients in the *Asiatic Bosporus*, are, *Sinda*, on the *Palus Mœotis*; *Tanais*, at the mouth of the river bearing that name, where the city of *Asoph* now stands; *Paniardis*, *Tyrambe*, and *Gerasum*, called by *Ptolemy* a *Cimbrian* village. The coast of the *Euxine* sea was inhabited by the *Cercetæ*, the *Heniochi*, the *Moschi*, and the *Achæi*, of whom we have spoke above. *Strabo* enumerates on the coast of the *Palus Mœotis* the following nations, the *Sindi*, *Dandarii*, *Agri*, *Arrichi*, *Tarpetes*, *Obidiaceni*, *Sittaceni*, *Dosci*, and *Aspungitani*. To these *Scylax* adds the *Coraxi*, the *Coraci*, or, as *Vossius* will have it, the *Colici*, and the *Melanchleni*. The country bordering on the *Palus Mœotis* and the *Bosporus*, which was inhabited by the *Cimmerii*, is represented by the ancients as an inhospitable place, covered with thick forests and continual fogs, which the rays of the sun could not break through. This frightful description gave *Cicero* and *Ovid* occasion to say, that an eternal night reigned in this gloomy climate, and that sleep had taken up its abode here; and hence *Cimmerian darkness* became, according to *Lactantius*, a proverb, signifying *an impenetrable darkness*, and likewise *a gloomy and stupid mind*. *Lycophron*, *Pliny*, *Eustathius*, *Servius*, and others, have planted a colony of *Cimmerians* in *Italy* between *Cumæ* and *Baiæ*, near the lake *Avernus*, and tell us, that the sun never shined on that small canton; but *Strabo*, who was better acquainted with the countries we are speaking of, describes them as abounding with all the necessaries of life, and rather pleasant than disagreeable. The rivers mentioned by the ancient geographers in this tract are, the *Anticites* or *Vardanus*, the *Psathis*, the greater and lesser *Rhombites*, and the *Marubius*, most of them springing from the mountains of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, and all emptying themselves into the *Palus Mœotis*.

Cities. *Inhabitants.* *Rivers.*

Taurica Chersonesus. THE *Taurica Chersonesus*, so named from its being a peninsula, anciently inhabited by the *Tauri*, or *Tauroscythæ*, as *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* call them, lies between the *Euxine* sea, the *Palus Mœotis*, and the *Bosporus Cimmerius*; extends, according to Sir *John Chardin*, sixty-one leagues from east to west, and about thirty-five from north to south, and is joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus about a mile over. The cities here of note in former times were, *Taphræ* or *Taphrus*, on the isthmus, where the

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii. [f] STRABO, l. vii. [g] PLIN. l. vi. c. 6. [h] POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 19. [i] STRABO, l. xi.

a the preſent city of *Przekop* or *Precop* ſtands. The modern city is ſo called from the word *przkop*, ſignifying *a ditch*; for it was built on the ditch which the *Tartars* cut acroſs the iſthmus. *Cherroneſus*, or, as the more modern *Greek* writers call it, *Cherſon*, was, according to *Strabo*, built by the *Greeks* on the gulf *Carcinites*, now the gulf of *Nigropoli*, on the weſt coaſt of the *Cherſoneſus*. Of this city, now called *Topetarkan*, there are ſtill many ruins to be ſeen. *Theodoſia*, or *Theudoſia*, another *Greek* city on the eaſt coaſt of the peninſula, once a place of great note. It is now known by the name of *Caffa*, and is the capital of *Little Tartary*. From this city the *Boſporus Cimmerius* of the ancients is called by the preſent inhabitants the ſtreights of *Caffa*. *Sanſon* places *Theodoſia* where the modern city of *Tuſha* ſtands. *Nymphæum*, *Lagyra*,
b *Charax*, &c. ſtood on the *Euxine* ſea, and *Panticapæum* on the *Boſporus*. This city was, according to *Strabo*, the metropolis of the *European Boſporus*. It was founded by the *Mileſians*, and for ſome ages governed by its own laws; but at length ſubdued by the kings of *Boſporus*. Some writers have confounded the cities of *Panticapæum* and *Boſporus*; but *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Stephanus* ſpeak of them as two different cities. *Procopius* often mentions the latter; but never takes any notice of *Panticapæum*, tho' the capital of *Taurica Cherſoneſus*. This peninſula is at preſent poſſeſſed by the *Tartars*, and commonly known by the name of the *Crim*, which it borrowed from the city of *Krym*, anciently called *Cremnos*. The *Boſporus Cimmerius*, now the ſtreights of *Kertzi* or *Caffa*, which divides *Europe* and *Aſia*, or the *Crim* and *Kuban*, is not above four
c leagues over. The *Palus Mæotis* extends from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt about one hundred and thirty leagues, having on the north and weſt *Little Tartary*; on the ſouth-weſt the *Cherſoneſus Taurica*, now the *Crim*; and on the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, now *Circaſs Tartary*. This ſea or lake was called by the ancients *Palus Mæotis*, from the *Mæotæ* or *Mæotici*, a people inhabiting the *European*, and part of the *Aſiatic* coaſt, and alſo *Palus Sarmatiæ*, *Cimmeriæ Paludes*, *Scythica Stagna*, and *Ponti Euxini mater*, or, *the mother of the Euxine ſea*; but its modern name is the ſea of *Zabach*, borrowed from a fiſh taken there at certain ſeaſons of the year.

THE *Boſporani* were governed by princes of their own in the earlieſt times; but as the works of *Trogus Pompeius*, who wrote the hiſtory of the *Boſporan* kings[k], have not reached us, we can give but a very indifferent account of them. The firſt we meet with in hiſtory is *Leucon*, who is mentioned by *Strabo*[l]; but we are quite in the dark both as to his reign and to that of *Pariſades*, whom *Strabo* calls the laſt of his race. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that many kings had reigned in *Boſporus* before the conſulate of *M. Genutius Augurinus* and *P. Curiatius Philo*. Hence it is plain, that *Leucon* and *Pariſades* were not, as ſome authors have thought, the founders of the *Boſporan* kingdom, but preceded by a long ſeries of princes of the ſame race. *Spartacus* I. ſucceeded *Pariſades*, and is ſaid by *Diodorus Siculus* in one place to have reigned ſeven years, and in another ſeventeen[m]. He had two ſons, *viz.* *Seleucus* and *Spartacus*. He left the kingdom to the former, who reigned four years, and dying without
e children, was ſucceeded by his brother *Spartacus* II. and he, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, by his ſon *Satyrus*, who reigned fourteen years[n]. After him came *Leucon* II. who waged war with one *Mnemon*, probably a neighbouring prince, by whom he was overcome, and with the *Heracleans*, over whom he gained conſiderable advantages. He had a particular regard for the *Athenians*, whom he ſupplied with a great quantity of corn in the time of a famine, and allowed their merchants a free trade to all the parts of his dominions. The *Athenians*, in return for his kindneſs, made him and his children free of *Athens*, and granted to his trading ſubjects the ſame privileges and exemptions in *Attica*, which their citizens enjoyed in *Boſporus*, erecting three
f pillars in memory of the good underſtanding that paſſed between the two ſtates, *viz.* one in the city of *Boſporus*, another in the *Pireæus*, and the third near the temple of the *Argonauts*. He was a great encourager of trade, granting ample privileges to all foreign merchants ſettling at *Theodoſia* in the *Cherſoneſus*; by which means that city became one of the moſt rich and populous of the eaſt[o]. His exploits were celebrated by *Chryſippus* the philoſopher, as *Plutarch* informs us, but have not reached our times. He left two ſons, *Spartacus* and *Pariſades*. The former, ſurnamed *Satyrus*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and is called by *Dinarchus* the tyrant of *Boſporus*. He reſtored *Hecataeus*, a neighbouring prince, to his kingdom, obliging him to marry

Kings of Boſporus.

[k] Vide Prolog. l. xxxvii. [l] STRABO, l. vii. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii. c. 4 & 5. [n] Idem l. xiv. [o] DEMOSTHEN. contra Leptin. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv. & xvi. STRABO, l. vii. POLYÆN. l. v. DION. CHRYSOST. orat. 2. de regno.

marry his daughter, and murder *Tirgataone* his former wife, in order to make room for her. This kindled a bloody war between him and the ſubjects of *Hecataeus*, in which he loſt his ſon, with whoſe death he was ſo ſenſibly affected, that he did not long out-live him. *Dinarchus* tells us[q], that both he and his brother *Pariſades* ſent yearly to *Demoſthenes* a thouſand buſhels of wheat. He reigned only five years, and was ſucceeded, according to ſome, by his younger ſon *Gorgippus*; according to others, by his brother *Pariſades*. Of *Gorgippus* we find nothing upon record. *Pariſades* is ſaid by *Diodorus Siculus*[r] to have reigned thirty-eight years. He left three ſons, *Satyrus*, *Eumelus*, and *Prytanis*, who made war upon one another. *Satyrus* II. the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father; but his brother *Eumelus*, being aſſiſted by *Ariophanes* king of *Thrace*, attempted to drive him from the throne. *Satyrus* had recourſe to the *Scythians*, who ſent to his aſſiſtance twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. With theſe, two thouſand *Greeks*, and an equal number of *Thracians*, he engaged and put to flight *Eumelus*, whoſe army conſiſted of two-and-twenty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, all *Thracians*, under the command of *Ariophanes* or *Ariopharnes* their king. After this defeat *Eumelus* and the *Thracian* king retired to a ſtrong hold, where they were cloſely beſieged by the conqueror. While *Satyrus* continued before this place, *Meniſcus*, who commanded the mercenaries, being ſurrounded by the enemy while he was attempting to ſtorm the fort, *Satyrus* haſtened to his relief, and reſcued him from the imminent danger he was in; but was himſelf run through the arm with a ſpear, and died of the wound the night following, after a ſhort reign of nine months. Upon his death *Meniſcus*, breaking up the ſiege, retired with the army to the city of *Gargaza*, and from thence carried the king's body to *Panticapæum*, and there delivered it to his brother *Prytanis*, who having buried it with great pomp, took upon himſelf the command of the army, and the title of king. *Eumelus* ſent embaſſadors to the new king, offering to diſband his forces, upon condition that he would divide the kindom with him; but *Prytanis* not hearkening to his propoſals, by the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring barbarians, he made himſelf maſter of *Gargara*, and ſeveral other cities. Hereupon *Prytanis* marched againſt him, at the head of a numerous army; but was overcome in a pitched battle, and being ſhut up within an arrow neck of land between the *Palus Mæotis* and a lake, was forced to ſurrender, give up his army, and depart the kingdom; but he ſoon returned, and, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, made himſelf maſter of ſome ſtrong holds. Whereupon *Eumelus* marched againſt him anew, and having put his army to flight, purſued him to a place called *the gardens*, where he endeavoured to make head againſt his brother's victorious army, but was killed in the attempt. Upon his death *Eumelus* ordered all the friends and children of his two brothers *Satyrus* and *Prytanis* to be murdered. *Pariſades* alone, the ſon of *Satyrus*, had the good luck to make his eſcape to the court of *Agaras* king of the *Scythians*; all the others were inhumanly maſſacred. This cruelty incenſed the people, who were ready to revolt, and revenge the death of their friends with that of the tyrant, when *Eumelus* calling them together, promiſed to alter his conduct, reſtored to the cities their former privileges, freed them from all kind of taxes, and having by that means regained their affections, governed the kingdom with great equity and moderation to his death. He is celebrated by the ancients as the greateſt king who had ever reigned in *Boſporus*; for he had not only defended his dominions againſt the neighbouring barbarians, who, at different times, invaded it with numerous armies, but would have brought all the nations round him under ſubjection, as *Diodorus* informs us, had he not been prevented by death, after a reign of five years and as many months; for as he was returning out of *Scythia* in a chariot covered with a canopy, the horſes taking fright, and the driver not being able to ſtop them in their career, the king threw himſelf out, but his ſword intangling with one of the wheels, he was hurried away with the violent motion of the chariot, and killed. We are told, that he had been forewarned by an oracle to beware of a moving houſe, and therefore never ventured to go into any houſe, till his ſervants had thoroughly examined both the roof and foundation; but when they underſtood that the horſes had been frightened at the canopy placed on his chariot, they concluded that the prophecy was fulfilled[s]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Spartacus* III. who reigned twenty years. Many years after we read of *Leu-*

[p] DIODOR. SICUL. xvi. POLYÆN. l. viii. [q] DINARCH. in orat. contra. Demoſthen. [r] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. [s] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx.

a *Leucanor* reigning in the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, and paying a yearly tribute to the *Scythians*. He was treacherously murdered by one *Arsacomas*, a *Scythian* prince, for having refused him his daughter in marriage [t]. Upon his death *Eubotius*, his brother by a concubine, was placed on the throne by the *Sarmatians*, and maintained on it by them and by the *Alani*, and the *Greek* states of *Asia*, who willingly joined him against the *Scythians*, who began to be too powerful in those parts; however, he could never enjoy his kingdom in peace and tranquillity, till he submitted to pay the *Scythians* a double tribute [u]. The next prince we find reigning in *Bosporus* is *Parisades* III. who not being able to pay to *Scilurus* king of *Scythia* the unreasonable tribute he exacted, nor withstand so powerful an enemy, voluntarily resigned the
b kingdom to *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, after it had been held by his ancestors for the space of four hundred years, as *Lucian*, *Diodorus Siculus* [w], and *Strabo*, inform us [x]. In the time of the last *Mithridatic* war the *Bosporans* revolted from *Mithridates*, and admitted *Roman* garisons into the cities of *Phanagoria*, *Theodosia*, *Cherseneſus*, and *Nymphæum*; but, upon the death of that prince, the whole country was restored by *Pompey* to his son *Pharnaces*, whom he honoured with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. During the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Pharnaces*, not satisfied with the kingdom of *Bosporus*, attempted the recovery of his father's dominions, crossed the *Euxine* sea, and reduced *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and several places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia* [y]. After the battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar* sent *Domitius Calvinus* against him with part of his army; but *Domitius*
c being overcome in a pitched battle, *Pharnaces* made himself master of the remaining part of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, and of all *Bithynia*; whence he was preparing to advance into *Asia* properly so called; but in the mean time *Cæsar* leaving *Egypt*, where he was passing his time in banquets and revels with *Cleopatra*, and crossing *Syria*, came unexpectedly upon *Pharnaces*, and having attacked him, without allowing any respite either to his own men or to the enemy, gained a complete victory; an account whereof he wrote to one of his friends in the celebrated words, *veni*, *vidi*, *vici*, I *came*, I *saw*, I *conquered*; which, as they well expressed the expedition by which he obtained so signal a victory, he caused to be wrote in capital letters, and
d carried before him in his triumph [z]. *Pharnaces*, after this defeat, fled to *Sinope* with a thousand horse, and from thence sailed back into *Bosporus*; where he no sooner landed, but *Asander*, whom he had appointed governor of that country during his absence, seized him, and put him to death, taking upon himself the title of king of *Bosporus* [a]. Hereupon *Cæsar* bestowed the kingdom of *Bosporus* on *Mithridates* the *Pergamian*, in regard of the eminent service he had done him in *Egypt*, as we have related in the history of that country [b]. At the same time he appointed him tetrarch of *Galatia*, which he had a title to in right of his mother, who was descended from one of those tetrarchs. He might also have laid claim to the kingdom of *Bosporus* in right
e of his father; for he was supposed to be the son of *Mithridates the Great*, his mother having been one of that prince's concubines, after the death of *Menodotus* of *Pergamus* her husband. But *Cæsar*, in appointing him king of *Bosporus*, gave him only an empty title; for *Asander* being in possession of the whole country, he was to settle himself on the throne by force of arms. With this view he raised what forces he could; but, instead of gaining the kingdom, lost his life, being overcome and slain in battle by *Asander*, who, after his death, held the kingdom without any further molestation, the *Romans* not being at leisure, on account of their intestine broils, to give him any disturbance [c]. He was a man of great courage and skill in the military art, and in neither reckoned inferior to any of the age he lived in; however, the emperor *Augustus* distrusting him, gave the command of the *Bosporan* troops, who served in the *Roman* army, to *Scribonius*; which *Asander* took so much amiss, that he abstained from all food, and by that means put an end to his life in the ninety-third year of his age [d]. Upon his death, *Scribonius* giving out that he was the grandson of *Mithridates*, married *Dynamis* the daughter of *Pharnaces*, and possessed himself of the kingdom of *Bosporus*; but was soon driven out by *Polemon*, on whom *Augustus* had bestowed that kingdom. *Polemon* was the son of *Zeno*, a famous orator of

[t] Lucian. in Toxari. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Lucian. & Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [x] Strabo. l. vii. [y] Plut. in Cæs. Hirt. de bell. Alexandrin. Dio Cass. l. xlii. Appian. de bell civil. l. ii. [z] Appian. l. ii. p. 485. Plut. in Cæs. Suet. in Julio. [a] Appian. Hirt. & Plut. ibid. [b] Vide p. 676 & 678. [c] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 254. Strabo. l. xiii. p. 625. Hirt. ibid. [d] Strabo. & Dio, ibid. Lucian. in Macrob.

of *Laodicea*, and, after the battle of *Philippi*, had been by *Marc Antony* rewarded for a his gallant behaviour, with that part of the kingdom of *Pontus* which lay next to *Cappadocia*. He attended the same *Marc Antony* in his expedition against the *Parthians*, by whom he was taken prisoner. He was afterwards sent by the king of *Media* to negotiate a peace between him and *Antony*; which he concluded to the great satisfaction of the triumvir, by whom he was on that consideration made king of *Armenia Minor*. After the battle of *Actium*, in which he fought with great bravery for *Antony*, he was not only pardoned by *Augustus*, but sent by him, or rather by *Agrippa*, against *Scribonius*, whom he defeated, and drove from the throne. He engaged in several wars with the neighbouring barbarians, whom he kept in awe, preventing them from making incursions into the *Roman* territories; but was at length b overcome, taken, and put to death by the *Aspungitani*, whom *Strabo* reckons among the nations that bordered on the *Palus Mœotis*. He had been honoured by *Augustus* some time before his death with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* People [e]. He left two sons, *Zeno* and *Polemon* II. The former, surnamed *Artaxias*, was by *Germanicus* made king of *Armenia*, to the great satisfaction of the *Armenians*, among whom he had been brought up [f]. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Bosporus*, which he afterwards exchanged in the reign of *Claudius* for part of *Cilicia*. We find no further mentioned in history of the *Bosporani* till the reign of *Trajan*, who, as *Eutropius* informs us [g], received the king of *Bosporus* under his protection. In the time of *Antonius Pius*, one *Rhymetalces* reigned in the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, and came c to *Rome* to treat with the emperor about the affairs of his kingdom, as we read in *Capitolinus* [h]. *Lucian* tells us [i], that the *Bosporans*, in his time, were governed by a king named *Eupator*; but what fate attended them thenceforth to the division of the empire, we find no-where recorded; and therefore shall proceed to a succinct account of the other kingdoms mentioned in the title prefixed to this chapter.

[e] STRABO, l. xi. PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. v. DION. l. xlix. liii. liv. [f] TACIT. Annal. l. ii. c. 54. 56. [g] EUTROP. l. viii. [h] CAPITOL. in Antonin. Pio. [i] LUCIAN. ibid.

MEDIA. d

Media.

WE have delivered elsewhere [k] the history of *Media*, from the earliest account of time to its being reduced by the *Persians*, by whom it was held to the reign of *Darius Codomanus*, when the other provinces of *Media* fell under the power of the *Macedonians*; but that which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caspian* sea, withstood *Alexander*, being defended by one *Atropatus*, who, upon the downfal of the *Persian* monarchy, kept it for himself, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to *Strabo*'s time [l]. From *Atropatus* it was called *Media Atropatia*, or simply *Atropatene*. In process of time it became a very considerable kingdom; for e *Strabo* tells us [m], that the kings of *Atropatene* could bring into the field forty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The metropolis of this kingdom is called by *Strabo*, *Gaza*; by *Plutarch*, *Phrahata*; and by *Dion Praaspa*. But as we have described elsewhere [n] this country, and given an account of the cities it contained, we shall proceed to the history of its kings. The first who reigned here was *Atropatus*, who being governor of this province in the time of *Darius Codomanus*, as we have hinted above, defended the narrow passes leading into it against *Alexander*, and upon his departure caused himself to be acknowledged king of the country. Upon the death of *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, who had married his daughter, suffered him to enjoy his new kingdom without molestation. The other kings of *Media* we find mentioned f in history, are, *Timarchus*, *Mithridates*, *Darius*, and *Artuasdes*. *Timarchus* reigned in the time of *Demetrius Soter* king of *Syria*, who attempted, but without success, to reduce *Media*, as *Trogus* informs [o]. *Mithridates* was contemporary with *Mithridates the Great* king *of* Pontus, whom he assisted against *Lucullus*. He married the daughter of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*; but dying without issue, left the kingdom to his brother *Darius*, who likewise sided with *Mithridates*; but was overcome by *Pompey* [p]. *Darius* was succeeded by his son *Artuasdes*, or *Artauasedes*, on whom *Marc Antony* made war at the instigation of *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*; but was therein attended with bad success, as we shall relate in the history of *Parthia*. Upon the

[k] Vol. II. p. 1, & seq. [l] STRABO, l. xi. p. 523. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Vol. II. p. 1, 2. [o] TROG. POMP. Prolog. l. xxxiv. [p] DION. l. xxxv. PLUT. in Pomp. APPIAN. in Mithridat.

a the retreat of *Marc Antony*, *Artuasdes* falling out with his allies the *Parthians*, about the division of the *Roman* spoils, sent embassadors into *Egypt*, acquainting *Antony*, that he was ready to join him with all his forces, and assist him to the utmost of his power in the reduction of *Parthia*. Hereupon the triumvir resolved to return into *Parthia* by the way of *Media*, and to attach *Artuasdes* more firmly to his interest, first sent him as a present the head of *Artabazes* his inveterate enemy, whom he had treacherously seized, and afterwards contracted a marriage for *Alexander*, one of his sons by *Cleopatra*, with a daughter of the king of *Media*; but in the mean time the civil war breaking out between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, *Artuasdes* sent his forces to join the former, which gave the *Parthians* an opportunity of invading his dominions,
b and driving him from the throne. After having lived some time in *Syria*, he had recourse to the clemency of *Octavianus*, who received him into favour, and bestowed upon him the kingdom of *Armenia Minor* [q]. As for the kingdom of *Media*, it continued subject to the *Parthians*, who held it for many years, as we shall see in the history of that people. Some authors indeed speak of kings reigning in *Media* long after the times we are now writing of; but these princes were probably of the race of the *Arsacidæ*; for *Dion*, *Tacitus*, and *Josephus* tell us, that the *Parthian* kings sometimes suffered their younger brothers to reign in *Media*.

[q] Dion. l. xlix. p. 415. Zonar. Tom. II.

BACTRIA.

c *BACTRIA* or *Bactriana*, now *Chorassan*, was bounded on the west by *Margiana*; on the north by the river *Oxus*; on the south by mount *Paropamisus*; and on the east by *Asiatic Scythia* and the country of the *Massagetæ*. It was a large, fruitful, and well-peopled country, containing, if *Ammianus Marcellinus* is to be credited [r], a thousand cities; but of these we find only the following mentioned by the ancients, *Bactra*, the metropolis of the country, called anciently *Zariaspe*. Some writers indeed make *Bactra* and *Zariaspe* two different cities; but *Strabo* [s] and *Pliny* [t] tell us in express terms, that *Bactra* and *Zariaspe* were two names of one and the same city. *Pliny* places *Bactra* on the river *Zariaspa*; and *Curtius* on the *Bactrus*, at the foot of mount *Paropamisus*; but *Ptolemy*, disagreeing with both these writers, describes it as standing
d on the river *Dargidus*, in the heart of the country, at a great distance from mount *Paropamisus*, which was the southern boundary. From the river *Bactrius*, *Curtius* [u] will have both the city and country to have borrowed their names. The other cities of *Bactria*, mentioned by the ancient geographers, are, *Alexandria*, probably built by *Alexander*; *Darapsa* or *Adraspa*, the same city which *Arrian* calls *Drapsaca* [w]; *Eucratidia*, *Cariata*, both spoke of by *Strabo* [x]; the latter was destroyed by *Alexander*; *Sisimethræ Petra*, where *Alexander* solemnized his marriage with *Roxana*, who was kept there; *Maracanda*, repaired, but not built, as *Æneas Sylvius* and *Cambinus* have imagined, by *Tamerlan*. The same writer tells us, that *Maracanda* was the birth-place of that great commander, but are therein contradicted by *Chal-*
e *cocondyles* [y]. This city is now known by the name of *Sarmaracanda*; whence the present kings of *Persia* style themselves princes of *Samaracanda*, as *David Chytræus* informs us [z]. *Ebusmi* and *Charracharta*, now *Chiariachar*, were once two places of great note, being called by *Ptolemy* royal cities. The chief rivers of *Bactria* were, the *Ochus*, the *Oxus*, the *Orgomenes*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Dargomenes*, the *Zariaspa* or *Zariaspes*, the *Artimis*, and the *Dargidus*. Most of these rivers fall into the *Ochus*, which springs from mount *Paropamisus*, and discharges itself into the *Caspian* sea. *Paropamisus* or *Parapamisus* is a part of mount *Taurus*, and not of mount *Caucasus*, as those who attended *Alexander* in his expedition into *India* were pleased to call it [a]. That part of *Bactria* which was watered by the river *Oxus*, is described by the
f ancients as a very fruitful country, abounding with pastures, and well stocked with cattle of a very large size; but the southern parts were nothing but sandy deserts, without any tract or beaten way; insomuch, that travellers used to rest in the day-time, and pursue their journey in the night, guiding themselves by the stars, as on the

Bactria.

[r] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. [s] Strabo, l. xi. [t] Plin. l. vi. c. 15, 16. [u] Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 4. [w] Arrian. l. iii. c. 29. [x] Strabo, l. xv. p. 498. [y] Chalcocond. l. iii. [z] Chytræus in Chron. [a] Strabo, l. xi. p. 348. Arrian. Indic. c. 11.

the sea, not without danger of being buried in the sand. The country was inhabited by the following nations, *viz.* the *Salataræ*, *Zariaspæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzæ*, *Thocaræ*, *Marycæi*, *Amarispii*, and several others of less note. The *Bactrians* in general were reckoned good soldiers, being always at war, either among themselves, or with the neighbouring nations, and enemies to all manner of luxury. *Pliny* tells us, that they used to expose their old people, when they attained to a certain age, to be devoured by fierce mastiffs, which they kept for that purpose, and called *sepulchral dogs*. The same author adds, that they allowed their daughters to keep company with whom they pleased, and that incontinency was no ways disreputable even to the women[b]. As to their government, they were ruled by kings in the earliest ages. *Zoroaster* is said by *Eusebius* to have reigned in *Bactria*, and to have been contemporary with *Ninus*, who made war upon him, and subdued his country. But *Ctesias* mentions one *Oxyartes* as reigning in *Bactria*, when that country was reduced by *Ninus*, and will have *Zoroaster* to have been contemporary with *Cyrus the Great*. *Pliny* questioned whether he ever reigned in *Bactria*; but of him and his writings we have spoke elsewhere[d]. All authors agree, that *Bactria* was subdued, first by the *Assyrians*, and afterwards by the *Persians* under *Cyrus the great*, as we have related in the history of those two empires. It fell afterwards under the power of the *Macedonians*, and was held by the successors of *Seleucus Nicator* till the reign of *Antiochus Theos*, when *Theodotus*, from governor of that province, became king, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was engaged in a war with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, that he could never afterwards dispossess him of his acquisitions[e]. He was succeeded by his son, named also *Theodotus*, who, entering into an alliance with *Arsaces*, the founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, considerably inlarged his kingdom, while the two brothers *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax* were wasting their strength against each other[f]. *Theodotus* was overcome in battle, and driven out by *Euthydemus* his brother, who, as he was a very valiant and prudent prince, maintained a long war against *Antiochus the Great*, in defence of his country, obliging him at last to lay aside all thoughts of ever reducing it, as we have related in the history of *Syria*. *Euthydemus* was succeeded by his brother *Menander*, who, passing the river *Hypanis*, subdued the kingdom of *Sigertis*, the large province of *Pattalena*, and several other countries unknown even to *Alexander the Great*; but while he was preparing to make new conquests, and invade the *Syrian* dominions, he was taken off by a violent fever, to the great grief of his subjects, among whom his ashes were distributed, to quell the disturbances that arose on account of his body, which many cities laid claim to. By this means magnificent monuments were erected to his memory in most cities of *Bactria*[g]. He was succeeded by his nephew *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, in whose name he had governed, that prince being very young at his father's death. *Demetrius* was no ways inferior to his uncle in courage and bravery; for he had not only maintained himself in the possession of the provinces which *Menander* had reduced, but made several new acquisitions, and at his death left the kingdom of *Bactria* in a most flourishing condition. His son *Eucratides* built the city of *Eucratidia*, and having invaded *India*, made himself master of all those provinces which had been subjected by *Alexander*. On his return to his own dominions, he was treacherously murdered by his son, named also *Eucratides*, to whom he had committed the government of the kingdom during his absence. So wicked an action did not go long unpunished; for the *Scythians* invading *Bactria* on one side, and the *Parthians* on the other, *Eucratides* was driven from the throne, and soon after killed in attempting to recover it. Upon his death the *Parthians* seized on the provinces of *Aspionia* and *Thuriva*, leaving all the rest to the *Scythians*, who held the kingdom of *Bactria* till the invasion of the *Huns*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in a more proper place. The kings, whom we find mentioned as reigning in *Bactria* in the times of the emperors *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Valerian*, were all of *Scythian* extraction; but the *Scythians* were in their turn driven out by the *Huns*, who reigned in *Bactria*, as we read in our modern historians, in the time of *Ladislaus* IV. king of *Hungary*.

Revolt of the Bactrians.
Year after the flood 2699.
Year before Christ 300.

a
b
c
d
e
f

EDESSA.

[b] Plin. ibid. [c] Euseb. in Chron. [d] Vide Vol. II. p. 71, 74, & 204, 207, & seq. [e] Arrian. in Parthic. apud cod. 58. Syncel. p. 284. Justin. l. xii. c. 4. Strabo. l. xi. p. 515. [f] Justin. l. xli. c. 4. [g] Arrian. Peripl. p. 32. Troc. in Prolog. l. xli.

E D E S S A.

Edeſſa.

a THE ancient city of *Edeſſa* is placed by geographers in *Meſopotamia*, on the banks of the *Scirtus*, between mount *Maſius* and the *Euphrates*, into which the *Scirtus* empties itſelf. It was once a place of great note, and famous for a temple of the *Syrian* goddeſs, which was reckoned one of the richeſt in the world, nations and princes ſending thither preſents and offerings from all parts of the eaſt. From this temple *Edeſſa* was ſtyled *Hierapolis*, or *the holy city*. During the inteſtine broils, which greatly weakened the kingdom of *Syria*, one *Augarus* or *Abgarus* ſeized on the city of *Edeſſa* and its fruitful territory, which he erected into a new kingdom, ſtyleing himſelf king of *Edeſſa*, and tranſmitting the ſame title to his poſterity. Under which of the *Syrian* kings this revolution happened, we find no-where recorded. All
b we know of the founder of this new kingdom is, that he often defeated the *Syrians*, to whom the country which he poſſeſſed had been long ſubject, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, left at his death his ſmall principality, as *Egnatius* [h] and *Xylander* ſtyle it [i], in a very flouriſhing condition. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ariamnes*, or *Abgarus* II. for the name of *Abgarus* was common to all the kings of *Edeſſa*. This prince made himſelf maſter of the whole province of *Oſroene*, and entering into an alliance with *Pompey* againſt *Tigranes the Great* king of *Armenia*, ſupplied his army with all manner of proviſions. In the *Parthian* war he pretended to ſide with *Craſſus*; but in the mean time maintaining a private correſpondence with the enemy, was the chief cauſe of the great overthrow which the *Romans* received at *Carrhæ*, as
c we ſhall relate at length in the hiſtory of the *Parthians*. He left the kingdom to his ſon *Uchanias*, mentioned by *Euſebius* [k], who was ſucceeded by his ſon *Abgarus* III. a prince much ſpoke of by the eccleſiaſtic writers, on account of the letters which he is ſuppoſed to have wrote to our Saviour, and our Saviour to him. Theſe letters were found by *Euſebius*, as he aſſures us, in the public archives of *Edeſſa*, and by him tranſlated out of the original *Syriac* into *Greek*, and inſerted in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory [l]. They are alſo ſpoke of by *Nicephorus* [m], *Cedrenus* [n], *Dorotheus* [o], *Evagrius* [p], *Glycas* [q], *Curopalates* [r], *Nicetas* [s], &c. The laſt mentioned writer tells us, that our Saviour's letter was ſtolen in the reign of *Andronicus Comnenus*, and never after heard of [t]. Theſe letters have given occaſion to many diſputes among our modern writers, ſome
d maintaining them to be genuine, and others to be forged. This ſubject has been learnedly handled by *Caſaubon*, *Gretſerus*, *Tillemont*, *Du Pin*, and the late father *Alexander*, a writer of great note of the *Dominican* order, to whom we refer ſuch of our readers as are deſirous to be well acquainted with this controverſy, which is altogether foreign to our ſubject. *Abgarus* IV. the ſon of the above-mentioned prince, reigned in the time of the emperor *Claudius*, and joined *C. Caſſius* governor of *Syria*, who had been ordered by that emperor to place *Meherdates* on the throne of *Parthia*. When *Meherdates* arrived at *Edeſſa*, *Abgarus*, who had been gained over by the *Parthians*, detained him there, under various pretences, till ſuch time as the enemy had drawn together their forces, and, in the heat of the engagement, abandoning
e the *Romans* with the king of the *Adiabenians*, brought on the defeat of their army [u]. The next prince of *Edeſſa*, we find mentioned in hiſtory is that *Abgarus*, who was contemporary with the emperor *Trajan*, to whom he ſent, during the war he waged with the *Parthians*, two hundred and fifty fine horſes, a great many complete ſuits of armour, and ſixty thouſand javelins. *Trajan* accepted of three breaſt-plates only, and declared *Abgarus* a friend and ally of the *Roman* people [w]. *Suidas* ſometimes calls him *Abgarus*, and ſometimes *Augarus*, giving him in one place the title of king, and elſewhere ſtyling him the chief, of the *Edeſſans*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Arbandes*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Abgarus* VI. the ſon of *Arbandes*, is mentioned by *Capitolinus*, in his life of *Antoninus Pius*, and by *Epiphanius*, who calls
f him a moſt pious prince. Another prince of the ſame name reigned at *Edeſſa* in the time of the emperor *Severus*, aſſiſted him in the wars he waged in the eaſt, and attended him to *Rome*, where he was, by the emperor's orders, received and entertained

[h] EGNAT. in Spart. Sever. [i] XYLANDER, in Dion. l. xl. [k] EUSEB. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 15. [l] Idem, l. i. c. 15 & l. ii. c. 1. [m] NICEPH. CALLIST. l. ii. c. 7. [n] CEDREN. p. 144. & ſeq. [o] DOROTH. in Synopſi. [p] EVAGRIUS, l. iv. c. 27. [q] GLYCAS, p. 393, 441. [r] CUROPALAT. p. 60, 99. [s] NICETAS, l. ii. [t] NICETAS, ibid. [u] TACIT. l. xii. [w] SUIDAS, voce Εδισσα. THEODOS. MIN. in fragment.

tained with the utmost pomp and splendor [x]. He was afterwards suspected by *Caracalla* of holding a correspondence with the enemies of *Rome*, and being summoned to justify himself before the emperor, he was, by his orders, confined, and his kingdom reduced to a *Roman* province [y]. He is by *Spartianus* called king of *Persia*; but by *Dion*, *Zonaras*, and *Herodianus* king of the *Osroeni*, the dominions of the kings of *Edessa* being confined within the narrow bounds of *Osroene*, or, as others call it, *Osdroene*, a province of *Mesopotamia*, bounded on the west and south by the *Euphrates*; on the east by the *Chaboras* or *Aborras*; and on the north by mount *Taurus*, dividing it from the *Greater Armenia*. a

[x] SPARTIAN. in Severo. [y] DION, & ZONAR. in Caracalla & Heliogabalo. SPARTIAN. ubi supra. HERODIAN. l. iii.

EMESA.

Emesa. *EMESA*, *Emisa*, or *Emissa*, was a city of *Syria*, placed by most of the ancient geographers on the *Orontes*, between *Apamea* and *Laodicea Cabiosa*. This city one *Sampsiceramus*, an *Arabian*, seized during the troubles of *Syria*, and assuming the title of king, held *Emesa*, and its small territory, without the least disturbance from the *Seleucidæ*, who had other more important wars on their hands [z]. *Sampsiceramus* is often mentioned by *Cicero* in his letters to *Atticus* [a]. But *Nizolius* is of opinion, that *Cicero*, under that disguise, meant *Pompey*, who had overcome *Sampsiceramus*. He left two sons, *Jamblichus* and *Alexander*. The former succeeded his father, and, as he was greatly attached to the *Romans*, acquainted *Cicero*, while he governed *Cilicia* in quality of proconsul, with the motions and designs of the *Parthians*, who, under the conduct of *Pacorus* their king, were preparing to invade *Syria*. In the civil wars of *Rome*, he sided first with *Cæsar* against *Pompey*, and afterwards with *Antony* against *Octavianus*. After the victory gained by the latter at *Actium*, *Antony*, apprehending that he designed to follow the example of the neighbouring princes, who had all declared for the conqueror, got him into his power, and, upon that bare suspicion, caused him to be put to a most cruel death [b]. He is styled by *Strabo*, *the petty king of the* Emeseni; by *Josephus*, *a petty prince of* Arabia; and by *Dion*, *prince of the* Arabians. Upon his death the kingdom was by *Antony* bestowed on his brother *Alexander*, who, continuing faithful to his benefactor in his greatest distress, was taken prisoner by *Octavianus*, and not only deprived of his kingdom, but carried in triumph, and afterwards put to death [c]. His son *Jamblichus* II. was received into favour by *Octavianus*, and by him restored to his father's kingdom, after he had lived some time in banishment [d]. Many years after him reigned *Sampsiceramus* II. whom some writers take to have been his grandson. He is mentioned by *Josephus*, who styles him king of the *Emeseni* [e]. He was succeeded by his son *Azizus*, who falling in love with *Drusilla*, the sister of *Agrippa minor*, embraced the *Jewish* religion, in order to marry her [f]. His sister *Jotape* was married to *Aristobulus* the brother of *Agrippa the Great* [g]. *Azizus* is the last king of *Emesa* we find mentioned in history. This small kingdom was perhaps seized by the *Arabians*; for some years after we find it possessed by the *Ituræans*. The emperor *Heliogabalus* was a native, as *Evagrius* informs us, of the city of *Emesa*. b c d

[z] STRABO, l. xvi. [a] Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 14, 16, 17, & 23. [b] STRABO, ibid. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. DION, lib. l. Cic. epist. ad fam. l. xv. epist. 1. [c] DION, l. li. [d] Idem, l. liv. [e] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. & l. xix. c. 7. [f] Idem, l. xx. c. 5. ZONAR. Tom. I. [g] Idem, l. xviii. c. 7.

ADIABENE.

Adiabene. AS we have described elsewhere the province of *Adiabene* [h], which was the richest and most fruitful of all *Assyria*, we shall in this place only give a succinct account of the kings, who taking advantage of the disturbances that reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, erected here a new kingdom, and held it in spite of the *Syrian* kings, till they were driven out by the superior power of the *Roman* emperos. The first king we find mentioned in history, reigned in the time of the *Mithridatic* war, and joined *Tigranes* against *Lucullus*, as we read in *Plutarch*, tho' that author does not acquaint us with his e

[h] Vol. I. p. 858.

a his name [i]. Many years after, that is, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, one *Monobazus*, called also *Bazeos*, ruled over the *Adiabenians*. This prince falling in love with his sister *Helena*, married her, and had by her two sons, *viz.* *Monobazus* and *Izates*. He had several children by other wives; but as he favoured *Izates* above all the rest, this raised no small jealously in his other sons, especially in *Monobazus* the eldest. To prevent therefore the evil consequences which his partiality might occasion in his family, he sent *Izates* to be brought up by one *Abemerigus*, lord, or, as *Josephus* calls him, king, of a rich country in that neighbourhood. *Abemerigus*, who then resided at a place called *Spasinus*, brought him up with great care, and gave him his daughter *Samacha* in marriage, and with her a rich and fruitful
b country by way of dowry. In the mean time *Monobazus*, as he was stricken in years, and desirous to see his favourite child before his death, sent for him, and receiving him with great tenderness, bestowed upon him the country of *Cæron*, which abounded with odoriferous plants, and was famous, as *Josephus* informs us, on account of the remains of *Noah*'s ark, which were still to be seen there in his time. In this country *Izates* remained till his father's death, when his mother *Helena* calling together the chief lords of the kingdom, told them, That the deceased king had, by his last will, appointed *Izates* to reign in his stead, as the most worthy of all his children; but that she had not thought proper to acquaint him therewith, till the honour, to which he had been destined by his father, was confirmed to him by the unanimous
c consent of his subjects. She had scarce uttered these words, when the nobles, prostrating themselves on the ground before the queen, according to the custom of the country, declared, that they approved the king's election, and were ready, not only to obey *Izates*, who had been deservedly preferred to his brothers, but to put them all to death, that he might enjoy the kingdom without disturbance. The queen thanked them for their zeal, but at the same time desired them to forbear shedding the blood of any of the royal family, till the will of their new sovereign was known. Hereupon they intreated the queen to confine at least the young princes till the king's arrival, and in the mean time to appoint one to govern in his name. *Helena* readily complied with their request, and named her eldest son, *Monobazus*, guardian of the
d kingdom during his brother's absence, placing with her own hand the diadem on his head, and delivering to him his father's seal, with the robe, called by the *Adiabenians sampsera*, and exhorting him to govern with justice and moderation till the arrival of his brother, to whom the crown belonged, both by the last will of his father, and the unanimous election of the people. In the mean time *Izates*, being acquainted with his father's death and the zeal his new subjects had shewn for him, hastened to his kingdom, where he was received with great rejoicings, and met by his brother *Monobazus*, who, on his arrival, resigned to him the diadem and other ensigns of royalty.

While *Izates* was at the court of *Abemerigus*, he had been instructed in the *Jewish*
e religion by one *Ananias*, who, at his request, had attended him into the kingdom of *Adiabene*, and continued with him in the province of *Cæron*, which his father, as we have said above, had bestowed on him. His mother likewise, having been instructed by another *Jew*, had embraced that religion; but nevertheless did all that lay in her power to dissuade her son from circumcision, to which, as a zealous proselyte, he had a great inclination, thinking himself obliged to comply with all the duties of the religion he had embraced, *Ananias* his instructor agreed with the queen, and fearing lest some misfortune might befal him, if the king's conversion, which had been brought about by his means, were publicly known, represented to him, that he might serve the true God without being circumcised; that since he had re-
f solved to live according to the other laws of the *Jews*, God would pardon him this neglect in consideration of that resolution; that true religion consisted in the pious sentiments of the soul, and not in the circumcision of the body; which was indeed injoined by *Moses*, but might be dispensed with in the present circumstances, considering the danger he was in of forfeiting his kingdom by an open profession of the *Jewish* religion, *&c.* Lastly, *Ananias*, who, it seems, was a time-server, threatened to forsake the pious prince, if he did not lay aside, for the present, all thoughts of circumcision. By these remonstrances *Izates* was prevailed upon to suspend the execution of his design; but not long after another *Jew*, by name *Eleazer*, a man well versed

[i] Plut. in Lucull.

verſed in the law of *Moſes*, and of great learning, arriving at the court, and finding the king, when he went to wait on him, reading the books of *Moſes*, told him in plain terms, that he offended both againſt God and the law; for it is not enough, ſaid he, for any man to underſtand his religion; the main duty incumbent upon us is, to do what our religion commands us. How long will you remain uncircumciſed? If you are unacquainted with the injunctions of the law touching this point, read it now, that you may no longer be ignorant of the guilt you incur, in omitting one of the moſt eſſential duties of your religion. *Izates*, ſtruck with theſe words, immediately withdrew, and, in compliance with the law, ſubmitted to the ceremony which it preſcribed [k]. In his reign *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*, being driven out by his rebellious ſubjects, had recourſe to him, and was not only kindly received at his court and treated like a king, but, by his good offices, reſtored to the crown, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Parthia*; in acknowledgement of which kindneſs, *Artabanus* yielded to him the fruitful province of *Niſibis*, which he had lately taken from the king of *Armenia*. Upon the death of *Artabanus*, a civil war breaking out in *Parthia*, between *Gotarzes* and *Meherdates*, *Izates* pretended to favour the latter, whoſe claim was ſupported by the emperor *Claudius*, but maintained the whole time a private correſpondence with the former, and joined him at laſt with all his forces, which brought on the ruin of *Meherdates*; as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of *Parthia* [l].

Monobazus, the king's elder brother, and the other princes of the royal family, finding that *Izates* had been attended with wonderful ſucceſs, ſays *Joſephus* [m], in all his undertakings, ever ſince the change of his religion, reſolved to follow his example; which ſo offended the chief lords of the kingdom, that entering into a conſpiracy againſt their prince, who had firſt introduced the *Jewiſh* religion among them, they wrote privately to *Abias* king of *Arabia*, promiſing him great ſums of money, on condition he would aſſiſt them in driving *Izates* from the throne, and aſſuring him, that they were all to a man reſolved to forſake him, and deliver him up to the firſt that ſhould invade his dominions. Hereupon *Abias*, having drawn together a conſiderable army, entered the kingdom of *Adiabene*, where he was met by *Izates*, and a battle enſuing, the *Adiabenians*, at the firſt onſet, fled as if they had been ſeized with a pannic fear, and retired in great diſorder to their camp. The king ſeeing himſelf abandoned by his men, retired with them, and having found, on examineing the cauſe of ſo ſudden a flight, that the private men had only followed the example of their leaders, and by that means diſcovered the whole plot, he cauſed the chief conſpirators to be immediately put to death, and marching out the next day with the reſt, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, and gained a compleat victory. The king of *Arabia*, being cloſely purſued by the *Adiabenians*, ſheltered himſelf in the fortreſs of *Arſam*, which *Izates* immediately beſieged, and aſſaulted with ſuch vigour, that it was ſoon obliged to ſurrender. He found there an immenſe booty, and great ſtore of proviſions; but *Abias*, by a voluntary death, eſcaped captivity, as did many of the *Arabian* lords who attended him [n]. The conſpirators, tho' thus diſappointed, ſtill perſiſted in their former reſolution of getting rid, by ſome means or other, of a king, who endeavoured to aboliſh their ancient religion and introduce a ſtrange law. They therefore had recourſe to *Vologeſes* king of the *Parthians*, intreating him to aſſiſt them in driving from the throne *Izates*, and to give them a king of the race of the *Arſacidæ*, ſince they could not live under a prince, who countenanced a religion differing from that of his own country. Upon this invitation *Vologeſes* marched with a mighty army againſt *Izates*, who, finding himſelf no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy with his own ſtrength, had recourſe to prayers, beſeeching the Almighty, for whoſe ſake he was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, to exert his power in the defence of one who put all his confidence in him. He had ſcarce ended his prayer, when news was brought him, that *Vologeſes*, who had encamped over-againſt him on the other ſide of the river, which parted *Adiabene* from *Media*, was retiring with great haſte and confuſion, upon certain advice, that the *Dahæ* and *Sacæ*, taking advantage of his abſence, had invaded *Parthia*, and were commiting every-where moſt dreadful ravages [o]. *Izates*, being thus delivered, by the protection of heaven, from the imminent danger he was in of loſing both his life of his kingdom, ſpent the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity, and died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and

[k] Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2. [l] Tacitus, Annal. l. xii. [m] Joseph. ibid. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid.

and twenty-fourth of his reign. *Josephus* gives him a most extraordinary character, a which he well deserved, if all that writer relates of him be true. He had by his wife *Samacha* or *Samaco*, the daughter of *Abemerigus*, five sons, who were all brought up under their grandmother *Helena* at *Jerusalem*, and there taught both the *Jewish* language and religion. They were in that city while it was besieged by *Titus*, who generously pardoned them, and carried them with him to *Rome*, where they remained as hostages [o]. *Helena*, who was both mother and aunt to *Izates*, and a zealous proselyte to the *Jewish* religion, no sooner saw her favourite son settled on the throne, but she undertook a journey to *Jerusalem*, being desirous to visit the holy city, and offer sacrifices of thanksgiving in the temple, which was so renowned over all the b world. *Izates* not only supplied her with all things that were necessary for her journey, in a royal and magnificent manner, and with large sums of money, but attended her in person great part of the way. On her arrival at *Jerusalem*, she was received by the priests and chief men of the nation in a manner suitable to her rank, and entertained with great splendor and magnificence; but soon after the city being most grievously oppressed by a famine, that, in all likelihood, which had been foretold by the prophet *Agabus*, as we read in the *Acts* [q], the pious queen not only refused to be maintained at the public expence, but plentifully supplied the poor of the city with corn from *Egypt*, and other provisions from the island of *Cyprus*. She likewise perc suaded her son *Izates* to send a considerable sum of money to the governor of *Jerusalem*, for the relief of the afflicted citizens [r]. These pious offices, and the zeal she shewed for the *Jewish* religion, gained her, as *Josephus* informs us, the affection of the whole nation. She continued in *Jerusalem*, where she built a magnificent palace, which was burnt by the *Romans* under *Titus*, till the death of *Izates*, when she returned to *Adiabene*, and soon after died. *Monobazus*, who succeeded his brother *Izates*, sent his body, with that of his mother *Helena*, to be deposited in the magnificent monument, which she had erected with three lofty pyramids, about three furlongs from the city of *Jerusalem* [s]. This monument is mentioned by *Eusebius* [t], St. *Jerom* [u], and *Pausanias* [w]. The latter speaks of it in the following terms: Tho' I have heard of many monuments worthy of admiration, yet I shall here take notice of two only; d the one at *Halicarnassus*, the other in the country of the *Jews*. The former, erected in honour of *Mausolus* king of *Halicarnassus*, was so magnificent and stately an edifice that the *Romans*, struck with its extraordinary beauty and grandeur, called all majestic monuments *mausoleums*. The other, a monument of surprising workmanship, stands at a small distance from *Jerusalem*, and is the sepulchre of one *Helena*, a native of that country. It is all of marble, and has a door, which, on a stated day and hour of the year, opens by some hidden springs, and soon after shuts again. At other times you may break it down, but is impossible to open it. Thus far *Pausanias*; but *Josephus*, who was better acquainted with the monuments of his own country than any of the *Greeks*, takes no notice of this prodigy. *Orosius* tells us [x], that e *Helena* embraced the *Christian* religion, and, during the above-mentioned famine, supplied the indigent and distressed *Christians* with corn brought from *Egypt* for that purpose.

Tho' *Izates* had several children, yet by his last will he bequeathed the crown to his brother *Monobazus*, rewarding him thereby for the great care and indefatigable fidelity with which he had governed the kingdom during his absence, and the intire submission he had shewn him, tho' a younger brother, the whole time of his reign. But as to the affairs of this kingdom, there is a profound silence among authors, from the death of *Izates*, who was contemporary with the emperor *Claudius*, to the reign of *Trajan*, when one *Mebarsapes* ruled there, and joined *Cosbroes* king of the *Persians* f against the *Romans*; but that war proving unsuccessful for him and his allies, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to shelter himself in the dominions of *Manus* king of *Arabia*, who attempted to restore him to his kingdom; but as the strong castle of *Adenystræ* was held by a *Roman* garison, which he could never dislodge, he was forced to drop the enterprize, and abandoning his friend and ally, conclude a peace with *Rome* [y]. We find no further mention made of the *Adiabenians*, till the reign of *Sapor* II. king of *Persia*, when they embraced the *Christian* religion, as *Sozo-*

[o] Idem, de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 13. [q] Acts, c. xi. ver. 28. [r] Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 12. [u] Hieronym. ad Eustoch. [w] Pausan. l. viii. [x] Oros. l. vii. c. 6. [y] Dion, in Trajan. Sex. Ruf. in epit. Theodos. Min. in fragment. l. lxxv. Dionys.

Sozomenus [z] and *Nicephorus* [a] inform us, and were, on that account, treated with great cruelty by the above-mentioned king, to whom they were at that time subject.

[z] SOZOM. l. ii. c. 12. [a] NICEPH. Histor. Tripar. l. viii. c. 38.

ELYMAIS.

Elymais. *ELYMAIS*, or, as *Strabo* calls it [b], *Elymatis*, was a province of *Persia*, lying between the rivers *Eulæus* and *Oroates*, and extending from the confines of *Media* to the *Erythræan* sea, or *Persian* gulf. It was formerly divided into three great districts, *viz. Mesabatene*, *Gabene* or *Gabiene*, and *Carbiana*, and contained the following cities; *Seleucia*, in more antient times *Soloce*, on the banks of the *Hedypos* or *Hedypnus*, which *Strabo* [c] calls a great city; *Safirate*, at a small distance from mount *Casyrus*; *Badaca*, on the *Eulæus*; and *Elymais*, the metropolis of the province, famous for a rich temple consecrated to *Diana*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* attempted to plunder; but was obliged by the inhabitants to retire with disgrace, as we have related in the history of *Syria*. We must not confound this city with that of *Persepolis*, called also by some writers *Elymais*; for the city we are here speaking of stood in the province of *Elymais*, and the other in that of *Persis*. The temple of *Elymais* was afterwards plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found in it, as *Strabo* tells us [d], ten thousand talents. In this country there was also a very rich temple consecrated to *Jupiter Belus*, which *Antiochus the Great* attempted to plunder, but lost his life in the attempt, as we have related in the history of his reign. The country of *Elymais* was inhabited according to *Pliny* [e], by the following nations, *viz.* the *Oxii* or *Uxii*, *Mizæi*, *Parthusi*, *Mardi*, *Saitæ*, *Hyi*, *Cossæi*, *Parætaceni*, and *Messabatæ*. The *Elymæans* were, as *Strabo* informs us [f], a powerful people, inured to the toils of war, skilful bowmen, *&c.* and never subdued either by the *Syro-Macedonian* or *Parthian* kings, but governed by their own princes. If what *Strabo* writes be true, we may date the rise of this kingdom from the downfal of the *Persian* monarchy; for it is agreed on by all the ancients, that the *Elymæans* were subject to the kings of *Persia*, and if they never submitted to the *Syrian* yoke, they must have been first governed by their own princes, either in *Alexander*'s life-time, or soon after his death. Their kings are often spoke of by the ancients; but not one of them, which is somewhat surprising, named by any writer. All we know of them is, that they assisted *Antiochus the Great* in his wars with *Rome*; but afterwards cut off both him and his army in defence of their temple. The like fate would have attended *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he attempted to plunder the temple of *Diana*, had he not, by a timely flight, retired into *Media* [g]. They afterwards, under the conduct of their king, engaged in a war against the *Babylonians* and *Susians*, in which they were assisted by the *Cossæans*, who, it seems, were not subject to the kings of *Elymais*, with thirteen thousand archers [h]. *Justin* writes [i], that *Mithridates* king of *Parthia*, having overcome the king of the *Elymæans*, made himself master of all his dominions. But what *Justin* says is contradicted by *Strabo*, and also by *Plutarch*, who tells us in express words, that the *Elymæans* in *Pompey*'s time were governed by their own kings [k]. But as neither their actions nor names have been transmitted to us, we shall dwell no longer on this barren subject.

[b] STRABO, l. xvi. [c] Idem ibid p. 512. [d] Idem ibid. p. 744. [e] PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. [f] Idem ibid. [g] POLYB. in excerpt. Val. p. 144. APPIAN. in Syriac. MACCAB. 1. c. vi. ver. 1, 2. &c. [h] STRABO, ibid. [i] JUSTIN. l. xli. [k] PLUT. in Pomp.

CHARACENE.

Characene. *CHARACENE* was the most southren part of *Susiana*, a province of *Persia*, lying on the *Persian* gulf, between the *Tigris* and the *Eulæus*. It was so named from the city of *Chorax*, called first *Alexandria*, from its founder *Alexander the Great*; afterwards *Antiochia*, from *Antiochus* V. king of *Syria*, who repaired and embellished it; and lastly, *Chorax Spasinæ* or *Pasinæ*, that is, *the mole of* Spasines, an *Arabian* king of that name having secured it against the overflowing of the *Tigris*, which often laid it under water, by a high bank or mole, extending three miles, which served

a as a fence to all that country [l]. *Dionysius Periegetes* and *Isidorus*, author of the *Parthicæ Mansiones*, were both natives of this city. The small district of *Characene* was seized by *Pasines* the son of *Sogdonacus*, king of the neighbouring *Arabs*, during the troubles of *Syria*, and erected into a kingdom [m]. *Lucian* calls him *Hyspasines*, and adds, that he ruled over the *Characeni* and the neighbouring people, and died in the eighty-fifth year of his age [n]. The other kings of this country we find mentioned by the ancients, are *Teræus*, who died in the ninety second year of his age, and after him *Artabazus* the seventh, as *Lucian* informs us, who was driven from the throne by his own subjects; but restored by the *Parthians* [o]. And this is all we find in the ancients relating to the kings of *Characene*.

[l] Plin. l. vi. c. 27. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Lucian. in Macrob. [o] Idem ibid.

COMMAGENE.

Commagene *or* Comagene.

b THIS country, which was part of *Syria*, we have described elsewhere [p], and therefore shall proceed to the history of its kings. *Commagene* was subject to the *Syrians* in the time of *Antiochus the Great*, and left to him by the treaty of peace, which he concluded with *Rome* after the famous battle of *Magnesia*; whence it is probable, that it was seized by some of the princes of the *Seleucian* family, during their intestine wars; for we find no mention made of the kings of *Commagene* till *Pompey*'s time, and the names of those, who afterwards reigned there, are intirely *Syrian*. The first we find mentioned in history, is *Antiochus*, who, together with *Darius* king of *Media*, opposed *Pompey* as he entered *Syria*, after the defeat of *Tigranes*; but being overcome in battle, he submitted to the conqueror, and was for his submission not
c only confirmed by *Pompey* in his kingdom, but rewarded with part of *Mesopotamia* [q]. In the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* he sent large supplies to the latter. He afterwards joined *Pacorus* king of *Parthia*, whom *Labienus* had invited into *Syria*, and was on that occasion besieged by *Ventidius* in the city of *Samosatæ*, and obliged to purchase a peace with *Marc Antony* with three hundred talents. In the reign of *Augustus* a dispute arising between him and his brother *Mithridates*, he caused the embassador, whom his brother had sent to plead his cause at *Rome*, to be treacherously assassinated. Whereupon he was summoned to appear before the senate, and being by that body found guilty of the murder laid to his charge, he was by the emperor's orders put to death [r]. He was succeeded by *Mithridates*, on whom *Au-*
d *gustus* bestowed the kidgdom of *Commagene*, tho' no-ways related to the deceased king, as a reward for his services during the war with *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. *Mithridates* the king's brother was excluded from the throne, for having sided with *Antony* [s]. Upon the death of *Mithridates*, *Augustus* suffered *Antiochus* II. the son of *Antiochus* I. to take possession of his father's kingdom. He died in the reign of *Tiberius*, and upon his death great disturbances arising between the nobles and the people, the latter demanding a king, and the former desiring to be governed by a magistrate sent them from *Rome*, *Tiberius* complied with the request of the nobles, and appointed *Q. Ser-*
væus to govern *Commagene* in quality of Prætor [t]. But *Caligula* restored the kingdom of *Commagene* to *Antiochus* the son of *Antiochus* II. adding to it the maritime
e parts of *Cilicia*. He defeated the *Cilicians*, who refused to acknowledge him for their king, and took *Trosobor* their ringleader prisoner. He assisted *Vespasian* against *Vitellius*, and served under *Titus* at the siege of *Jerusalem*; but being afterwards suspected of holding a private correspondence with the *Parthians*, he was taken prisoner by *Cesennius*, and sent in chains to the emperor *Vespasian*, who banished him to *Lacedæmon*; but afterwards suffered him to lead a private life at *Rome*. *Antiochus* left two sons, *viz.* *Antiochus* and *Callinicus*, and one daughter, named *Jotape*. *Antiochus*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, served under *Otho* against *Vitellius*, and under *Vespasian* in his war with the *Jews*, and distinguished himself at the siege of *Jerusalem*. *Callinicus* is mentioned by *Josephus* [u], who tells us, that his sister *Jotape* was married to *Alexander*
f king of *Lesis* in *Cilicia*. But *Vespasian*, having reduced *Commagene* to the form of a *Roman* province, would not allow any of the sons of *Antiochus* to succeed him. This country was afterwards made part of the province called *Augustophratensis*, or, as *Ammianus* has it, *Euphratensis*, and was commonly known by the name of *Euphratesia*.

CHAL-

[p] Vol. I. p. 360. [q] Joseph. Antiq. l. ii. Oros. l. vi. [r] Dion, l. lii. p. 495. [s] Idem, l. liv. [t] Tacit. Annal. l. ii. Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [u] Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 27.

CHALCIDENE.

Chalcidene. *CHALCIDENE*, one of the moſt fruitful provinces of *Syria*, was bounded on the eaſt by *Chalybonitis*; on the weſt by *Antiochis*; on the ſouth by *Apamene* and *Cœle-Syria*; and on the north by *Cyrrheſtica*. It was called *Chalcidene* from the city of *Chalcis*, the metropolis of the province, ſituated at the foot of mount *Libanus*. This province was ſeized by *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Mennæus*, during the troubles of *Syria*, and by him made a ſeparate kingdom. *Ptolemy* himſelf is ſtyled by *Joſephus* [w] and *Hegeſippus* [x] only prince of *Chalcis*; but his ſon *Lyſanias* is honoured both by *Joſephus* [y] and *Dion* [z] with the title of king. Upon the death of *Antiochus Dionyſius* king of *Syria*, he attempted to make himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus* and all *Cœle-Syria*; but the inhabitants having an utter averſion to him on account of his cruelty and wickedneſs, choſe rather to ſubmit to *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, by whom *Antiochus* and his whole army had been cut off [a]. He oppoſed *Pompey* on his entering *Syria*, but was by him defeated, taken priſoner, and ſentenced to death; which, however, he eſcaped, by paying to *Pompey* a thouſand talents [b], who left him alſo in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom. After *Ariſtobulus* king of *Judæa* had been poiſoned by the friends of *Pompey*, and *Alexander* his ſon beheaded at *Antioch*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, he ſent *Philippion* his ſon to *Aſkalon*, whither the widow of *Ariſtobulus* had retired with her other children, to bring them all to *Chalcis*, propoſing, as he was in love with one of the daughters, named *Alexandria*, to maintain them in his own kingdom in a manner ſuitable to their rank; but *Philippion* likewiſe falling in love with *Alexandria*, married her on the way, for which *Ptolemy* put him to death on his return, and then married her himſelf [c]. By reaſon of this affinity, he aſſiſted to the utmoſt of his power *Antigonus*, the younger ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, who being thus aſſiſted by him, took the field at the head of a conſiderable army; but, on his firſt entering *Judæa*, was intirely defeated by *Herod* [d]. *Ptolemy* ſoon after died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Lyſanias*, who eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Aſmonæan* family with no leſs warmth than his father had done, promiſed to *Barzapharnes*, who commanded the *Parthian* troops in *Syria*, and to *Pacorus* the king's ſon, a thouſand talents and five hundred women, provided they put *Antigonus* in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Judæa*, and depoſed *Hyrcanus* [e]. He was not long after put to death by *Marc Antony*, at the inſtigation of *Cleopatra*, who, in order to have his dominions granted to her, accuſed him falſly of having entered into an alliance with the *Parthians* [f]. *Dion Caſſius* calls him king of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*; but *Strabo* informs us [g], that he poſſeſſed only the mountainous parts of *Ituræa*, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of *Arabia*, to which the ſmall kingdom of *Ituræa* belonged.

a

b

c

d

AND thus far of the conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, and the ſeveral kingdoms which ſprung up on the downfal of the *Macedonian* empire, from their riſe to their being ſubdued by the *Romans*, the hiſtory of which people will be the chief ſubject of the next volume.

[w] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. [x] HEGESIP. l. i. c. 24. [y] JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 17. [z] DIO, l. xlix. [a] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 4. [b] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5. [c] Idem, l. xiv. c. 13. [d] Idem, l. xiv. c. 21. [e] JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11 [f] Idem, Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. DIO, l. xlix. p. 411. [g] STRABO, l. xvi.

The End of the Third Volume.

AN

AN INDEX

TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

The Numbers direct to the Page, the small Letters to the Line of the Page, and the great Letters to the Notes.

A.

Aba, *Abus*, a mountain in *Armenia*, 694, b.
Abacænum, a city in *Sicily*, described, 92, O.
Abantes, first inhabiters of *Eubœa*, 250, a. Mentioned with honour by *Homer*, ibid.
Abas, who, 250, a. Killed, ibid.
Abdalominus made king of *Sidon*, by *Alexander*, 337, K. His answer to him, ibid.
Abdera, by whom founded, 786, c. The inhabitants deemed a dull stupid people, ibid.
Abdymon dethrones the king of *Cyprus*, 179, c. Killed, ibid.
Abgarus I. founder of the kingdom of *Edessa*, 847, a. —— II. his conquests, ibid. b.—III. his letter to Christ, ibid. c. —— IV. his treachery to the *Romans*, ibid. d.——V. allies with *Rome*, ibid. d, e.——VI. &c. ibid. & seq.
Abias invades *Abilene*, 850, c. Defeated by *Izates*, ibid. d. Escapes captivity by a voluntary death, ibid.
Abissares's submission to *Alexander*, 393, b.
Abreas killed by the *Malli*, 398, d.
Absarus, river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Abulites put to death for oppression, 405, b.
Abulpharagus, his works, 629, C.
Abydos forsaken by *Antiochus*, 560, c.
Accaron given to *Jonathan*, 507, c.
Acesines's river past by *Alexander*, 393, b.
Acesta in *Sicily*, vid. *Segesta*, 7, f. By whom founded, ibid.
Acherusian lake in *Chaonia*, 798, a.
Achæus assists the *Byzantines*, 145, b. Gained over by the *Rhodians*, ibid. d. Defeated by the *Macedonians*, 474.
——regent of *Syria*'s valour and fidelity, 530, a, b. Forced to take the government, 535, c. Besieged in *Sardis*, 539, d. Betrayed to *Antiochus*, 540. Beheaded, 541, a.
Achillas drives out *Cleopatra*, 673, a. Besieges *Cæsar* in *Alexandria*, 675, d. Not able to force the City. Put to death, 676, c.
Acradina, one of the four quarters of *Syracuse*, 4. b, c. Forced by *Dionysius*, 46, d. Taken by the *Carthaginians*, 52, d. Delivered up to the *Romans*, 120, & seq.
Acræ, when and by whom built, 12, b. Described, 114, S. Where situated, ibid.
Actiac æra, how computed, 691, a, b.
Actor, first king of *Ægina*, 244, b.
Ada, the *Carian* queen's conduct towards *Alexander*, 330, a. Made by him governess general of all *Caria*, ibid.
Adiabene, the kings of, 848, & seq. Embraces christianity, 851, f. Conquered by *Tigranes*, 700, c.
Admetus general of *Alexander*, killed at the siege of *Tyre*, 341, d.
——king of *Epirus*'s kindness to *Themistocles* 800, c, d.
Adranum, a city in *Sicily*, 8, e. Famous for the temple of *Adranus*, tutelar god of the *Siculi*, ibid.
Adrianople in *Thrace*, built by *Adrian*, 787, d.
Æa, a city in *Colchis*, 833, b.
Æaces, tyrant of *Samos*, 190, c.
——II. treachery to the *Ionians*, 197, d. e.
Æacides, king of *Epirus*, driven out, 459, a. 802, f. Slain by the *Macedonians*, 461, a. 803, a.
Æacus, king of *Ægina*, 244, b. Famous for his Piety and justice, ibid.
Ædepsum in *Eubœa*, its hot waters, described, 249, b.
Æetes, king of *Colchis*, 834. Ill-treated for his kind Reception of the *Argonauts*, ibid.
Ægates, island, described, 10, e.
Ægean sea, described, 202, R. Islands in it, 203, & seq.
Ægeates, whence so called, 271, d.
Ægina, island, described, 243, b. Its trade, &c. ibid & seq. By whom subdued, 245, a. Declared free by the *Romans*, ibid.
Æginеans invaded by the *Samians*, 189, c. Their revenge on them, 193, b.
Ægis, metropolis of *Macedonia*, plundered by *Pyrrhus*, 471, f.
Ægypt, the kings of, 623, & seq.
Ægyptians, why disaffected to the *Persians*, 345, c.
——astronomers flattery to *Alexander*, 350, a.

Æmathia, *Macedonia* why ſo called, 253, a. Deſcribed, 256, a.
Æmilius joins the *Rhodian* fleet, 150, & ſeq.
——— ſent againſt *Antiochus*, 556, & ſeq. Defeats his fleet, 559, d.
Ænoe, a city in *Icaria*, 211, f.
Ænos betrayed to the *Macedonians*, 147, b.
——— metropolis of the *Cicones*, 790, c.
Æolian iſlands deſcribed, 10, e.
Æolians, firſt inhabiters of *Leſbos*, 105, d.
Æolus, firſt king of the *Siculi*, 13, c.
Æropus, king of *Macedon*, 273. —— Guardian of *Macedon*, 284, d. His meſſage to *Ageſilaus*, ib. e.
Æſchines's character of king *Philip*, 295, d. Sent to the *Amphictyons* court, 305, f. Betrays the intereſts of *Greece* to *Philip*, 306, b.
Æſculapius worſhipped at *Cos*, 212, d.
Æſtrians, where ſituate, 257, b.
Ætna, a burning mount, in *Sicily*, 9. Cauſe of poetical fictions, ibid.
Ætolians diſtreſſed by *Antipater*, 451, c. Make peace with him, ibid. d. Invade *Theſſaly*, 452, b. Defeated, ibid. d. Treacherous to the *Arcanians*, 460. Puniſhed by *Philip*, 461, a.
Agathoclea married to *Philopator*, 646, e. Endeavours to uſurp the Regency, 647. Her ſad cataſtrophe, ibid. b.
Agathocles, tyrant of *Sicily*, his birth and education, 79, & ſeq. Riſe and ſucceſs, 80. Narrowly miſſes being murdered, 81, a. His perjury and cruelties to the *Syracuſians*, ibid. & ſeq. Proclaimed king, 82, a. Defeated, ibid. d. Carries the war into *Africa*, ibid. & ſeq. His ſucceſs there, 83, & ſeq. Treachery to *Ophellas*, 86, a, b. Returns into *Sicily* and reduces it, ibid. d. Deſerts *Africa*, ibid. & ſeq. His cruelty in *Sicily*, 87, b. Subdues part of *Italy*, ibid. e, f. His death and character, ibid. & ſeq.
——the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, his ſucceſs againſt *Demetrius*, 444. Suſpected by his father of a deſign to uſurp the Crown, and poiſoned, 468, d.
Agathyrna, a city in *Sicily*, 8, d.
Ageſilaus, meſſage to *Aropus*, 284, e.
Agis defeated by *Antipater*, 354, a.
Agnon ſent by the *Athenians* againſt the *Macedonians*, 280, b.
Agragas, the city of, vid. *Agrigentum*, 5, e.
——— the river of, ibid.
Agrigentum in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 5, e. When, and by whom founded, 12, a. The famed buildings of it, 17, d. Beſieged by the *Carthaginians*, 41. Abandoned to them, 42, c. Betrayed to the *Romans*, 127, c.
Agrion king of *Illyria*, his ſhort ſucceſs againſt the *Macedonians*, 474, d.
Ajax, king of *Salamis*, builds a temple at *Olbus* in *Cilicia*, 176.
Alæſa, a city in *Sicily*, 8, c.
Alala, the *Macedonian* huzza, 269, e.
Albana, a city in *Albania*, 837, d.
Albania, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 837, & ſeq.
Albanians, their ſimple manners, 837, e, f. Women remarkable for beauty, ibid. Government, kings, 838, & ſeq.
Albanus, the river of, 837, d.
Alceus, famous lyric poet, where born, 204, b. A coward, ibid. c.
Alcetas, king of *Macedonia*, 273. —— Brother of *Perdiccas* betrays *Eumenes*, 421, f. Proſcribed, 423, c. Joins himſelf to him, 424, a. Defeated by *Antigonus*, ibid. & ſeq. His death, 425, a.
——— I. king of *Epirus*, driven out, flies to *Dionyſius*, 800, f.
——— II. Defeated by *Caſſander*, 803, c. Murdered, ibid. d. & 461, e.
Alcibiades invades *Sicily*, 26, & ſeq. Recalled to *Athens*, 27, e.
Alcimalus ſent, by *Alexander the Great*, to ſettle democracy in *Greece*, 327, e.
Alcyonius generouſly reproved by *Pyrrhus*, 472, d.
Alexander prince of *Macedon*'s ſtratagem againſt the *Perſian* embaſſadors, 274, & ſeq. His ſpeech to the *Athenians*, 277, & ſeq. Warns them againſt *Mardonius*, 279, a. His generoſity to the *Argives*, ibid. d.
——— II. ſucceeds *Amyntas* II. 285, & ſeq. Outwits the *Theſſalians*, 286, a. His death, ib. c.
——— *the Great* born, 291, a. & C. Made regent during *Philip*'s abſence, 299, & ſeq. Saves his life, 305. Commands the left wing at *Cheronea*, 307. His rencounter with *Attalus*, 310, c. Recalled to court, 311, a. Whether privy to his father's murder, 314, P. His education and character, 312. N. 317. Puniſhes his father's murderers, 318. Declared general of *Greece*, ib. c. Invades the *Triballi* and *Illyrians*, ibid. & ſeq. Makes a general peace with the barbarous nations, 319, f. His ſudden return into *Greece*, 320, d. Takes and ſacks *Thebes*, 321, & ſeq. Spares the Houſe of Pindar, ibid. Continued generaliſſimo at *Corinth*, 322. Viſits *Diogenes*, 323, a. Account of his Troops, ibid. d His expedition into *Aſia*, ibid. & ſeq. Spares *Lampſacus*, thro' the art of *Anaximenes*, 325. Victory at the *Granicus*, ibid. Conſequences of it, 327. Comes to *Epheſus*, ibid d. Diſmiſſes his fleet, why, 328, a. Invades *Caria*, 330, a. Sends his married ſoldiers to winter at home, ibid. e. Diſcovers a conſpiracy, 331. His paſſage through the ladders, whether miraculous, ibid. H. March through *Phrygia*, 332, c. Cuts the *Gordian* knot, 333, c, d. Enters *Cilicia*, ib f. Cured by *Philip*, 334, c. Fights *Darius* at *Iſſus*, 335, & ſeq. His generoſity to his family, 336, I. Invades *Cœle-Syria*, 337. His letter to *Darius*, 338. Moderation towards the *Greek* embaſſadors, 339. Beſieges *Tyre*, ibid. & ſeq. Cruelty to the *Tyrians*, 342. Anſwer to *Darius*, 343. Reſpectful behaviour to the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, ibid. & ſeq. Takes *Gaza*, 344, & ſeq. Cruelty to Feeis ibid. Goes into *Egypt*, 345, & ſeq. Builds a new city there, ibid. Conſults the *Hammoni* oracle, 347. Settles the *Egyptian* government, 348, b, c. Puniſhes the *Samaritans*, ibid. d. Paſſes the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, 349. Defeats *Darius* at *Guagamela*, 350, & ſeq. Goes to *Babylon*, 353. To *Suſa*, 354. Deſtroys *Perſepolis*, 356, & ſeq. Marches into *Media*, 357. Purſues *Darius*'s traytors, 359. Reduces *Hyrcania* and the *Mardi*, 360. His vain attempt againſt luxury, 362. Conſpired againſt, 363. Puniſhes the conſpirators, 365. Purſues his deſigns, 366. His cruelty to the *Branchidæ*, 368, S. To ſome tyrants, 367, c. Favour to the *Mitylenians*, &c. ibid. Ill ſucceſs againſt the *Scythians*, 371. Degenerates, and affects the *Perſian* cuſtoms, 374, & ſeq. Kills *Clytus*, 375, & ſeq. W. Challenges divine honours, 378, & ſeq. Conſpired againſt, 380. Re-enters *Sogdia*, 382. In love with *Roxana*, 384, d. Marches towards *Indus*, 385, & ſeq. His cruelty to the *Indians*, 388, b, c. Paſſes the *Indus*, 390. The *Hydaſpes*, ibid. & ſeq. His treatment of king *Porus*, 392. Penetrates further into *India*, 393, & ſeq. Stops at the river *Hyfaſis* 394, & ſeq. His ſtrange vanity, 395, E. Embarques his army, 397. In imminent danger from the *Malli*, 398. Sails down the *Indus* into the ocean, 401. Goes by land to *Babylon*, 402, & ſeq. Takes two wives, 405, b, c. Endeavours to unite the *Macedonians* and *Perſians*, ibid. Generoſity to his army, ibid. & ſeq. Quells a mutiny on the *Tigris*, 406, & ſeq. Goes into *Media*, 407. *Babylon*, 408, & ſeq. Threatened with ill omens, 409 & ſeq. and N. His death, 411, & ſeq. and O. Character, 412. His vaſt deſigns ſet aſide, 418, b, c. His corps buried in *Egypt*, 421.
—the ſon of *Alexander the Great*, 413, a. Impriſoned by *Caſſander*, 462, a. Murdered by him, ibid.

——— the

——— the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, his character, 453, d. Favoured by *Antigonus*, 459, d. e Made general of *Peloponneſus*, ibid. f. Murdered, 460,
——— the ſon of *Caſſander*, drives his brother out of *Macedon*, 473, b. Put to death by *Demetrius*, ibid. 442, b. 465, c.
——— king of *Epirus* allies with *Philip*, 801, b. Wars againſt the *Brutii*, ibid d. Deceived by an Oracle ibid. e. Defeated and killed, 802, a, b. His character, ibid. c. d.
——— the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, invades *Macedon* 473, a. 820, c, d. Driven out by *Demetrius*, ibid.
——— the ſon of *Perſeus* ſent priſoner to *Rome*, 409, Forced to a private life 500, d.
——— a ſham ſon of *Perſeus* invades *Macedon*, 505, d, e.
——— prince of *Syria* revolts againſt *Antiochus*, 530. His tragical end, 533, c.
——— *Balas* ſet up againſt *Demetrius*, 594, a. Acknowledged by the *Romans*, ibid. e. Courts the *Jews* 595, b. Defeats and kills *Demetrius*, ibid. & ſeq. Marries *Cleopatra*, 596, b. Degenerates, ibid. & ſeq. Abandoned by *Philometor*, 598, c. Defeated and killed, ibid. & ſeq. His character, 599, K. 600, & ſeq. His coin, 621, note.
——— *Zebina* ſet up againſt *Demetrius*, 611, & S. Defeats *Demetrius*, ibid. His character, 612, b. Defeated by *Phyſcon*, 613. a. His death, ibid. Coin, 622, note.
——— *Janneus* defeated by *Aretas*, 616, f. Beſieges *Ptolemais*, 660, a. Defeated by *Lathurus*, ibid. c, d. Spared by *Cleopatra*, 661, e.
——— the ſon of *Phyſcon* ſet up againſt his elder brother, 659, b. Kills his mother, 662, a. Defeated and killed, ibid. c.
——— II. the grandſon of *Phyſcon*, murders *Cleopatra*, 665, c. Baniſhed for his cruelties, ibid. e, f. Dies in Exile, ibid. Bequeaths *Egypt* to the *Romans*, 666, a, b.
——— the *Pherean* wars againſt the king of *Macedon*, 285, f. Murdered, by his Wife and Children, 292, a.
——— the ſon of *Æropus* conſpires againſt *Alexander the Great*, 331, a. G.
——— king of *Emeſſa* taken priſoner, 848.
Alexandria, queen of the *Jews*, ſues to *Tigranes*, 701, d.
Alexandria, when and by whom built, 368. Beſieged by *Antiochus*, 577.
Alexandrians, their fidelity to *Philometor*, 575, e. Greatly oppreſſed by *Phyſcon*, 655, & ſeq. Maſſacred, 657, b.
Alexandrian library deſcribed, 629. Deſtroyed by the *Saracens*, 630.
Algæ, a city in *Eubœa*, deſcribed, 249, e.
Aliacmon a river in *Macedonia*, 260, c.
Almopians, where ſituate, 257, b.
Alopeconneſus, where ſituate, 788, a. Why ſo called, ibid.
Althamenes, ſettled in *Crete*, why, 132, b, c.
Amadocus, king of the *Odryſæ*, 792, a.
Amalthea, one of *Jupiter*'s nurſes, 165, b.
Amaſia, a city in *Pontus*, deſcribed, 720, d.
Amaſis's letter to *Polycrates*, 191, b. Breaks his alliance with him, why, ibid. e.
Amastrine married to *Craterus*, 405, c.
Ameſtris murdered by her ſons, 825, b.
——— a city built by her, ibid.
Amathus, a city of *Cyprus*, 173, d. Famous for a Temple of *Venus*, ibid.
Amathuſa, part of *Cyprus*, 175, a.
Amathuſians ſacrifice to *Oneſilus*, why, 178, b.
Amazons, ſome account of them, 721, c, d.
Ambraſus's ſubmiſſion and preſents to *Alexander*, 390. b.
Ambracia, a city in *Epirus*, 796. b.
Aminias, a *Rhodian* commander, killed, 142, b,
Amiſus, a city in *Pontus*, deſcribed, 720, c. Surrendered to *Lucullus*, 744, d. 747.

Ammon, *Jupiter*, the temple and oracle of, 347, d. Conſulted by *Alexander*, ibid.
Ammonius's cruelties, 596, c. Murdered by the *Antiochians*, 598, d.
Amphaxis, the region of, deſcribed, 256, c.
Amphialus kills *Arius* king of *Teuthrania* and ſettles at *Pergamus*, 800, a.
Amphicrates, king of *Samos*, wars againſt *Ægina*, 189, c. The time when, ibid.
Amphimachus's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e.
Amphipolis beſieged by *Braſidas*, 281, & ſeq. Taken by *Philip*, 290, c.
Amphipolis of *Syracuſe*, his office, 78, a. Years computed by his government.
Amphytrio kills the king of *Cyphalenia* and conquers the iſland, 242, b.
Amphyctions condemn the *Locrians*, 306, e. Chuſe *Philip* general, ibid, e.
Amyntas king of *Macedon*, 273. His reception of the *Perſian* embaſſadors, 274, d. Zeal for the *Perſians*, 276, & ſeq. Cuts off the uſurper, 285, a. Subdues the *Olynthians*, ibid. b. c.
——— *Alexander*'s governor murdered, 320, d.
——— ——— general ſuſpected of treaſon, 366, d. Makes his defence and is cleared, ibid.
Anacus, a river of *Sicily*, 10, b.
Ananias, a *Jewiſh* time-ſerver, 849, e, f.
Anaphas I. and II. kings of *Cappadocia*, 764.
Anapis, a river in *Sicily*, 5, b.
Anaxales ſeizes *Zancle*, 12, a.
Anaxarchus the Philoſopher pounded to death, by *Nicocreon*, 179, c.
——— the ſophiſt's flattering ſpeech to *Alexander*, 378, c.
Anaximenes ſaves *Lampſacus*, 325, a.
Anchor, why and how born by the *Seleucidæ*, 510, a. & A.
Andranodorus, ſon-in-law to *Hiero*, 100, c. Debauches young *Hieronymus*, 101. Becomes head of a party, 103, f. Submits to the ſenate, 104, e, f. Choſen magiſtrate, 105, a. Undermines the republic, ibid. & ſeq. Put to death, 106, b.
Andrians anſwer to *Themiſtocles*, 227, a. Beſieged by him, ibid.
Andriſcus ſet up for *Philip* the ſon of *Perſeus*, 501. Sent priſoner to *Rome*, ibid. e. Eſcapes into *Thrace*, 502, a. Invades *Macedon*, 503. Defeats the *Prætor Juventius*, 504, b Turns tyrant, ibid. b, c. Defeated twice by *Metellus*, 505. Sent priſoner to *Rome*, ibid. d.
Androgeus murdered at *Athens*, 166, f. His death puniſhed with a Peſtilence, ibid.
Andromachus reſtored to *Achæus* by the *Rhodians*, 145, d.
Andronicus forced to ſurrender *Tyre*, 433, b.
——— *Perſeus*'s governor in *Theſſaly* put to death, 488, a.
——— murders *Onias*, 574, c. Put to death for it, ibid. d. ——— a cruel governor of *Samaria*, 577, a.
Andros iſland deſcribed, 226. Subdued by the *Athenians*, 227, a, b.
——— metropolis of the iſland beſieged by *Themiſtocles*, 227, a. Its ruins deſcribed, ibid. d.
Aniceius invades *Pontus* 760, f. His ſucceſs there, 761. Delivered up to the *Romans*, ibid.
Anicius ſent to *Illyria*, 490, f. His ſucceſs there, 498, E. Carries *Gentius* to *Rome* and triumphs, ibid.
Annius's forged hiſtory, how diſcovered, 522, M.
———. king of *Delos*, 231, d.
Antandros, iſland, why ſo called, 226, d.
Anticyra, famous for its ellebore, 252, c. No iſland of that name, ibid.
Antigenes's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, c. Treachery to *Eumenes*, 430. Cruel puniſhment, ibid. f.
Antigonia razed by *Seleucus*, 514, f.

Antigonus invades *Rhodes*, 137, & ſeq. His lot after *Alexander*'s death, 417, b. 423, f. Defeats *Alcetas*, 424, & ſeq. Outwitted by *Eumenes*, 425, b. Repulſed with loſs, 427. Defeated by *Eumenes*, 428, & ſeq. His treachery to him, 429, & ſeq. And to his own friends, 430, f. Marches into *Babylon*, 431, e. Calls *Seleucus* to an account, ibid. Seizes *Syria* and *Phœnice*, 432, Repels *Caſſander*, ibid. The Provinces recovered by *Ptolemy*, 433, e. Makes a new partition with the confederates, 435, b. Invaded by them, ibid. d. Takes the title of king, 437, b. His extraction and character, ibid. & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs againſt *Egypt*, 438, & ſeq. Invaded by the confederates, 440, & ſeq. Slain at the battle of *Iſſus*, 441, a.

—— *Gonatus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, his filial piety, 447, a. Gentleneſs, 466, c, d. ſeizes the crown of *Macedon*, 470, e, f. Defeats the *Gauls*, 471, b. Invaded by *Pyrrhus*, ibid. c. Expelled by him, ibid. e. Defeats him at *Argos*, 472. Deſerted by his men, 473. Takes the citadel of *Corinth*, ibid. f. His death, 474, b.

—— *Doſon* choſen regent of *Macedon*, 475, b. Afterwards king, ibid. His character, ibid. c, d. Courted by the *Achæans*, ibid. f. Friendſhip to *Aratus*, 476. c. Succeſs againſt *Cleomenes*, ibid & ſeq. Kindneſs to the *Spartans*, 477, a. Defeats the *Illyrians*, ibid. b. Overſtrains his voice in the battle, and dies with a ſpitting of blood, ibid. c.

Antioch, metropolis of *Syria*, 509. By whom built, 414. e. Deſcribed, ibid. & ſeq. & E. Burnt by the *Jews*, 602, d.

—— metropolis of *Mygdonia*, where ſituate, 532, R.

Antiochis, her ſpurious brood, 592, e.

Antiochus Soter's Pretenſions to *Macedon*, 470. Defeats the *Gauls*, ibid. Succeeds his father *Seleucus* in *Syria*, 522. Yields *Greece* to *Antigonus*, 523, a. Why ſirnamed *Soter*, ibid. c. Defeats the *Gauls*, ibid. His death, ibid. Coin, 620, W.

—— *Theos*, why ſo called, 523, e. Wars with *Egypt*, 524, d, e. Loſes ſeveral provinces, 525. Makes peace with *Ptolemy*, ibid. e. Poiſoned by his wife, ibid. & ſeq. His Coin, 620, W.

—— *Hierax*, why ſo called, 527. Wars againſt his brother, 528, a. Expelled *Syria*, ibid. & ſeq. His death, 529, e.

Antiochus the Great ſucceeds in *Cilicia*, 148, d. Anſwer to the *Rhodians*, ibid. f. Forced to retire into *Sardis*, 150, e. Defeated at ſea, 151, b, c. And land ibid. d. invades *Egypt*, 531, c. Forced to retire, ibid. f. Defeats his rebellious ſubjects, 533. Wars againſt *Ptolemy*, 535, & ſeq. Takes *Ptolemais* and *Tyre*, 536. Defeats him, 537, e. Marches into *Judæa*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeated by *Ptolemy*, 538, d. Makes peace with him, 539. b. Marches againſt *Achæus*, ibid. & ſeq. Againſt *Arſaces*, 541, b. Puts *Achæus* to death, ibid. Invades *Bactria*, ibid. e. *India*, 542, b, c. Joins *Philip* againſt *Egypt*, ibid. & ſeq. Recovers *Paleſtine*, &c. 543. d, e. Allies with *Ptolemy*, 544. His conqueſts in *Aſia Minor*, ibid. & ſeq. In *Cherſoneſus*, 545. Anſwer to the *Roman* embaſſadors, 546. a. Sends his ſon to *Rome*, 548. Declares war againſt it, 549, & ſeq. Invades *Iſidia*, 550, & ſeq. His conference with the *Roman* deputies, 551, & ſeq. Marries a young wife, 554, e Defeated at *Thermopylæ* by the *Romans*, ibid. f. At ſea, 555. Invades *Pergamus*, 557. & ſeq. Defeated at ſea, 559, e, f. His ill conduct, 560. Sues to the *Romans*, 561. His propoſals rejected, ibid. His gallant army, 563. Defeated at *Magneſia*, 564. Makes peace with *Rome*, 565, & ſeq. & Q. His death and character, 567. Reign foretold by *Daniel*, 568, R. His coin, 620, W.

—— *Epiphanes*, the ſon of *Antiochus the Great*, ſent hoſtage to *Rome*, 505, f. Exchanged for *Demetrius*, 570, d. Mounts the *Syrian* throne, 571, f. His character, ibid. & ſeq. Surnamed *Epimanes*, 572. War with *Egypt*, 573, & ſeq His embaſſy to *Rome*, 574, f. Injuſtice to the *Jews*, 575, d. Conquers *Egypt*, ib. & ſeq. Marches into *Judæa*, 576. Profanes and plunders the temple, ibid. & ſeq. Returns into *Egypt*, 577, His career ſtopt by the *Romans*, 579, & ſeq. Wreaks his revenge on the *Jews*, 580, & ſeq. His gambols at the games of *Daphne*, 581, & ſeq. Repulſed as *Elymais*, 583, a. His miſerable end, ibid. & ſeq. His coin, 620, W.

—— *Eupator* ſucceeds his father in *Syria*, 585. a. The *Romans* uſurp the guardianſhip of him, 586. His ill ſucceſs againſt the *Jews*, ibid. & ſeq. Treachery to them, 588, b. Put to death, 591. c, d. His coin, 621, note.

—— *Theos* the ſon of *Balas*, ſet up by *Tryphon* 602, b, L. Crowned at *Antioch*, 603, a. His coin, 622, note.

—— *Sidetes*, whence ſo called, 606, O. Marries his brother's wife, ibid. c. His letter to *Simon Maccabee*, ibid. e. Treachery to him, 607, & ſeq. Defeats the *Parthians*, 608. His death, 609. And character, ibid. & ſeq.

—— *Grypus* ſet upon the *Syrian* throne, 612. Puts to death *Zebina*, 613. Defeats his brother *Cyzicenus*, ibid. f. Defeated by him, 614, e. Divides the kingdom with him, ibid. f. Falls out with him, 615, a. Aſſaſſinated by one of his Subjects, ibid. c. Coin, 622, note,

—— *Cyzicenus* mounts the throne 615, b. Defeated and killed by *Seleucus*, ibid. c.

—— *Euſebes* defeats *Seleucus*, 615, d. Wars with *Philip*, ibid. f. Defeated, 616. Driven out by *Tigranes*, 617, a.

—— *Dionyſius* ſupplants his brother *Philip*, 616, c. Cut off by the *Arabians*, ibid. e.

—— *Aſiaticus* ſent to *Rome*, 617, c. His adventure at *Syracuſe*, ibid. & ſeq. Reigns over part of *Syria*, 619, d. Stript of it by *Pompey*, ibid & ſeq. His death, 620, a.

—— king of *Commagene* defeated, and reſtored by *Pompey*, 853, b. Put to death, ibid. c.

—— II. ſucceeds his father, ib. d. — III. aſſiſts *Veſpaſian*, ibid. e. —— IV. ſerves under the *Romans*, ibid.

Antipater's character, 309, b. Conduct in *Greece*, 353, c, d. Victory over *Agis*, 334, a. Whether guilty of *Alexander*'s death, 411, & ſeq. O. His poſt after that prince's death, 417, a. Choſen protector to his ſon, 423, d. Divides the provinces anew, ibid. His deſcent and character, 448, a, b. Marches againſt the revolted *Greeks*, 449. Defeated by *Leoſthenes*, ibid. e. By *Antiphilus*, ibid. f. Makes peace with them, 452. Wars with the *Ætolians*, 451. Marches againſt *Perdiccas*, ibid. & ſeq. Choſen protector, 452, a. His death and ſucceſſor, 453, & B.

—— the ſon of *Caſſander*, his bloody parricide, 465, a. Expelled by his brother, ibid. e. Flies to *Lyſimachus*, ibid e. Put to death by him, ibid. f.

—— the ſon of *Philip*, choſen king of *Macedon*, 470, c.

—— the *Jew*, aſſiſts *Caſar* in *Egypt*, 678, b Relieves him when beſieged in *Alexandria*, ibid. Is wounded, ibid. f.

Antiphilus's ſucceſs againſt *Antipater*, 449, f.

Antiphon's biting anſwer to *Dionyſius*, 59. c.

Antiſſa, a city in *Lesbos*, deſcribed, 203, & ſeq.

Antony, Marc, ſent into *Egypt*, 670, f. His ſucceſs there, 671, a, b. Captivated by *Cleopatra*, 679, & ſeq Marries *Octavia*, 681, d. Bewitched from her by *Cleopatra*, ibid. e, f. His profuſeneſs to her, 682. Treachery to *Artabanes*, ibid. & ſeq. Betrayed by *Artuaſdes*, 708, a. Seizes on his kingdom, ibid. e, f. Marches againſt *Octavianus*,

Octavianus, 683. Defeated by him, 684, d. Betrayed by *Cleopatra*, 686, & ſeq. Kills himſelf, 687, d.
Aornus, a city in *India*, deſcribed, 388, f. The rock of, taken by *Alexander*, 389, e.
Apamea, by whom built, 515, a. Taken by *Triarius*, 573. e.
Apanomeria, the harbour of, 215, d. No anchorage for ſhipping there, ibid.
Apelles, where born, 212, f.
Apellicon's noble library, 738. Carried by *Sylla* to *Rome*, ibid.
Apion, the ſon of *Phyſcon*, made king of *Cyrene*, 658, f. Reigns in Peace, ibid. Bequeaths his kingdom to the *Romans*, 662.
Apocalypſe, the houſe of, at *Pathmos*, 212, b.
Apollo, his temple at *Delos* deſcribed, 228, b, c. His ſtatue ibid. Offerings how performed, 229, d, e. Oracle, ibid. & ſeq.
Apollocrates left to command the citadel of *Syracuſe*, 69, b. Surrenders it to *Dion*, 72, b.
Apollonia, a city in *Macedon*, 225, a, & D. The country ſubmits to *Glaucias*, 461, c.
Apollonides's ſpeech to the *Syracuſians*, 108.
Apollonius's bloody expedition againſt the *Jews*, 580, & ſeq. Defeated by *Jonathan*, 597. Several generals of that name, ibid. I.
Apollophanes's advice to *Antiochus*, 526, e.
Appius Claud. ſent into *Sicily*, 93, c. 95, b. Enters *Meſſana*, 96, b. Marches againſt *Hippocrates*, 109, a. Sent againſt *Perſeus*, 487. Sadly diſtreſſed, 488, f. Speech againſt *Pyrrhus*, 812, b.
Apſus, river in *Macedon*, deſcribed, 620, c.
Apteras, king of *Crete*. 165, c. & not
Apteron, a city of *Crete*, 161, e. Why ſo called, ibid.
Aquilius's inhumanity to the *Pergamenians*, 785, a. Subdues the kingdom to the *Romans* ibid. c. Defeated by *Mithridates*, 730, f. His cruel death, 731, c.
Arabs, invaded by *Antigonus*, 433, & ſeq.
Arachoſia, ſurrendered to *Alexander*, 367.
Aratus, highly favoured by *Ptolemy Phil.* 636, e. His policy againſt the *Macedonians*, 473, & ſeq. Revenge on the treacherous *Athenians*, 474, e. Surprizes *Corinth*, ibid. Joins with *Antigonus Doſon*, 476, b. Conference with him, ibid. Poiſoned by *Philip*, 477.
Araxes, a river in *Armenia*, 692, d, 694, a, & C. From whom ſo called 696, e.
Arbela, the battle of, 350, & ſeq.
Arcadia, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, f.
Archagathus, ſon of *Agathocles*, defeated in *Africa*, 86, d. Killed, ibid f.
Archeanax, tyrant of *Leſbos*, 106, c.
Archelais, in *Cappadocia*, whence ſo called, 762, c.
Archelaus, king of *Macedon*, 283. Raiſes the Reputation of the *Macedonians*, ibid. A lover of learning, 284. His death, ibid. c.
—— king of *Egypt*, defeated by *Gabinius*, 671, b His gallant death, ibid. c.
Archelaus's ſucceſſes in *Aſia*, 733, & ſeq. Defeat and treachery, 734, & ſeq. & T.
—— king of *Cappadocia*, 768.
Archias one of the *Heraclidæ*, founder of *Syracuſe*, 11, e.
—— Governor of *Cyprus*'s treachery to *Ptolemy* puniſhed, 653, e
Archidamus, defeated by *Demetrius*, 442, a.
Archilochus, where born, 223, a. Particulars of his life and character, ibid.
Archimedes's curious ſhip built for *Hiero*, 99, d. Brave defence of *Syracuſe*, 111, f. Machines deſcribed, 112, & ſeq. Death and character, 122, & ſeq. Other wonderful engines, 123, & ſeq. His tomb diſcovered by *Cicero*, 124.
Archipelago, Vide *Ægean* ſea, 202, K.
Aretas choſen king of *Damaſcus*, 616, e. Defeats the *Jews*, ibid. f.
Argæus ſeizes the Crown of *Macedon*, 273, 285, Contemporary with *Ancus Marcius*, ibid.
Argaus, mount. deſcribed, 762, d.
Argis, why honoured by the *Delians*, 229, f.
Argives conquer *Macedonia*, 262, a.
Argonauts, their expedition into *Colchis*, 834.
Argos, treacherouſly entered by *Pyrrhus*, 472. Relieved by *Antigonus*, ibid. c. Doubly beſet, 816, & ſeq.
Ariadne's rape and feſtival, 220, f. 221, note.
Arians, defeated by *Alexander*, 361, e, f. By *Erigyus*, 367, d.
Ariarathes, I. and II. kings of *Cappadocia*, 764, & ſeq.
Ariarathes, I. king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
—— II. Crucified by *Perdiccas*, 420, b. 764, e.
—— III. Recovers his father's kingdom, ibid. & ſeq.
—— IV. Defeats *Arſaces*, 765, a.
—— V. Allies with the *Romans*, ibid. b.
—— VI. His character, 592, & ſeq. 765. Dethroned by *Demetrius*, 593, 765.
—— VII. Poiſoned by *Mithridates*, 766, e.
—— VIII. Stabbed by the ſame hand, 726, 728, f. e, a.
—— IX. Dethroned by the ſame, 767, a.
Arideus, *Alexander*'s brother, appointed to ſucceed him. 415, b. Called *Philip* by the army, ibid. e. Put to death by *Olympias*, 457.
—— the ſon of *Alexander* by *Roxana*, born, 417, a. Put to death by *Caſſander*, 462.
Ariobarzanes, king of *Armenia*, 710.
Arion, firſt tragedian, and author of dithyrambic verſe, 94.
Ariſba, a city in *Leſbos*. deſcribed, 203, d.
Ariſtarchus, made king of *Colchis*, by *Pompey*, 835.
Ariſteas, where born, 201, O.
Ariſteus, ſon of *Apollo*, the firſt who peopled *Ceos*, 216, e.
Ariſto, diſcovers a plot againſt the *Syracuſan* ſenate, 106, a.
Ariſtobulus, a learned *Jewiſh* philoſopher, Preceptor, to *Ptolemy*, 654, c.
Ariſtodemus's, ſpeech to *Antigonus*, 184, b.
Ariſtomenes, ſent guardian of *Egypt*, 543, 648. Put to death for his fidelity, 649, b.
—— Made king of *Cappadocia*, 767. Wars with *Mithridates*, ibid. & ſeq.
—— II. Friend to the *Romans*, 767, f. Put to death by *Caſſius*, 768, a.
—— III. Killed by *Marc Antony*, ibid. b.
Ariſtonicus ſeizes on *Pergamus*, 782. Defeats *Craſſus*, 783, d. Defeated by *Perpena*, 784, d. Sent priſoner to *Rome*, ibid.
Ariſtotle, where born, 256, c. Teaches at *Mitylene*, 204. Declares his ſucceſſor, 205. Whether converſant with *Moſes*'s writings 330, & F. His books carried off by *Sylla*, 738, X.
Armenia, the *Leſſer*, deſcribed, 718. Its kings, ib. & ſeq.— Kingdom of, deſcribed, 691, & ſeq. Its rivers, mountains and ſoil, 694, c. Origin and government, 693. Kings, ibid. & ſeq. Given to *Cleopatra*'s ſon, 708. Recovered, 709. Becomes tributary to *Rome*, ibid. & 713 & ſeq. Its various fates ſince, 717, & ſeq.
Armoſata, city of *Armenia*, where ſituate, 693, b.
Arſaces ſeizes the *Armenian* crown, 710, b. Murdered, ibid.
—— Revolts from *Antiochus*, 525, b. Founds the kingdom of *Bactria*, ibid, c. d. Invades *Syria*, 528, e.
—— II. Invades *Media*, 521. Makes peace with *Antiochus*, ibid. d, e.
Arſanes, brought bound to *Alexander*, 373, d.
Arſinoe, queen of *Egypt*, murdered, 64 , c.
—— Daughter of *Auletes*, ſet up by *Ganymede*, 670, c. Taken priſoner by *Cæſar*, 67 . led in triumph, ibid Retires at *Miletus*, ibid. Put to death by *Anton* , at the inſtigation of her ſiſter *Cleopatra*, ibid. d. —— A

——— A city in *Cyprus*, 173, a. In *Cyrene*, described, 562.
Artabanes, led in triumph by *Marc Antony*, 682.
Artabanus's bold letter to *Tiberius*, 710, d.
Artabazanes, invaded by *Antiochus*, 534, b.
Artalazes, first king of *Pontus*, 724, a.
——— King of *Media*, wars with the *Parthians*, 845, a.
Artabazus's fidelity to *Darius*, 359, c. Rewarded by *Alexander*, 360, c.
Artagera, taken and razed by the *Romans*, 709.
Artanes, killed by *Tigranes*, 700, b, 718, e.
Artaniſſa, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Artaxata, metropolis of *Armenia*, 692, d. Taken by *Pharnaſmenes*, 710, c. Razed by *Corbulo*, 715, a. Rebuilt by *Tiridates* 717. d.
Artaxias I. king of *Armenia*, revolts againſt *Antiochus*, 582, d, & Y. Defeated by him, ibid. & 698, & ſeq. Taken priſoner, 699, c.
—— II. Driven out of *Armenia*, 708, e. Recovers it, 709, a. Strangled, ibid.
——— III. Crowned by *Germanicus*, 710, b.
Artaxerxes's expedition againſt *Cyprus*, 179, & ſeq. Forced to make peace, 181, c.
Artoces, king of *Iberia*, wars with *Pompey*, 836, b. Acts very deceitfully ibid. d. Makes an honourable peace ibid. f.
Artuaſdes I. ſucceeds *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, 707, f. His treachery to *Marc Antony*, 708, a. Caught and put to death by him, ibid. f.
—— II. invaded by *Phraartes*, 709, c. Reſtored by *Caius*, ibid. d. His death, ibid.
Artemiſia ſurprizes *Rhodes*, 136, d. Her character, ibid. f.
Artemiſium, a promontory in *Eubœa*, 247, a, e, f.
Artemon, inventor of battering rams, &c. at the ſiege of *Samos*, 200, b.
Artibius, by the *Cypriots*, 178, a.
Arviſia, the wine of, famed, 208, b.
Aſander, gets the kingdom of *Boſporus*, 843, e. Starves himſelf, ibid. f.
Aſbeſtos, ſtone, where digged, 248.
Aſcalon taken by the *Jews*, 597 c.
Aſcanian iſlands, whence ſo called, 203, b. Deſcribed, ibid. & ſeq.
Aſclepiadæ, kings of *Rhodes*, 134, e.
Aſculum, the battle of, 813, & not.
Aſdrubal ſent into *Sicily*, 78, b. Defeated by *Timoleon*, ibid. d, e.
Aſpendus, its ſtrong ſituation, 332, a. Surrenders to *Alexander*, a.
Aſphaltes, the lake of, meaſured by *Demetrius*, 434, d. Computes the profit of its Bitumen, ibid.
Aſpii, invaded by *Alexander*, 386, d.
Aſps of *Egypt*, how they kills, 690, b.
Aſſaceni invaded by *Alexander*, 387, b.
Aſtacus in *Bithynia*, different from *Nicomedia*, 822, b, c.
Aſter, a famed archer the ſtory of, 291, note.
Aſterius, king of *Crete*, the *Saturn* of the *Cretans*, 163, e. Marries *Europe*, 166, b.
Atalanta ſiſter of *Perdiccas*, put to death, 423, c.
Atamas, king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
Atamirus, *Jupiter* why ſo called, 132, c.
Atargatis, the temple of, burnt, 587, b.
Ataxneus, why given to the *Chians*, 210, b.
Athenæas ſent againſt the *Arabs*, 433. Slain by them 434.
Athenians invited into *Sicily*, 24, & ſeq. Beaten by the *Syracuſians*, 29, & ſeq. Blockaded by the *Lacedæmonians*, 30, & ſeq. Beaten before *Syracuſe*, 31, a, b. At ſea, 32, & ſeq. Totally ruined in *Sicily*, 34, & ſeq. Their priſoners cruelly treated, 36, e. f. Their noble carriage towards *Dion*, 65. b, c. War with the *Rhodians*, 135, & ſeq. Clap up a peace with them, ibid & ſeq. Succour *Cyprus* againſt the *Perſians*, 178. Make peace with them, 179, a. Send *Chabrias* into *Cyprus*, 180. War with the *Samians*, 199, c. *Mitylenians*, 206, a. Purify *Delos*, 230. Baniſh the Pelaſgians out of *Attica*, 235. Their ill ſucceſs in *Ægine*, 224, note. Fall out with the *Perſians*, 275, & ſeq Their anſwer to *Alexander*, 278. Defeat the *Perſians*, 279, c War with *Perdiccas*, 280. Outwitted by *Philip*, 290, d. Aſſiſt the *Olynthians*, 294, a. Send *Phocion* againſt *Philip*, 304, d. Beaten at *Cheronea*, 307. Their rank flattery to *Philip*, 312, b. To *Alexander*, 321, e. Treachery to *Demetrius*, 341, b. Puniſhed, 442, a. Forced to ſubmit to *Antipater*, 450, d, e. Betrayed to *Mithridates*, 733, c.
Athenion ſent into *Judæa*, 640. His kindneſs to *Joſeph*, 641, & ſeq.
Athens taken by *Demetrius*, 442, a. Its government altered by *Antipater*, 451, a, b. Gariſoned by *Gonatus*, 473, a. Beſieged and taken by *Sylla*, 734, & ſeq.
Athos mount deſcribed, 233, B.
Atropatia, where ſituate, 534, X.
Atropatene, by whom ſo called, 844, d. The kings of it, ibid. & ſeq. By whom conquered, 845, a, b.
Atropatus makes himſelf ſovereign of *Atropatene*, 844, d.
Attalus king of *Pergamus* defeats the *Gauls*, 769, e. His conqueſts, 771, a, b Friendſhip to the *Romans*, ibid c. Love of learning, ibid. d, e. Death, ibid.
—— II. brother to *Eumenes*, ſent to *Rome*, 771. His cowardiſe at *Pergamus*, ibid. e, f. Generoſity at *Rome*, 777, a, b. Succeeds his brother, 778. Invaded by *Pruſias*, ibid. Aſſiſted by the *Romans*, 779, b. Aſſiſts *Nicomedes* againſt his father, 780, His death and excellent character, 781.
—— III. his cruelties, and wild extravagancies, 781, & ſeq. Death, 782 Why ſurnamed *Philometor*, ibid. Bequeaths his kingdom to the *Romans*, ibid. & E.
Attalus's ſpeech to *Philip*, 310, c. Abuſe of *Pauſanias*, 313. Treaſonable views, 318. Put to death, ibid. d.
—— *Alexander*'s admiral, 423, e. Joins with *Eumenes*, 424, a. Defeated and taken by *Antigonus*, 424. f.
Autolychus, the famed ſtatue of, 548, O. Carried by *Lucullus* to *Rome*, ibid.
Autonomi ſubdued by *Alexander*, 794. a, b.
Auxeſias, her ſtatue erected by the *Epidaurs*, 244, I. Carried away by the *Æginetes*, ibid. Occaſions a between them and the *Athenians*, ibid.
Axiothea, queen of *Paphos*, kills all her daughters, and herſelf, 182. e.
Axius, a river in *Macedonia*, 260, d.
Azizus, laſt king of *Emeſſa*, turns *Jew*, 848, d.

B

Babylon, the ruins of, deſcribed, 517, b & H. *Babylonians* ſubmit to *Alexander*, 353, a. Forced to abandon their city, 434, & ſeq. Freed by *Demetrius*, 591, e. Submits to *Seleucus*, 313.
Bacchus defeats the *Titans*, 164, note. Worſhipped at *Naxus*, 220, b.
—— the famous temple of, 222, a. —— at *Andros*, 226, d, e.
Bactra, metropolis of *Bactria*, 845, c. Taken by *Alexander*, 369, b.
Bactria, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 845, & ſeq. When and by whom founded, 525, b, c. Invaded by *Alexander*, 309, & ſeq. By the *Scythians*, 846.
Bactrians, their character and brutiſh cuſtoms, 846, a, b.
Bagdad, where ſituate, 518, ſub fin. note.
Bagoas's revenge on *Orſines*, 405, note.
Balas, Vid. *Alexander Balas*, 594.
Baliſtæ of *Archimedes*, deſcribed, 112, note.

I N D E X.

Balm of Gilead, a plantation of, near *Aſphaltes*, 434, d.
Baris worſhipped by the *Armenians*, 697, d.
Barſina married to *Alexander*, 405, c. Her iſſue by him, 413. Murdered by *Polyſperchon*, 462, e.
Baryazes put to death by *Alexander*, 405, a.
Barzaentes murders *Darius*, 359, e. Put to death by *Alexander*, 362, a.
Barzanes, by whom conquered, 696, d.
Bas, king of *Bythinia*, 828, c. Beats *Calantus*, and reigns peaceably. ibid.
Baſcama, where ſituate, 604, N.
Baſil, ſaint, his epiſcopal ſee, 762, b.
Baſtarnæ invited into *Macedon* by *Philip*, 479, f. Fall out with the *Thracians*, 483, a, b. Ill treated by *Perſeus*, 490.
Battus made king of *Lybia*, 215, e. Governs with great Prudence, ibid.
Bazira taken by *Alexander*, 388, e.
Beans, a wonderful kind ſpring out of a lake, 820, d.
Bebryces, their origin, 827, paſſ.
Bellona, the temple of, at *Comana*, 762, b. 763, d.
Belus, the temple of, at *Elymais*, 567, c.
Berenice's intrigues at the *Egyptian* court, 468, e.
——princeſs of *Lydia*, aſſaſſinates *Demetrius*, 524, d.
——daughter of *Ptolomy* married to *Antiochus*, 525, e.—murdered by *Laodice*, 526, b.
——daughter of *Auletes* ſet upon the throne, 667, e. Murders her huſband *Seleucus*, ibid. f. Marries *Archelaus*, ibid. & ſeq. Put to death, 671, e.
Berenice's-*Coma* made a conſtellation, 639, e.
Beroſus, his character, writings, &c. 523, f. & ſeq.
Berytus, whether in the iſle of *Cyprus*, 174, c.
Beſbicus, iſland, ſeparated from the continent, 202 d.
Beſſi, a people of *Thrace*, deſcribed, 790, a. Conquered by the *Romans*, ibid. b, c.
Beſſus's treaſon to *Darius*, 359, c. Proclaims himſelf king, 361, d. His cowardly Conduct, 369. Delivered up to *Alexander*, 370, & ſeq. His puniſhment and death, 373, e, f. & T.
Bethſan deſcribed, 604, M.
Bethſura beſieged by *Lyſias*, 587, f.
Betis defends *Gaza*, 344, b. *Alexander*'s cruelty to him, ibid. f.
Bibulus's ſons murdered in *Egypt*, 672, f.
Bion, where born, 201, & ſeq. & O.
Birbs, how celebrated by the *Thracians*, 788, c.
Bizalter, where ſituate, 257, a.
Biſtones in *Thrace* ſubdued by the *Romans*, 790.
Bithynia, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 822, & ſeq. Its origin and government, 827, & ſeq. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 729. Reduced into a *Roman* province 832.
Bithynian embaſſy, whence a proverb, 780, f.
Bithynians, their origin, 827, c. Kings, &c. 828, & ſeq. Defeated by *Mithridates*, 730. Set up *Nicomedes* againſt *Pruſias*, 781.
Bloſſius the philoſopher, his character and death, 784.
Bœotians, reduced by a Plague, forced to build *Heraclea*, 823, a, b.
Bogaſi, the two ſtreights of, 186, e.
Boliſſus, *Homer*'s houſe ſhewn at, 208, d.
Bomilcar choſen general againſt *Agathocles*, 84, c. His treachery, ibid. f.—ſent into *Sicily*, 114, c. Retires, ibid. e. Returns with a large fleet, 119, b. Forced back, ibin. c.
Boſporans revolt from *Mithridates*, 843.
Boſporus, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 840, & ſeq. Its government, kings, &c. 841, & ſeq. Given to *Pharnaces*, 843, b, c.
Botorus king of *Bithynia*, 828, c.
Bottiæi, ancient *Thracians*, 829, a.
Brachmans put to death by *Alexander*, 400, d. H.
Branchidæ maſſacred by the ſame, 368, S.
Brafidas ſent to aſſiſt the *Macedonians*, 281, c. His ſucceſs and moderation, ibid. & ſeq. Joins with the *Macedonians*, 282, d. Falls out with *Perdiccas*, e. Killed before *Amphipolis*, 383, a.
Brutium, the library of, at *Alexandria*, burnt, [629, d.
Brutius defeats *Metrophanes*, 733, d.
Bryges, a people of *Thrace*, 791.
—— Defeat the *Perſians*, 275, f. & ſeq.
Bubaris, how reconciled to the *Macedonians*, 27[illegible] d.
Bucephalus taken and reſtored by the *Mardi*, 396.
—— a city built by *Alexander*, 393, a.
Budorus, a river in *Eubœa*, 247, c.
Butes, king of the *Sicali*, 13, c.
—— the ſon of *Boreas* ſettles in *Naxus*, 220, c. Puniſhed by *Bacchus*, ibid. d.
Byſas, the ſuppoſed founder of *Byzantium*, 787, a, b.
Bythis defeats the *Achæans*, 474, e.
Byzantines war with the *Rhodians*, 144, & ſeq. Forced to a peace, 145, f. Beſieged by *Philip*, 305, b.
Byzantium, by whom founded, 787, a.

C.

Cabarni, their office, 222, b, c.
Cabira, a city in *Pontus*, 721, a Memorable for the Defeat of *Mithridates*, ibid. Surrendered to the *Romans*. 746. b.
Cabiri, an account of thoſe deities, 238, E.
Cabiſtra, a city in *Cappadocia*, 762, c.
Cadmus, lord of *Cos*, his faithfulneſs to *Gelon*, 16, O.
—— arrival at *Samothrace*, and initiation into the myſteries. 240. Marries *Harmonia*, ibid.
Cæſar, *Julius*, ſtudies oratory at *Rhodes*, 740. Compounds with *Auletes* for a large ſum, 666, e. Lands in *Egypt*, 673, e. f. Is in great danger, 674. Arbitrates between *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter, ibid. c, d. Is gained by *Cleopatra*, ibid. Beſieged in *Alexandria*, 675. Burns *Ptolemy*'s ſhips, 676, a. Defeats *Ganymede*, 677, a, b. Forced to ſwim for his life, ibid. c, d. His victory at *Canopus*, 678. On the *Nile*, ibid. e. Settles the crown on *Cleopatra*, ibid. f, & ſeq. Defeats *Pharnaces*, 759, & ſeq.
Cæſarion, ſon of *Cæſar* by *Cleopatra*, made king of *Egypt* by *Marc Antony*, 683, b. Put to death by *Octavianus*. 691, a.
Caffa, ancient *Theodoſia*, metropolis of *Little Tartary*, 841, a.
Caius ſent to oppoſe the *Parthians*, 709, c. Drives *Tygranes* out of *Armenia*, ibid. d. Wounded at *Atagera*, ibid. e. His death, 710, a.
Calanus burns himſelf alive, 405, a.
Calcedon, a city in *Bithynia*, 822, d. Why called the city of the blind, ibid.
Calippus's murder of *Dion* puniſhed, 73, b, c.
Caliſta, iſland, vid. *Thera*, 214.
Caliſthenes's free ſpeech againſt adoring *Alexander*, 378, & ſeq. His character, 380, Y. Death, 381, d.
Callas's ſucceſs againſt *Polyſperchon*, 457, & ſeq.
—— a river in *Eubœa*, 247, e.
Callias, tyrant of *Eubœa*, wars with the *Athenians*, 251, d. Goes to *Athens* and obtains aſſiſtance againſt *Philip*, ibid.
Callicrates prevents the *Achæans* ſuccouring *Egypt*, 579, W.
Callimachus favoured by *Philadelphus*, 639, b. His hymns extant, ibid.
—— a famous engineer, 705, e. 747, d. Set *Amiſus* on fire, ibid. Defends *Niſibis*, ibid. Taken and put to death by *Lucullus*, ibid.
Callines's ſpeech to *Alexander*, 407, a.
Callipolis, metropolis of *Naxos*, gives name to the iſland, 219, f.
—— now *Gallipoli*, the ſtreights of, in *Thrace*, 788, a.
Callycadnus, promontory, where ſituate, 657, in fin. note Q.
Camerina, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 5, c d. When and by whom built, 12. b. Deſtroyed, 15, c Forſaken by order of *Dionyſius*, 46, b.
Camirus, a city of *Rhodes*, deſcribed, 129, c.
Campanians, their treachery to the *Entellines*, 48, b

Camps, how formed among the *Macedonians*, 269, e, &c.
Cappadocia, the kingdom of, described, 761, & seq. Product, 762. Origin, government, &c ibid. & seq. Kings, 764, & seq. Subdued by *Tigranes*, 700, c. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 728. Made a *Roman* province, 768, e.
Capros, a river in *Assyria*, 533, T.
Caramanians complain to *Alexander*, 403, & seq.
Caranus descended from *Hercules* conquers *Macedonia*, 262, a. First king of it, 271. Is directed by a herd of goats.
Cardia in *Chersonesus*, where situate, 788, a.
Caria invaded by the *Romans*, 141, & seq Taken from the *Rhodians*, 156, b.
Carians, whence so called, 187, d. First inhabitants of *Samos*, 188.
Cariata destroyed by *Alexander*, 845, d.
Carnion taken and burnt by the *Maccabees*, 587, b.
Carpasia, in *Cyprus*, taken by *Demetrius*, 183, a.
Carpathus's island described, 213.
Cars, a city in *Armenia*, described, 693, B.
Carthaginians, their wars with the *Sicilians*, 15, & seq. Defeated by *Gelon*, 17, b, c. Make peace with him, ibid. & seq. Invited by the *Egestines*, 37. Their cruelty in *Sicily*, 38, f. 39, e. Beaten by the *Syracusans*, 41. Send *Amilcar* against *Dionysius*, 50. Invade *Sicily*, 51, & seq. 100,000 die there of the plague, 54, b, c. Defeated by sea and land, ibid. & seq. Invited by *Icetas*, 75, a. Outwitted by *Timoleon*, ibid d. Return to *Carthage*, 76, f. Invaded by *Agathocles*, 83, & seq. Defeated before *Syracuse*, 85. Invade *Sicily*, 88, d, e. Besiege *Messana*, 95, b. & seq. Defeated by the *Romans*, 107, & seq. Send new forces, 125.
Carthea, a city in *Ceos*, described, 216, f.
Caryatians worship *Briareus*, 248.
Carystus taken by the *Romans*, 147, e.
—— Famous for the stone *Asbestus*, 248, b.
Casos island described, 213.
Cassander, whether he poisoned *Alexander*, 441, & seq. & O. His post after that prince's death, 423, f. Leagues against *Antigonus*, 432, a. Repelled by him, ibid. d. Murders *Roxana* and her son, 435, c. 462, a. Invades *Peloponnesus*, 462, b. Corrupts *Polysperchon*, ibid. e. Raises a confederacy against *Antigonus*, 463. Hatred to *Alexander*, 464, C. Defeated by *Demetrius*, 439, d. Makes a new alliance with *Antigonus*, ibid. & seq. Why he did not succeed his father, as governor of *Macedon*, 453, B. His severity to *Demades*, ibid. c. Attempt against *Polysperchon*, 454, & seq. Goes to *Nicanor*, 455. Marches against *Olympias*, 457, & seq. Against *Polysperchon*, 459, a, b. Outwits *Antigonus*, ibid. f. Wars with the *Ætolians*, &c. 460, & seq. Ill success in *Asia*, 461, c, d. His death, 464.
Cassandra, by whom built, 458, f.
Cassandria, *Potidea*, why so called, 257, a.
Cassiope, a city in *Epirus*, famous for the temple of *Jupiter Cassius*, 796, a.
Cassius sent against the *Rhodians*, 158. Subdues them, ibid. & seq. Sent against *Mithridates*, 730, & seq.
Catana, a city in *Sicily*, described, 3, b. How destroyed, ibid. c. Taken by the *Athenians*, 27, d. By *Dionysius*, 48, c.
Catanius, *Apollo*, his temple at *Dastacum*, 793, d.
Cathei confederate with the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli* against *Alexander*, 393, c, d. Defeated, ibid. & seq.
Cato sent against his will to take *Cyprus*, 185, c. His speech in favour of the *Rhodians*, 158, & seq. His advice to *Auletes*, 667, d.
—— *Portius* expounds the *Sybilline* oracle, 669, b.
Caverus mediates a peace with the *Rhodians*, 145, f.
Caulonia besieged by *Dionysius*, 57, a.
Cea, alias *Ceos*, island, described, 216. First silk-stuffs wrought there, ibid.
Ceans, a barbarous custom among them, 216, f.
Cebalinus discovers a conspiracy against *Alexander*, 364, pass.
Celetæ, a people of *Thrace*, 795, a.
Celtes sue to *Alexander*, 319, f. Their answer to him, 320, a. Ranked in the number of his allies, ibid.
Celydnus, a river in *Macedon*, boundary between that and *Epirus*, 260, c.
Cendebæus sent against the *Jews*, 607, & seq.
Centuripe, a city in *Sicily*, 9, a.
Cephalenia, vid. *Samos*, 186. Described, 242, a. By whom conquered, ibid. b.
Cephareus, a promontory in *Eubœa*, 247, a, d.
Cerastis, *Cyprus*, why anciently so called, 172, & seq.
Cerasus, a city in *Pontus*, why so called, 721, f. First cherries carried thence into *Italy* by *Lucullus*, ibid.
Ceraunian mountains in *Epirus*, 798, a.
Ceraunus, where situate, 214, a.
Cerines, a city in *Cyprus*, described, 173, b.
Cerinthus in *Eubœa*, by whom built, 249, d.
Cestrius, river, described, 566, P.
Chabrias's success against the *Persians*, 180.—Killed in the social war, 135, b. c.
Chadaca, city of *Albania*, 837, d.
Chalcedon, vid. *Calcedon*, 822, d.
Chalcidene, the kingdom of, described, 834.
Chalcidians come into *Sicily*, 11, d.
Chalcidica, where situate, 256, d.
Chalcis, capital of *Eubœa*, 246, b. Described, 248, f.
Chalcodon, king of *Eubœa*, subdues the *Thebans*, 250, d. Killed by *Amphytrion* father of *Hercules*, ibid.
Chalonitis, where situate, 534, W. Whence so called, ibid.
Chaonia, a province in *Epiras*, described, 795, f.
Characene, the kingdom of, described, 852, & seq. Founded by *Pasines*, 853. Its kings, ibid.
Chares of *Lindus*, maker of the *Colossus*, 130, C.
—— the *Athenian*, his rash enterprise against *Persia*, 185, e. Applauded by the *Athenians*, ibid. Sent to relieve *Perynthus*, 300, b. *The promise of Chares* becomes proverbial, ibid.
Charidemus put to death, 332.
Charilus the *Samian*, his character, 195, note.
Charistus, a river in *Cholcis*, 833, c.
Charybdis, the famed rock, 2, c.
Chasmena, when and by whom built, 12, b.
Cherries, why called *Cerasa*, 721, f.
Cherses, king of *Salamis*, 177, b.
Chersobleptes invaded by *Philip*, 298, a. & note. Gives up the *Chersonese* to the *Athenians*, ibid.
Cherson, the ruins of, 841, a.
Chersonesus invaded by *Demetrius*, 441.
—— *Thracian* described, 787, & seq. The kings of, 795.—*Taurica* described, 840, & seq.
Chian slaves, their faithfulness, 211, c.
Chians, their government and kings, 209. Fidelity to the *Ionians*, 197, e. Subdued by the *Persians*, 210. Revolt and reduced, ibid. c, d. Join in the common confederacy, ibid. & seq. Subject to the *Athenians*, 211, a, b. Their various fates since. ibid. c, d.
Chimæra, its hot baths, 796, b.
Chios, island, described, 207, e, f. Famed for its wines, 208 And mastic, &c. ibid. pass. By whom peopled, 209, a.
—— the city of, described, 109. Birth-place of *Homer*, 208, c. Destroyed by the *Persians*, 210. Besieged by *Philip*, 211.
Choaspians subdued by *Alexander*, 386, b.
Chorienes besieged in his fortress, in the *Paratacæ*, 384, e. Surrenders himself, 385, b.
Chorsa, a city in *Armenia*, taken by some for the city *Cars*, 693, d, B.
Chryse, one of the *Cyclade* islands, 233.
Chrysippus put to death for treason by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, 634, a.

Cicero's injuſtice to *Archimedes*, 122, d, e. His joy on diſcovering his tomb, 124, b. His letter to *Lentulus*, 696, e.
Cicones, a people of *Thrace*, 790. Their kings, ib.
Cilicia invaded by *Demetrius*, 441, d, e.
Cilles defeated by *Demetrius*, d, e.
Cimmerians, their character, 840, b. A colony of them in *Italy*, ibid. e.
Cimolean earth deſcribed, 219.
Cimolis, iſland, deſcribed, ibid.
Cimon's ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*, 178, e. Carries the bones of *Theſeus* to *Athens*, 232, d.
Cinyras, his vaſt wealth, 176, a. Became a proverb, ibid.
Cios defeated, 92, c. Kills himſelf, ibid.
Ciræus, a river in *Eubœa*, 247, e.
Ciſſa river in *Cholcis*, 833.
Ciſſæus conquered by *Caranus*, 271, e.
Citium in *Cyprus*, by whom built, 173, d.
City, the great, taken and razed by *Agathocles*, 84, b.
Cius in *Bithynia*, by whom built, 822, a.
Claudius Appius, tribune, his character, 93, c. Sent to *Meſſana*, ibid. d. His ſpeech to the *Mamertines*, ibid. & ſeq. Takes *Meſſana*, 94, c. Beſieged in it, 95, b.
——— Conſul, paſſes over into *Sicily*, 95, e. Defeats *Hiero*, 96.
Clazomenians driven out of *Abdera*, 786, d.
Clearchus, tyrant of *Heraclea*, 825. His parricide and death, ibid. b.
Cleobulina, princeſs of *Rhodes*, her great learning, 134, a.
Cleobulus, king of *Rhodes*, 133, b. One of the ſeven wiſe men, 134, a.
Cleomenes king of *Sparta*'s contempt of *Mæandrus*'s riches, 197, b. Succeſs againſt the *Achæans*, 475, & ſeq. Defeated by *Antigonus Doſon*, 476, f. Well received by *Euergetes*, 642. Ill treated by *Philopator*, 643. His ſad cataſtrophe, 644, a, b.
Cleopatra, a common name of the *Egyptian* princeſſes, 665, a.
Cleopatra put to death by *Antigonus*, 436, a.—daughter of *Antiochus*, married to *Ptolemy*, 550, e. —wife of *Demetrius*, marries young *Sidetes*, 606, c. Shares *Syria* with *Zebina*, 611. Murders her own ſon, 612, a. Her death and character, c, d.—wife of *Phyſcon*, invites *Demetrius* againſt him, 610, & ſeq.
——— daughter of *Phyſcon* marries *Cyzicenus*, 613, & ſeq. Murdered by her ſiſter, 614, e. Her coin, 622, W.—wife of *Philometor*, left regent, 654, d. Cruelly uſed by *Phyſcon*, 655, & ſeq. Divorced from him, 656, e. Takes refuge in *Syria*, 657, & ſeq.—widow of *Phyſcon*, left regent in *Egypt*, 658, f. Her ambition and partiality, ibid. & ſeq. Treachery to *Lathurus*, 659. Drives him out of *Phœnice*, 661, b. Takes *Ptolemais*, ibid. c. Murdered by her ſon *Alexander*, 662. Falſely confounded with the former *Cleopatra*, 664, I. —daughter of *Lathurus*, ſucceeds him, 664, & ſeq. Marries *Alexander* II, 665, c. Aſſaſſinated by him, ib. d.
——— daughter of *Auletes*, married to her brother, 672. Driven out by his miniſters, 673, b. Is privately carried to *Cæſar*, 674, f. Reinthroned by him, 678, & ſeq. Declares for the triumvirs, 679. Goes to *Marc Antony* at *Tarſus*, ibid. Her magnificence and profuſeneſs, 680. Cruelty and avarice, 681, & ſeq. Takes the name of *Iſis*, 683, c. Her fatal counſel to *Marc Antony*, 684, d, e. Treachery to him, 685, & ſeq. Treats with *Proculeius*, 688, c. Surpriſed by him ibid. c. Buries *Marc Antony*, 689. Deceives *Octavianus*, ibid. & ſeq. Kills herſelf, 690. Her character and funeral, ibid. & ſeq.
——— wife of *Antiochus Pius*, put to death by *Tigranes*, 701, c.
Cleophes, queen of *India*, ſubdued by *Alexander*, 387, & ſeq. His treatment of her, 388, d.
Clitander put to death for oppreſſion, 403, & ſeq.
Clodius Publius, his revenge againſt the king of *Cyprus*, 184, & ſeq. Unjuſt decree againſt that kingdom, 666, f. Raiſes a mutiny againſt *Lucullus*, 706, b, f.
Clondicus, who, 489, f. Outwitted by *Perſeus*. ibid. & ſeq. Spoils *Thrace* and raiſes enemies to *Perſeus*, 490.
Clytus, king of *Illyria*, revolts from *Alexander*, 320, a. Defeated, ibid. e.
—— General of *Alexander* joined in command with *Hepheſtion*, 367, a. Reproves *Alexander*, 375, & ſeq. Killed by him, 376, & W.
Cnidus, whether in *Cyprus* or no, 174, c.
Coa's ſtuffs deſcribed. 212, e.
Coans, their government, kings, wars, &c. 213, a.
Cocalus king of the *Siculi* murders *Minos*, 13, b.
Cocas, the famed mountain of, 839, c.
Cœle-Syria reduced by *Alexander*, 337, & ſeq.
Cœnus, king of *Macedon*, 272, a.
—— General of *Alexander*, wounded at *Gaugamela*, 350, & ſeq. Made commander of *Bactria*, 382, d. Defeats the rebels, 383. His ſpeech in behalf of the ſoldiers, 394, & ſeq. His death, 396, in fin. note F. Lamented by the ſoldiers, iBid.
Coes, why made king of *Leſbos*, 206, f. Stoned, ibid.
Coin, where firſt made, 244.—of *Macedon*, 267, a. Of *Syria*, 620, W.
Colæus's fortune voyage to *Tarteſſus*, 189, b.
Colchis, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 832, & ſeq. Origin, kings, &c. 833. Gold mines, 834, c, e. Subdued by *Mithridates*, ibid f.
Colonia, the ſtrongeſt city in *Armenia*, 693, c.
Colophon, the city of, deſcribed, 559, a.
Coloſſus of *Rhodes*, 130, & ſeq. & C. Overturned, 131, b. Its weight, ibid. c.
Colpas, a river in *Bithynia*, 827, b.
Comana, a city in *Pontus*, 721, a.—in *Cappadocia*, 762, b.
Comets, two large ones at the birth of *Mithridates*, 727, a, & P.
Commagene, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 853, & ſeq. Subdued by the *Romans*, ibid. f.
Comneni, their reſidence at *Trapeſus*, 722, b.
Conacorix betrays *Heraclea* to the *Romans*, 747, b.
Conon, the *Samian*, his character, 195, note.
——— the contriver of *Berenice*'s coma, 639, f.
Conſtantine miraculouſly hindered from rebuilding *Chalcedon*, 822, c. Reſides at *Nicomedia*, ibid. c.
Coraceſium beſieged by *Antiochus*, 544, f.
Corax, river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Corbulo ſent to quiet *Armenia*, 713, c, d. Exhorts *Vologeſes* to peace, ibid. d. His diſpute with *Quadratus*, ibid. His ſevere diſcipline, ibid & ſeq. Succeſs againſt *Tiridates*, 714, & ſeq. Interview with him, 716, d, e.
Corcyrea, iſland, deſcribed 240, & ſeq.
——— metropolis of that iſland, ibid. d.
Corcyreans, their government, navigation, &c. 240, d. Treachery to the *Greeks*, ibid. f. Protected by the *Samians*, 190, b. War with the *Corinthians*, 280, a. Cauſe of the *Peloponneſian* war, 241, a. Submit to *Alexander*, ibid. b.
Corinth, the citadel of, taken by *Gonatus*, 473, f. By *Aratus*, 474, b.
Corinthians reſtore liberty to *Syracuſe*, 77, c, d. War with the *Samians*, why, 190, b. With the *Corcyreans*, 280.
Cornelia rejects *Phyſcon*'s offer, 652, c.
Cornelius Cethegus cabals againſt *Marcellus*, 126, b. Subdues the reſt of *Sicily*, 127, b.
Corobius ſent to colony *Platea*, an iſland of *Lybia*, 215, b.
Corybas goes into *Phrygia*, 240, a. *Corybantes* named from him, ibid.
Corycus, the naval fight of, 555, c, d.

Cos, iſland, deſcribed, 212, p. Taken by *Macareus* and given to *Nicander*, 205, e. Refuſe to give Earth and Water to the Meſſengers of *Darius*, 213. Subdued by *Mithridates*, 213, b. By the *Romans*, ibid. c, d. Eaſed of their Tribute by *Claudius*, ibid.
—— metropolis of the iſland, deſcribed, 212, d. Overthrown, 213.
Coſis, a brave prince of *Albania*, killed by *Pompey*, 838, d, e,
Cosmi in *Crete*, their office, 170, b.
Coſſeans, why ſubdued by *Alexander*, 408.
Cotta's ill ſucceſs againſt *Mithridates*, 740, & ſeq. Againſt *Heraclea*, 746. Returns to *Rome*, 747, c, d. Honoured with the Title of *Ponticus*, ibid.
Cotys I. king of the *Odryſæ*, aſſaſſinated, 792, b.
—— II. joins the *Perſians* againſt the *Macedonians*, ibid. & 485.
—— III. allies with the *Romans*, 793.
—— IV. made king by *Brutus*, ibid. b.
—— V. murdered by his brother, ibid. d, e.
—— king of the *Sapæi*, 794, f. Murdered, 795, a.
Craſſus ſent into *Pergamus*, 782. Defeated, taken Priſoner, and killed, ibid. d, e.
Craterus appointed protector after *Alexander*'s death, 417. Sent againſt *Eumenes*, 421. Defeated and killed, 422.
—— aſſiſts *Antipater*, 450. His death, 451, d.—treaſon againſt *Archelaus*, 284. Defeats the *Maſſagetes*, 382, c. And other rebels, 385, c. Made governor of *Andaca*, 386, d.
Crateſipolis, her conduct and bravery, 460, a.
Crenides taken by *Philip*, 290, f. Rebuilt by him and called *Philippi*, ibid.
Cres, one of the *Curetes*, 164, note. King of *Crete*, 165, a.
Cretans, whence, 162, & ſeq. Their colonies, 164, a. Government, kings, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Come into *Sicily*, 12, b, c. 166, d. Their laws, 167, & ſeq. Degeneracy, 168. Reduced into a common-wealth, 170, b, c. Their civil wars, ibid. d, e. Enſlaved by the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq.
Cretan ſea, the iſles of, 214, & ſeq.
Crete, iſland, deſcribed, 159, & ſeq. By whom firſt inhabited, 162. The kings of, 164, & ſeq. & K. Subdued by the *Romans*, 170, & ſeq.
Cretes, king of *Crete*, 164, d, & ſeq.
Cretheus, king of *Crete*, 169, b. Killed, ibid.
Crobyzi, a people of *Thrace*, 794.
Crocodiles in the river *Indus* lead *Alexander* into a ſtrange notion about the *Nile*, 396, F. Changes his opinion, ibid.
Craſus's ambiguous threats to the *Lampſacians*, 789, c. Explained, ibid.
Cuma the *Sybil*, her tomb, 7, c.
Curetes, ancient *Cretans*, deſcribed, 162, e. Their origin, 163, c. The ſame with the *Abantes*, 250, b. Why called *Curetes*, ibid. note.
Cyadas, a famous painter, where born, 217, c.
Cyane, the fountain of, where ſprung, 9, b.
Cyaneas, a river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Cychræus, firſt king of *Salamis*, 245, b. Appoints *Telamon* his Succeſſor, ibid.
Cyclades, iſlands, whence ſo called, 203, a. Deſcribed, 216, & ſeq.
Cyclopes, the fable of, 9, e. Who they were, 10, e.
Cycolaus takes *Samos*, 105, c.
Cydon reigns in *Crete*, 165, c, & note.
Cydonia, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 160, c. By whom founded, 193, a.
Cyname put to death by *Perdiccas*, 421, a.
Cyneas, his excellent character, 805, d. Advice to *Pyrrhus*, ibid. & ſeq. Sent to *Tarentum*, 106, c. His judicious remark on the *Romans*, 809, note. Sent embaſſadors to *Rome*, 811, d. His ill ſucceſs there, 812, a, b. Sent a ſecond time, 814.
Cynthus, mountain in *Delos*, deſcribed, 331, c.
Cypriots aſſiſt *Alexander* againſt *Tyre*, 340, & ſeq. Oppreſſed by the *Perſians*, 177, d. Aſſiſted by the *Ionians*, ibid. Make peace with *Perſia*, 179 a. Subdued by *Evagoras*, 180. Invaded by *Ochus*, 181, & ſeq. By *Ptolemy*, 182, c, d. By *Demetrius*, ib. e. Subdued, 183, 1. & ſeq. Reſtored by *Ptolemy*, 184, c. Subdued by the *Romans*, ibid. d.
Cyprus, iſland, deſcribed, 172. How divided, 175, a, b. Climate, government, ibid. d. Kings and petty kingdoms, 176, b, c. Taken by *Cyrus*, ibid. d. By *Ptolemy*, 435, d. By *Antiochus*, 579, b. Sold by *Archias* to *Demetrius*, 653, e. Given to a baſtard of *Lathurus*, 666, d. Seized by the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq.
Cyrene, by whom built, 215, c. Deſcribed, 662, c, d. Yielded to *Phyſcon*, 651. Revolts from him, 652, & ſeq. Given to *Apion*, 658, f. Left by him to the *Romans*, 662.
Cyropolis taken by *Alexander*, 367, e.
Cyrus's camp abandoned to *Alexander*, 334, a.
—— tomb deſcribed, 404, b.
—— a river of *Armenia*, 694, a. —of *Albania*, 837, d.
Cyta, a city in *Colchis*, 833, b. Birth place of *Medea* thence called *Cytæis*, ibid.
Cythera, iſland, deſcribed, 242, f. Famous for the worſhip of *Venus*, 243.
Cytherea, whether in *Cyprus*, 174, c.
Cythnus, iſland, deſcribed, 217.
Cyzicum, iſland, deſcribed, 201, & ſeq. & Q.
—— city beſieged by *Mithridates*, 741, & ſeq. Relieved by *Lucullus*, 742, & ſeq.

D.

Dædalus's treachery to *Minos*, 167, b.
Dagon's temple burnt by *Jonathan*, 597, b.
Damagetus king of *Rhodes*, 133, a. Marries his Daughter to *Ariſtomenes*, ibid.
Damatetis, a *Rhodian* magiſtrate, killed, 143, b.
Damias, who, 244, note.
Damides's ſtratagem againſt *Polyſperchon*, 456, b.
Damocles made ſenſible of a tyrant's happineſs, 82, A.
Daniel, ſeveral of his prophecies fulfilled, 526, O. 527, P. 568, R. 570, f. 571, f. 582, paſſ. 584, B.
Daphne, the infamous grove of, deſcribed, 515, E. —the ſanctuary of, forced by *Laodice*, 526, & ſeq. —the games of, deſcribed, 581, X.
Daphneus beats the *Carthaginians*, 41, d. Put to death by *Dionyſius*, 45, e.
Dardanians expelled by the *Baſtarnæ*, 483, c.
Dardanus, where born, 239, f. Founds the *Trojan* kingdom, ibid. & ſeq.
Darius Hyſtaſpis, one of *Cambyſes*'s guards, his requital to *Syloſon* the *Samian*, 196, c. & ſeq. Beats the confederates, 197, e.
—— when king of *Perſia*, his unfortunate attempt on *Scythia*, 273, & ſeq. Againſt *Athens*, 275, & ſeq.
—— Marches againſt *Alexander*, 334, & ſeq. Defeated at *Iſſus*, 335, f. His firſt meſſage to *Alexander*, 338, b. Second meſſage rejected, 343, a. Defeated near *Guagamela*, 351, & ſeq. A great inſtance of his goodneſs, 353, ſub fin. note. His treaſure at *Suſa*, 354, b, c & P. Flies to *Ecbatane*, 357, f. Betrayed by *Beſſus*, 359, b, c. Murdered, ibid, e.
—— the ſon of *Pharnaces*, made king of *Boſporus*, 760, c.
—— king of *Atropatene*, 844, f.
Daſcylus, a city in *Bithynia*, 822, a.
Daſſaretæ, where ſituate, 255, a.
Datames king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
Datis's reſpect for *Diana*'s temple, 228, f. Defeated by *Miltiades*, 276.
Deciarchæ at *Samos*, their office, 200, c.
Decius's anſwer to *Pyrrhus*, 812. Killed, 813.
Mucius an illuſtrious *Capuan* reſcued by *Philopator*, 646, a.

Deidamia, queen of *Epirus*, whether murdered, 821, a, b.
Dejoratus I. made king of *Armenia Minor*, 718, f. His fidelity to the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq.
—— II. his reign, 719. Succeſſors, ibid. d, e.
Delians, their government, kings, &c. 231, d, e. Conquered by the *Athenians*, ibid. e, f.
Delias and *Deliaſti*, what, 230, e.
Delos, iſland, 203, a, 227. Why ſo called, ibid. & ſeq. Its temples, 228. Reverenced by the *Perſians* and others, 229, a, b. The oracle, ibid. & ſeq. The iſland purified, 230, b, c. Annual proceſſion made there by the *Athenians*, ibid, e.
—— metropolis of it, deſcribed, 231, b.
Delphic oracle corrupted by *Philip*, 307, a.
Demades's ſpeech to *Philip*, 321, & ſeq. Succeſsleſs embaſſy to *Antipater*, 450, f. His character, 452, e. Severe puniſhment, 453, c.
Demarata, the ambitious daughter of *Hiero*, 100, c, d. Aſpires to the throne, 104, e. 105, e. Put to death, 106, c.
Demaratus's ſharp anſwer to *Philip*, 311, a.
Demaretia, a *Sicilian* coin, whence ſo called, 18, b.
Demetria, by whom built, 447, b.
Demetrius ſon of *Antigonus*, inveſts the city of *Rhodes*, 138, & ſeq. Deviſes the *Helopolis*, 140, a. Forced to raiſe the ſiege, 143, e. Some inſtances of his clemency, 144. Invades *Cyprus*, 182, & ſeq. Beſieges *Salamis*, 183, c. Subdues the iſland, ibid. & ſeq. Loſes it, 184, f. left with the government of *Syria*, 432, d. His character, ibid. e. Defeated by *Ptolemy*, 433, a. Defeats *Cilles*, ibid. d. His gallantry to *Ptolemy*, ibid. e. Sent againſt *Petra*, 434, c. Meaſures the lake *Aſphaltes*, ibid. d. Marches into *Babylon*, ibid. & ſeq. Recovers *Cilicia*, 435, d. His conqueſts in *Cyprus*, 436, & ſeq. Saluted king by his father, 437, b. His ill ſucceſs againſt *Rhodes*, 439, a. His behaviour to *Protogenes*, ibid. Degeneracy, ibid. & 467, c. Defeated at *Iſſus*, 441, a, b. Gives his daughter to *Seleucus*, ibid. d. Becomes king of *Macedon*, 442, c. & 466. Prepares for the conqueſt of *Aſia*, 443, a. Driven out of *Macedonia*, ibid. & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs againſt *Lyſimachus*, &c. 444, a, b. Againſt *Pyrrhus*, ibid. & 466, & ſeq. Retires to *Caſſandria*, 467. Surrenders himſelf to *Seleucus*, 445, & ſeq. His laſt letter to his ſon *Antigonus*, 446, d. Death, ib. e, f. Funeral honours, 447. Wives and offſpring, ibid. d, e. Coin, 622, W.
—— the ſon of *Demetrius*, king of *Cyrene*, 447, e.
—— the ſon of *Gonatus*, his early valour, 473, b. Marries *Nicæa*, ibid. e. His troubleſome reign, 474, c, d. 475, b.
—— the ſon of *Philip*, his character, 478, d. Pleads for his father before the *Roman* ſenate, 479. Envied by his natural brother, ibid. & ſeq. Suſpected by his father, 481. Put to death, ibid.
—— prince of *Macedon*, marries *Apame*, 524, c. Murdered by her daughter, ibid. d.
—— the ſon of *Antiochus* ſent to *Rome*, 510, e.
—— the ſon of *Seleucus*, his ſuit to the *Roman* ſenate, 585, & ſeq. Rejected, 586, c, d. Preſents a ſecond, 589. Eſcapes into *Syria*, 590. His letter to the ſenate, 592, b. Wars againſt *Ariarathes*, ibid. d. Degenerates, 592, c. Courts the friendſhip of the *Jews*, 595, a, b. Defeated, ibid. & ſeq. His extraordinary valour, ibid. Killed, ibid.
—— *Nicator* repulſed by the ſenate, 593, e. Dethroned by *Alexander Balas*, 594, & ſeq. Allies with *Philometor*, 598, b, c. Reſtored to his kingdom, ibid. & ſeq. Degenerates, 601. Saved by the *Jews*, 602, c, d. Treachery to them, ibid. e. Taken and kept priſoner in *Parthia*, 605, & ſeq. 608, b. Reſtored to his kingdom, 610, d. Invaded by *Zebina*, 611, & ſeq. His death, ibid. c.
—— *Eucheres* crowned at *Damaſcus*, 615, f. Defeated and killed, 616, b.
—— *Phalereus*, his character and office, 630, e, f. Perſuades *Ptolmy Soter* to build a library, 631, a, b. His great integrity, 633. Death, ibid. e.
—— king of *Bactria*, his character, &c. 846, d, e.
Democritus, where born, 786, d.
Demoſthenes ſent into *Sicily*, 29, c, &c. Surprizes *Epipolæ*, 31, a. Beaten before *Syracuſe*, ibid. b. At ſea, 32, & ſeq. In great diſtreſs, 33. Forced to ſurrender, 34, d. Put to death, 36, e.
—— The orator, his character of king *Philip*, 292, ſub. fin. not. Whether the pacific oration be really his, 296, E. His ſpeech in favour of *Diopetes*, 297, c. Outwreſtles *Philip*, 299, a. Withdraws the *Thebans* from him, 306, & ſeq. His cowardiſe at *Chæronea* *Philip*'s character of him, 308, note. His exceſſive Joy at the death of *Philip*, 318. Raiſes the *Greeks* againſt *Alexander*, 320. Poiſons himſelf at *Cythera*, 242, b.
Denſeletæ, a people of *Thrace*, 789, & ſeq.
Deucalion, king of *Crete*, 169, a. Renews the Alliance with the *Athenians*, ibid.
Dia, a city in *Eubœa*. by whom built, 240, d.
Diagoras I. king of *Rhodes*, 133, b. Head of the *Diagoridæ*, ibid.
—— II. his reign and progeny, 134, b. Dies of joy, at his ſons ſucceſs in the olympic ſports, ibid. c.
—— the firſt Atheiſt, where born, 218, f.
—— tyrant of *Eretria*, 251, e.
Diana, her feſtival at *Syracuſe*, 116, W.
—— worſhipped at *Icaria*, 211, f, & ſeq. Her medal, 212, a — *Perſica* worſhipped in *Cappadocia*, 763, c.— her ſtatue taken and reſtored by *Philadelphus*, 637, b, c.
Dicæarchus's impiety, puniſhed, 447, a, b.
Dicte, a mountain in *Crete*, deſcribed, 162, b.
Dictys, *Cretenſ.* an account of him, 169, c.
Diegylis, king of the *Odryſæ*, 792, & ſeq.
Dinarchus put to death, 455, c.
Dinocrates, the *Sicilian* general, defeated by *Agathocles*, 87.
—— *Macedonian* general, defeated by the *Rhodians*, 148, b, c.
Dinomades's treachery to *Hieronymus*, 103, d. Choſen one of the magiſtrates, 105, b.
Diocæſarea, where ſituate, 762, c.
Diocles's barbarous fury againſt the *Athenian* priſoners, 35, d. Cauſes *Hermocrates* to be baniſhed, 40, b.
Diodorus Siculus, how far preferable, to *Plutarch*, 435, D.
Diodatus, vid. *Tryphon*, 601, f.
—— a *Syrian*, facilitates *Demetrius*'s eſcape, 589. f, & ſeq.
Diogenes's treachery to the *Macedonians*, 475, d.
—— the Philoſopher's ſurlineſs to *Alexander*, 313, a.
Dion's character, &c. 63. His brave ſpeech to *Dionyſius* I. 62. C. Falſely accuſed to *Dionyſius* II. 64, d, e. Baniſhed, ibid. f, & ſeq Returns to *Syracuſe*, 66. Strives to aboliſh tyranny, ibid. & ſeq. Seizes on the capital, 67. Defeats *Dionyſius*'s troops, ibid. & ſeq. His brave anſwer to him, 68, b. Oppoſed by *Heraclides*, ibid. & ſeq. Forced to fly to the *Leontini*, & ſeq. Recalled to *Syracuſe*, 70, d. His ſpeech to the ſoldiers, 71, a. Relieves the capital, ibid. a, & e. Baſely murdered by *Calippus*, 73, a, b.
—— the philoſopher, aſſaſſinated by *Pompey*, 668, b.
Dionyſius I. lays the foundation of tyrraany, 43, & ſeq. Choſen generaliſſimo, f. Obtains a guard, 45, b. Declares himſelf king of *Syracuſe*, ibid. e. Makes peace with *Imilcar*, 46. Outwits the *Syracuſans*, 47, & ſeq. Diſarms them, 48, c. Wars

c. Wars againſt the *Carthaginians*, ibid. & ſeq. His army and fleet, 49. Takes *Motya*, 50, b. Defeated at ſea, 51, & ſeq. Beſieged in *Syracuſe*, 52, b, c. In danger of being depoſed, 53. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 54, & ſeq, *Rhegians*, 55. f. Paſſes into *Italy* 56. Defeats the *Italians* before *Caulum*, 57, b. Takes *Rhegium*, 58. His barbarity to *Phyto*, ibid. de, e. Affection of poetry, ibid. & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs at the *Olympic* games, 59, d, e. Wars againſt the *Carthaginians*, 60. Defeated by them, ibid. d. Makes peace with them, ibid. e. Obtains the riſe of Poetry at *Athens*, ibid. f. His death and character, ibid. & ſeq. His offſpring, 61, & ſeq.

——II. ſucceeds his father, 63, a. His character, ibid. c. Sends three times for *Plato*, ibid. & ſeq. His treatment of him, 64, & ſeq. Gives a looſe to all vices, a. Invaded by *Dion*, 67, b, c. Defeated, ibid. & ſeq. Forced to flee into *Italy*, 69, b. Recovers *Syracuſe* after ten years abſence 73, e. Surrenders himſelf to *Timoleon*, 76, a. Reduced to keep a ſchool at *Corinth*, ibid. c.

——tyrant of *Heraclea*, 824. His death and character, 825, a.

——*Eutyches*, who, 228.

Diopithes invades *Philip*'s territories, 297, a.

Diophanes's brave attempt againſt *Seleucus*, 557, L. 771, e, f. Whence ſo called.

Dioſcorias, a city in *Colchis*, 833, a. ibid.

Dioſcorides murdered by *Achillas*, 675, e.

Dioſcuri ſubſtituted to *Bacchus*, 375, 377, b, c.

Dodanim, the firſt peoplers of *Epirus*, 798, b.

Dodaſſus, king of *Bithynia*, 828, c.

Dodona, the city of, deſcribed, 796, c.—the temple, grove, and oracle of, ibid. K.

Dolabella Cornel. in love with *Cleopatra*, 690, b. ſends the word of the deſigns of *Octavianus*, ibid.

Doloaſpis made preſident of *Egypt*, 348, c.

Dolonci, who, and whence, 788, & ſeq.

Dolopians reduced by *Perſeus*, 483. e.

Domitius defeated by *Pharnaces*, 758, 1. marches back into *Cappadocia*.

Dorians ſettle in *Rhodes*, 132, e. In *Crete* 163, d.

Dorias, the ſolemnity of, 230, e.

Doriens I. king of *Rhodes*, 133, a.

——II. his victories, 134, c.

Dorylaus, general of *Mithridates*, defeated by *Sylla*, 734.

Doxareas's ſubmiſſion and preſents to *Alexander*. 390, b.

Dracunon, a city in *Icaria*, 211, f.

Drepane, a city in *Bithynia*, 822.

Drepanum, a city *Sicily*, deſcribed, 7, c.

Drypetis, daughter of *Darius*, married to *Hepheſtion*, 405, a. Murdered by *Roxona*, 418, d.

Dryphis. the temple of, in *Eubœa*, 247, e.

Ducetius, king of the *Siculi*, driven out by the *Syracuſans*, 13, & ſeq. his great power, not. M.

Dulichium, one of the *Echinades* iſlands, 241, e.

Dura, where ſituate, 533, U.

Dymnus conſpires againſt *Alexander*, 364, a. Dies. ibid. d.

Dyrrachium, whether the ſame with *Epidamnus*, 254, in fin. C.

E.

Eclypſe of the moon, foretold by *Sulpitius Gallus*. 492, b. Throws the *Macedonians* into a panic, ibid.——frightens the *Gauls*, 776.

Echinades, iſlauds, deſcribed, 241.

Ecron taken, and razed by *Judas Maccabeus*, 587. c.

Edeſſa, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 847, & ſeq. Made a *Roman* province, 848, a.

——metropolis of that kingdom, 847, a.

——the famous temple of ibid.

——metropolis of *Macedon*, 256, a.

Edoni, a people of *Thrace*, 790, f. Their kings, 791, a.

Edonia, whe ſituate, 257, b.

Egeſta in *Sicily*. vid. *Segeſta*, 7, f.

Egeſtines invite the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, 26, & ſeq. And the *Carthaginians*, 37, & ſeq. Maſſacred by *Agathocles*, 87, a.

Elatea taken by *Philip*, 306, c. Great advantage of ſeizing the place, not. H.

Elea, where ſituate, 551, I.

Eleazer reproves *Izates*'s hypocriſy, 849.

Elephants of *Pyrrhus* rout the *Romans*, 809, e, f. A remedy found againſt them, 813, a. 815, c. d. Put the army of *Pyrrhus* in confuſion, 815.

Elephenor, prince of *Eubœa*, kills his grandfather, 250, d. Baniſhed, ibid. e. Gives proofs of extraordinary valour at *Troy*, 251. Killed there, ibid.

Eleuthera, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161. Taken by *Metellus*, 171.

Ellopia in *Eubœa*, by whom built, 249, e.

Elyma, a city of *Macedon*, 255, a.

Elymais, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 852.

——metropolis of that kingdom, ibid. b.

——the temple of, *Epiphanes* attempted to plunder ed by *Antiochus*. ibid. c.

Elymean kings. unknown by name, 852, d, e.

Emeſa, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 841. Kings thereof. ibid.

Emilianus Scipio paſſes mount *Olympius*, 491, e.

Emilius Paulus, *Roman* conſul, ſent againſt *Perſus*, 490, & ſeq. Defeats him, 492, & ſeq. His ſpeech to him, 495, e. Treatment of him, 496, & ſeq. New models the *Macedonian* government, ibid. & ſeq. His triumph at *Rome*, 499. Behaviour to *Perſeus*, ibid.

Empedocles turns the ſtream of two rivers, 7, a.

Engyum, a city in *Sicily*, 9, c. Taken and ſpared by *Marcellus*, 124, c.

Enna, the city of, 9, a. Taken by *Dionyſius*, 48, c. Attempted by *Hamilco*, 114, e.

Ennenſes put to death by the *Romans*, 115, c. d.

Entella ſurprized by the *Campanians*, 48, b.

Eordians, where ſituate, 255, a.

Epanimondas, guardian to *Philip*, 284, c. His character, 288, A. Parallel with *Philip*, ibid.

Epaphroditus ſent to watch *Cleopatra*, 689, & ſeq.

Epheſians, their pride, 317, d.

Epheſus viſited by *Alexander*, 327, d. Taken by *Antiochus*, 545, a.

——the temple of, ſpared by *Demetrius*, 441, b.

Epicydes plots againſt *Syracuſe*, 105, d. Choſen prætor, 107. Cabals with the *Leontines*, 190, b. Commands with *Hippocrates* in *Syracuſe*, 114, a. Retires to *Agrigentum*, 119, d. Defeated, 125, a.

Epidamnus, a city in *Macedonia*, deſcribed, 254, C. Taken by the *Corcyreans*, 280, a, a, b.

Epidaurians, firſt peoplers of *Ægina*, 243, d. Subdue it, 244, & note. Submit to *Glaucias*, 461, c.

Epigenes envied by *Hermias*, 530, & ſeq. Good Advice to *Antiochus* 531. Treacherouſly murdered by him, 532, d.

Epigoni, whence ſo called, 406.

Epipolæ, the hill of, deſcribed, 4, e. Surpriſed by the *Athenians*, 28, c. Taken by the *Romans* 117, b.

Epirots, their character, 798, b. Defeated at *Argos*, 818. Surrender themſelves, 819, f. Their commonwealth, 821, c, d.

Epirus, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 795, & ſeq. By whom peopled, 789, b, c. Its government ibid. e, f. Its Kings, 799.

Eraſiſtratus's ſtratagem in favour of *Antiochus* 519, & ſeq.

Eraſtides, king of *Rhodes*, 134, a.

Eratoſthenes made library-keeper at *Alexandria*, 640, c. His works, ibid. G.

Ereſſus, a city in *Leſbos*, 203, c.

Eretria, a city in *Eubœa*, deſcribed. 248, c.

——new

——— new, ditto, ibid. e. Taken by the *Romans*, 147, e. By *Philip*, 251, f.
Erctrian pillar, 248, d.
Erigon, a river in *Macedon*. 260, d.
Erigyus defeats the *Arians*, 367,.
Erix a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 7, d, 89, c.
——— king of the *Siculi*, 13, c.
Eros's fidelity to *Marc Antony*, 687, e.
Erzeron, where ſituate, 694, d.
Etearchus king of *Crete*, 169, e.
Evagoras king of *Rhodes*, 133, b.
——— I. king of *Cyprus*, his attachment to the *Perſians*, 178, & ſeq. Baniſhed, 179, b.
——— II. his noble character, 179, d, e. Subdues the whole iſland, 180, b, c. Invaded by the *Perſians*, ibid. & ſeq. Forced to a peace, 181, c. Murdered, ibid. d.
——— III. driven out by his uncle, 181, f. Put to death, 182, d.
Evander, a cowardly *Cretan*, 487. His unlucky advice to *Perſeus*, ibid. — hated by the *Macedonians*, 493, d. Takes refuge in *Samothrace*, 494. Put to death by *Perſeus*, ibid.
Eubœa, iſland, deſcribed, 246, & ſeq. whence called *Negropont*, ibid. By whom firſt inhabited, 249, f. Its government, 250, c, d. 251, b, c. Invaded by *Philip*, 299, b. Its different fates, 252.
Eubœans, great mariners, 250, c. Their tyrants, 251, c. By whom conquered, 252, b, c.
Eucratides I. firſt king of *Bactria*, his character, 846, e. Murdered by his ſon, ibid.
——— ſucceeds his father, ibid. His parricide puniſhed, ibid.
Eudamas's ſucceſs againſt *Antiochus*, 150, e. Deſeats the *Syrian* fleet, 151.
Evelthon, king of *Salamis*'s treatment of *Pheretima*, 177, b.
Evenus, the *Apollonian* ſhepherd the ſtory of, 255, D.
Euergetæ, whence ſo called, 367, a, b. Favoured by *Alexander*. ibid.
Eulæus, regent of *Egypt*, 573. Corrupts the young king, 576, b.
Eumelus, prince of *Boſporus*, wars with his two brothers, 842, b, c. His character and death, ibid. f.
Eumenes I. ſucceds his brother in *Pergamus*, 769.
——— II. wars with *Antiochus*, 556, & ſeq. 770, & ſeq. His bravery at the battle of *Magneſia*, 564, 772. Rewarded by the *Romans*, ibid. d. Oppoſed by the *Rhodians*, ibid. & 151, & ſeq. Wars with *Pruſias*, ibid. & 772. Makes peace with him, 773, & ſeq. Defeated by *Hannibal*'s ſtratagem, ibid. f. Invaded by *Pharnaces*, 773, & ſeq. Makes peace with him, 774, b. Aſſiſts *Antiochus*, 571, f. 774, d. His ſpeech to the *Roman* ſenate, ibid. e. Wounded by *Perſeus*'s aſſaſſins, 484, & ſeq. 775. a. Allies with *Rome* againſt him, ibid. e. Repulſed from *Caſſandria*, 488. Becomes obnoxious to them, 776, d. Accuſed to the ſenate, 777, f, & ſeq. His death, 778, b. 494.
——— *Alexander*'s ſecretary, his moderation towards *Hepheſtion*, 407, c. 408. a, b. Declares for *Aridæus*, 415, e. His character, ibid. & ſeq. vid. & 419. His fidelity, 420, a, b. Sen againſt *Ptolemy*, 421. Defeats *Neoptolemus*, 422, a. Is proſcribed, 423, d. His defeat, and ſingular valour, 424, & ſeq. Loyalty, 425, & ſeq. Repulſes *Antigonus*, 427, b. Marches to *Perſepolis*, ibid. e. His ſpeech to his officers, 428, C. Defeats *Antigonus*, 428, & ſeq. Betrayed to him 429. Put to death by him, ibid.
Euphrates, a river in *Armenia*, deſcribed, 694, a, c, d.
Eupolemus defeated by *Ptolemy*, 460.
Euripides intimate with *Archilaus*, 284, c. His memory honoured with a tomb by him ibid.
Euripus, the ſtreights of, deſcribed, 249, not. The iſles of, 252, c, d.
Europa comes to *Crete*, 193, e. How and by whom carried off, 169, a.
Europus, a city in *Macedonia*, 256, a.
Euryalum taken by the Romans, 117, f.
Eurydice, king *Philip*'s wife, her precautions againſt *Olympias*, 456, & ſeq. Her couragious behaviour, 457. Put to death, ibid. b. c.
——— her ſpeech to the *Athenian* general, 286, b, c.
Eurymedon ſent into *Sicily*, 29, & ſeq. Killed by the *Syracuſans*, 32, a.
Euryſaces, king of *Salamis* 245, c.
Euthycrates betrays *Olynthus* to *Philip*, 294, b.
Euthydemus, king of *Bactria*, invaded by *Antiochus*, 541, e. Makes peace with him, 542, b.
Euxine Sea, &c. Antient origin of its formation, 239, d. The more probable one.

F.

Fabius betrayed by the *Thracians*, 748, a. & P.
Fabricius ſent embaſſador to to *Pyrrhus*, 811, b. His intrepid gallantry there, ibid. e, f. Sent againſt him, 810, e. His generous letter to him, 814, a, b.
Famageſta, metropolis of *Cyprus*, antient *Salamis*, 173, c. How built, ibid, & M.
Fanugoria, a city of *Pontus*, 727, a.
Faro de Meſſina, vid. *Meſſina*, 2, a.
Favonius's accuſation againſt *Auletes*, 668, c.
Fauſtinopolis, from whom ſo called, 762, c.
Fimbria diſcarded by *Flaccus*, 735, c. His revenge and cruelties, ibid. d. & U. Succeſs againſt *Mithridates*, 736, a, b. Takes and deſtroys *Troy*, ibid, f. His ſoldiers deſert him and go over to *Sylla*, 738. Kills himſelf, ibid. b.
Fire-ſhips invented by the *Rhodians*, 559, d, e.
Flaccus ſent againſt *Sylla*, 734. Falls out with *Fimbria*, ibid. & ſeq.
Flaminius's anſwer to *Antiochus*'s embaſſadors, 548, a, d.
Funerals how performed by the *Thracians*, 788, d.
Funeral verſes, vid. *Næniæ*, 217, b.

G.

Gabene, ſeized by *Eumenes*, 419, a. By *Antiochus*, ibid. & ſeq.
Gabinius's extortions in *Syria*, 670, b, c. Upon *Auletes*, ibid. e, f. Goes into *Egypt*, 671. Reſtores that monarch, ibid. d, e. Accuſed by *Cicero*, 672, d. Condemned to baniſhment, ibid.
Gadroſi, ſubdued by *Alexander*, 402, d.
Galatia, whence ſo called, 522, d. Invaded by *Phraartes*, 725, f.
Galeagrea, the tower of, deſcribed, 119, U. Surprized by the *Romans*, 117, a.
Galilee invaded by *Antiochus*, 537. By *Demetrius*, 603, c, d.
Gallogræcia, whence ſo called, 522, d.
Gallus, firſt governor of *Egypt*, 690, f.
——— *Sulpitius* ſent to receive complaints againſt *Eumenes*, 778, b.
Gangaridæ, where ſituate, 396, in fin. E.
Ganymedes ſupplants *Achillas*, 676. Diſtreſſes *Cæſar* in *Alexandria*, ibid. e, f. Defeated at ſea by *Cæſar*, 677.
Gauls firſt invaſion of *Macedon*, 470, a. Second, ibid. d. Third, 471, a Riſle the royal tombs, ibid. f. Defeated by *Gonatus*, 472, f. Settled in *Aſia Minor* by *Nicomedes*, 522. Their treachery to *Hierax* 528, c. Scared at a lunar eclipſe, 770. Their ſacrilegious covetouſneſs, 816, c.
Gaza taken by *Alexander*, 044. & ſeq. Its governor cruelly treated, 345. By *Antigonus*, 433, b. By *Antiochus*, 543, d.

——— in

——— in *Bactria*, taken by *Alexander*, 371.
——— metropolis of *Atropatene*, 844, d.
Gela, a city in *Sicily*, described, 5, d. By whom built, 11, f. Taken and enslaved by *Gelon*, 15, a. Besieged by the *Carthaginians*, 45, & seq. Taken, 46. a.
——— the river of, 5, d.
Gelean women their bravery, 45, f.
Gellias burns himself in *Minerva*'s temple, 42, d. His character, ibid. X.
Gelon becomes tyrant of *Syracuse*, 15, b. & seq. His behaviour towards the *Greeks*, ibid. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 17, b, c. His moderation towards them, 18, a. Designs to serve under the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* against the *Persians*, ibid. Clemency towards his subjects ibid. c, d. Made king, ibid. e. His statue, how preserved, ibid. note. Character, death, and honours, 20.
——— the son of *Hiero*'s treachery to his father, 100, a, b.
Gentius, king of *Illyria*, ill treated by the *Romans*, 485, d. Outwitted by *Perseus*, 489, c, d. Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 498, a, & E.
Genubius, *L.* besieges *Rhegium*, 75, c.
Gerastus, a promontory in *Eubœa*. a d.
—— a city in *Eubœa*, 248, a.
Geomori at *Samos*, their office, 189, a, d. Murdered, ibid. d.
Georgia, why so called, 837, a, b. Described, 839, d. The rest, vid. sub *Iberia*, 835.
Georgian women, famed for their beauty, 837, e. 139, d, e, Men formerly famous, ibid.
Getæ defeated by *Alexander*, 319, d, e.
Gibel, mount, vid. *Ætna*, 9, d.
Glabrio sent against *Mithridates*, 750, c, d.
Glaphyra obtains *Cappadocia* for her son, 768, b. Her character, ibid.
Glaucias king of the *Taulantii*, defeated by *Alexander*, 220. b, c.
———king of *Illyrium* protects and educates *Pyrrhus*, 804. Refuses to deliver him up to *Cassander*, ibid. Invaded by him, 460. Makes peace with him, ibid.
—— officer of *Cassander*, Murders *Roxana* and her son, 462, a.
Glaucæ invaded by *Alexander*, 393, b.
Gnossians assist the besieged *Rhodians*, 139, f. Subdue part of *Crete*, 170 d.
Gnossis, *Ariadne*, why so called, 160.
Gnossus, ancient metropolis of *Crete*, described, 160, b.
Goats, why painted on the *Macedonian* standards, 271, d.
Gold mines seized by *Philip*, 290, f. & seq.
Golgi. a town in *Cyprus*, 174, b. *Venus* worshipped there, ibid.
Gordian knot, the origin of 333, b, c. Cut by *Alexander*, ibid. d, e.
Gordiæan mountains in *Armenia*, 695, b.
Gorgus king of *Salamis* expelled by his brother, 117. c. Recalled, 178, b.
Gortyna, a city in *Crete*, described, 160, d. Its ruins described, ibid. & seq.
——— the temple of, 161, a. By whom built, ibid.
Gortynians subdue part of *Crete*, 170, d.
Gracchus sent to watch over *Antiochus*, 581, c. Behaviour of *Antiochus* to him, 582. His report to the senate, ibid.
Granicus battle of, 325, & seq.
Greece invaded by *Philip*, 306, & seq.
——— the democracy of, restored, 325, c.
——— the islands of, described, 240, & seq.
——— alarmed at *Alexander*'s success, 353, d. Forced to submit to *Antipater*, 358, c, d. 450, e.
Greek mercenaries, how used by *Alexander*, 360, b. 361, a, b. Revolt after his death, 419, a. Massacred, ibid. & 449, & seq.
Greeks come into *Sicily*, 11, d, e. Invade *Africa* under *Agathocles*, 83. Make peace with the *Carthaginians*, 86, & seq. Their war with the *Persians*, 275, & seq. Arm against *Philip*, 336, & seq. Defeated at *Chæronea*, 307. Chuse *Alexander*, their general, 318, c. Revolt from him, 3 o.
Guagamela, the battle of, 350, & seq.
Guras surrenders *Nisibis* to the *Romans*, 405, e, f. How treated by *Lucullus*, ibid.
Gurges, *Q. Fab.* sent embassador to *Ptolemy*, 634, c. His gallantry to him, ibid. d.
Gyarus, island, 227. Why uninhabited, ibid. c.
Gylippus sent to relieve the *Syracusans*, 23. f. Defeated, 29, a. Seizes some of the forts, ibid. e. Beaten out by *Demosthenes*, 31, a. Defeats the *Athenians*, 34. Pleads the cause of the *Athenian* captives, 36, e.
Gymnic games instituted by *Alexander*, 342, a.
Gyrgenes, king of *Iberia*, turns christian, 845.
Gyrtone, capital of the kingdom of *Oreste*s, 255, a.

H.

Halicarnassus besieged by *Alexander*, 328, & seq. Bravely defended by *Memnon*, 339, b. Demolished, 330, b.
Halonesus, one of the *Cyclades* islands, 283. Taken from the pyrates, by *Philip*, 302, b, c. By the *Peparethians*, ibid. d, e.
Halycus, a river in *Sicily*, 10, a.
Halys river described, 567, in fin. Q. Divides *Pontus* from *Paphlagonia*, 722. Runs through *Cappadocia* into the *Euxine*, 762, c.
Hamilcar, his fleet, and army, 16, c. Defeated and killed by *Gelon*, 17.——sent into *Sicily*, 78. b. Defeated, ibid d, e. Taken prisoner at *Syracuse*, 85. Killed, ibid.
Hamilco sent into *Sicily*, 113, f. Comes to relieve *Syracuse*, 118, d. Dies of the plague, ibid. & seq.
Hammon, *Jupiter*, the temple of, 347, d, e.
Hannibal sent into *Sicily*, 37, & seq. His army and fleet, 38, a, Takes and burns *Selinus*, ibid. e, f. And *Himera*, 39. His second army, 40, d. Invades *Sicily*, ibid. & seq. Defeated at sea by the *Rhodians*, 151. Shelters himself with *Antiochus*, 547. Sends *Aristo* to *Carthage*, 549, & seq. Outwitted by the *Romans*, 551, c. His advice to *Antiochus*, 553, a. Untimely rejected, ibid. b. Forms the plan of *Artaxata*, 692. His stratagem against the *Pergamenians*, 772, & seq. Poisons himself, 773, c. & B. His judgement of *Pyrrhus*, 818, P. Tomb at *Lybissa*, 825.
Hanno, general against *Agathocles*, Killed 83, c, ibid. e.
—— governor of *Messana*, surrenders it to the *Romans*, 94, d. Crucified, ibid. f.
—— the son of *Hannibal*, besieges *Messana*, 95, a. His success in *Sicily*, 98, & seq. Defeated, 125, e. Envies *Mutines*, 127. Deprives him of his commission, ibid. a. Flees from *Sicily*, ibid. d.
Harmonia, where born, 239, f.
Harpalus, *Alexander*'s treasurer, why favoured, 368, b. His treachery, 407, b. Punished ibid. d.
Hebrus, a river in *Thrace*, 787, e.
Hecatæus, an account of him, 235, C.
Hegesianax's speech to the *Roman* commissaries, 548, e.
Hegesistratus's speech to *Leutychides*, 198, e.
Helena, the island of, described, 816.
—— queen of *Adiabene*, embraces judaism, 849, a, b. Journey to, and piety at *Jerusalem*, 851, b, c. Turns christian, ibid.
Helenus's fruitless attempt to succour his father *Pyrrhus*, 818, b. Taken prisoner, 819. f. Released generously by *Antigonus*, ibid. & seq.
Helepolis, a warlike machine, described, 140, a. 742, b.

Heliades ſettle at *Rhodes*, 131. & ſeq. Admit *Phorbas*, ibid.
Helicon foretels an eclipſe, which ſuprizes *Dionyſius*, 65, c.
Helidorus's attempt on the temple at *Jeruſalem* puniſhed 569, &ſeq. Poiſons the king. 170, e.
Helius, king of *Colchis*, 834.
Heloris ſaves *Rhegium*, 56, a. Defeated by *Dionyſius*, 57, b.
Hepheſtias, metropolis of *Lemnos*, 234, a.
Hepheſtion wounded at *Guagamela*, 351, f. Made general of the horſe with *Clytus*, 367, a. Sent towards *Indus*, 386, a. Rewarded by *Alexander*, 405. Reproved for his treatment of *Eumenes*, 405. His death and obſequies, ibid. & ſeq.
Heptaſtadium, by whom built, 627, b.
Heraclea, *Herod*'s daughters ſpeech to her murderers, 106, f. & ſeq.
—— a republic in *Bithynia*, deſcribed, 823, a, b. vid. *Heracleans* infra.
—— a city in *Sicily*, b, c. Why called *Minoa*, ibid — Capital of the *Lynceſti*, 257. b. — In *Pontus*, betrayed to *Mithridates*, 744. Taken by the *Romans*, 747, a. Burnt, ibid. c. — In *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, d.
Heracleans, their hiſtory and bravery, 823, b, c. Generoſity to *Lamachus*, ibid. e. Their government, tyrants, &c. 824. Recover their liberty, 825, d. Ally with *Rome*, ibid. f. Maſſacred by *Adiatorix*, 826, a, b. Deſtroyed by the *Romans*, ibid. d. Made a *Roman* colony, ibid.
Heraclides's character, 68, c. Cabals againſt *Dion*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats *Dionyſius* at ſea, 69, a. —Baniſhed for oppreſſion, 591, e. Plots againſt the king of *Syria*, 493, & ſeq. His ſpeech to the *Roman* ſenate, 594., b.
Heraclitus, *Cimæus*, tyrant of *Heraclidæ*, 825. Impriſoned, ibid.
Heracon accuſed by the *Medes*, is acquitted, 403. Charged by the *Suſans*, is put to death for oppreſſion, 404, a.
Hercules the ſon of *Alexander* murdered by *Polyſpercon*, 413, a. 462, e.
—— the cave of, near *Heraclea*, 825, c.
Herean games at *Samos*, deſcribed, 187, f.
Hermias, firſt miniſter of *Syria*, his brutiſh character, 530, e, f. Treacherous advice to *Antiochus*, 531, paſſ. Treachery to *Epigenes*, 532. Tragical end, 534, & ſeq.
Hermocrates's ſucceſsful ſtratagem againſt the *Athenians*, 33, & ſeq. His moderation towards their priſoners, 35, e. Beaten by the *Athenians* near *Abydos*. Returns home, 37.
—— the ſophiſt, his advice to *Pauſanias*, 313, d. 314, note.
Hermolaus, why he conſpired againſt *Alexander*, 380, b. His ſpeech to the army, 381. Death, ibid. d.
Herod entertains *Cleopatra* at *Jeruſalem*, 682, e. Reſolves to put her to death, ibid. His advice to *Marc Antony* concerning her, 685. Offers his ſervice to *Octavius*, ibid. f.
Hetruſcans defeated by *Hiero*, 21, b.
Hexapylum deſcribed, 115, note. Taken, 117, b.
Hiera, iſland, how increaſed, 215, e, f.
Hierapntya, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, c.
Hierax, formerly governor of *Antioch*, prime miniſter of *Phyſcon*, his character, 656, & ſeq.
Hiero, king of *Syracuſe*, 20, c. Wars with the *Argentines*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats them, 21, c. His death, ibid. f. Character, 22.
—— general of *Syracuſe*, his character, 91, a, b. Rids him of his auxiliaries, 92, b. Defeats the *Mamertines*, 93, d. Outwitted by *Hannibal*, ibid. f. Makes a treaty with *Carthage*, 94, b, f. Defeated by the *Romans*, 96, b. Allies with them, 97. His wiſe government, ibid. & ſeq. Generoſity to the *Romans*, &c. 98, & ſeq. Pervails on *Archimedes* to prepare ſurprizing engines of war, 99. His death, 100, d, e.
Hieronymus ſucceeds *Hiero* to the crown, 100, e, f. His wicked reign, 101, & ſeq. Rejects the advice of *Thraſo*, ibid. Breaks with the *Romans*, 102, c. Allies with *Carthage*, ibid. e, & ſeq. Aſſaſſinated, 103, d, e.
Himera, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 1, c. When and by whom built, 12. b. Beſieged by *Hamilcar*, 17. a. Relieved by *Gelon*, ibid, c.
—— a river in *Sicily*, 8, G. & 10, a. vid. & 102. note.
Hipparchus, where born, 256, c.
Hipparinus ſeizes on *Syracuſe*, 73, d, e.
Hippias, tyrant of *Athens*, expelled. 275, d. Refuſes a retreat offered by *Amyntas* of *Macedon* ibid.
—— *Perſeus*'s general oppoſes the *Romans*, 417, f. Surrenders to them, 493, f.
Hippoclus, king of *Chios*, murdered, 109. a.
Hippocrates, tyrant of *Gela*, 15, a. His treachery to the *Zancleans*, 198, b.
—— the famous phyſician, where born, 212, f. T.
—— a nobleman of *Syracuſe*, 101, & ſeq. Diſſuades the young king from allying with *Carthage*, 102, e. Forms a plot againſt the republicans, 105. Choſen prætor, 107, f. Cabals againſt the *Romans*, 108. Choſen general of the *Leontines*, 109. d. His ſtratagem againſt thoſe of *Syracuſe*, 110, b. Enters the city, 111, Defeated by *Marcellus*, 114, b, Dies of the plague, 118, a.
Hippodamus builds the city of *Rhodes*, 130, B.
Hippon, tyrant of *Meſſana* put to death, 79, c.
Hippoſtratus made general of *Media*, 431, b.
Hippus, a river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Hiſtæus's treachery to the *Chians*, 210, d, e. Partiality for *Darius*, 274. b. c.
Hæmus mount in *Macedon*, deſcribed, 257. e.
—— in *Thrace*, 787.
Holophernes's pretenſions to the *Cappadocian* crown, 592, d. Supported bp *Demetrius*, 593, b.
Homer, where born, 108. d. His poems, why ſo eſteemed by *Alexander*, 317, c.
Hony of *Pontus*, it wonderful qualities, 722, f. Of *Hybla*, famed, 3, f.
Huns conquer *Bactria*, 846. f.
Hybla, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, f. Several cities of that name, ibid. & ſeq.
Hyblea, *Megara*, by whom founded, 11, f.
Hycetas, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, 88, d e.
Hydapſes paſſed by *Alexander*, 390, & ſeq. Repaſſed 395, b.
Hydraotes, river, paſſed by the ſame, 393, c. Repaſſed, 396, a.
Hydruſia, iſland, ſee *Tenos*, 225, d. And *Andros*, 226, e.
Hyperborean, maidens, how worſhipped at *Delos*, 229 d.
Hyperion, the *Titan*, a great aſtronomer, 163, a.
Hyphaſis, river, the boundary of *Alexander*'s conqueſts, 394, & ſeq & E
Hyppius a river in *Bithynia*, 827, b.
Hyrcania invaded by *Alexander* 360. b, c.
Hyrcanus made governor of *Judea* by *Seleucus*, 571, a. Succeeds his brother, 608. Makes peace with the *Sidetes*, ibid. b His feats in *Hyrcania*, ibid. e. Shakes off the foreign yoke, 610, f. Sides with *Zebina*, 611, d. His conqueſts, 614, & ſeq.

I.

Ialiſſus, an ancient city of *Rhodes*, deſcribed, 129. d.
Jamblicus I. king of *Emeſſa*, 848, b. — II. Reſtored by *Octavianus*, ibid. d
Jaſon, where born. 239, f. Marries *Cybele* 240, a.

——— *al. Jesus*, buys the *Jewish* high-priesthood, 572, e, f Supplanted by his brother, 573, & seq. Drives him out, 576, c.
Iberia, the kingdom of, described, 835. Origin, government, &c ibid. & seq. Invaded by *Pompey*, 836, b, c. By the *Persians*, 837 Tributary to *Rome*, 836. Now called *Gurgistan*, ibid.
Iberians whence descended, 835, e. Their character, ibid, divided into four classes, 836.
Icaria, island, described, 211, e. Whence so called, ibid.
Icetas's inhumanity to *Dion*'s family, 73, d. Becomes tyrant of the *Leontines*, ibid & seq. Attempts at *Syracuse*, 74. a Obstructs *Timoleon*'s entering *Sicily*, 75, a Defeated by him, ibid. d. Besieges the Citadel of *Syracuse*, 76 Deposed by *Timoleon*, 77, e. Put to death with his whole family, 79, b.
Icus, island, described, 233.
Ida, a mountain in *Crete*, described, 161, f. & seq
Idæi Dactyli, inhabit mount *Ida*. 162, d.
Idomeneus. king of *Crete*, goes to the *Trojan* war, 169, c. Attempts to sacrifice his son, ibid. Forced into *Calabria*, ibid. & not. Adored by the *Cretans*, ibid. d.
Idricæus sent against *Cyprus*. 181, & seq.
Jemphorina a city of *Thrace*, 787, c.
Jerusalem garisoned by *Scopas*, 543, b. Taken by *Antiochus*, 576, c, d. & T. Burnt and sacked by *Apollonius*, 580, & seq.
Jews restored by *Cyrus* 1, & seq. Planted in *Syria* by *Seleucus*, 518, a. In high favour with *Antiochus*, 544, a, b. Persecuted by his son, 580, & seq Burn and sack *Antioch*. 602, d. Why they constantly sided with the best bidder, 611, U. Persecuted by *Philopator*, in *Egypt*. 644, d, & seq. Miraculously preserved, 645, d.
Illyria invaded by the *Romans*, 487, d, 48*, f.
Illyrians go over to the *Lyncestbi*, 282, d. Subdued by *Philip*, 290, a, b. 291, b.
Imbrian festivals, described, 236, e.
Imbros, island, described, 236. By whom subdued, ibid. f.
Imilcar sent with *Hannibal* into *Sicily*, 40, d. Besieges *Agrigentum*, 41, b. Intercepts the *Syracusan* fleet, ibid. e, f. Takes *Agrigentum*, 42. And *Gela*, 46. Makes peace with *Dionysius*, ibid. Sent general against *Demetrius*, 50. Takes *Erix* and *Motya*, ibid. f. And *Messana*, 51. Besieges *Syracuse*, 52, & seq. Beat by sea and land, 54. Kills himself, 55, d.
Indians, defeated by *Alexander*, 387. Treacherously treated by him, 388, b.
Indus passed by *Alexander*, 390, a.
Inopus, a river in *Delos*, 231, b.
John Hyrcan, vid. *Hyrcanus*, 271, &c.
Ion's treachery to *Perseus*, 495, b.
Ion the Tragedian where born, 208, note S.
Jonathan succeeds *Judas Maccabæus*, 591, f. Courted by the kings of *Syria*, 595, b, c. His victories, 597. Honours, ibid. d, & seq. & 601, e. Joins with *Antiochus Theus*, 603, b, c. Murdered by *Tryphon*, 604, e.
Ionian, *Samos*, why so called, 186, c.
Ionian gulf, described, 240, P.
Ionians, settle at *Samos*, 188, e. Treachery to the *Chians*, 210 c.
Joppa taken by *Antigonus*, 432, b. Retaken by *Jonathan*, 597, b.
Ioria, the region of, where situate, 257, b.
Joseph a noble *Jewish* youth, his character, 640. saves his nation, ibid. & seq. In great favour with *Ptolemy* 641. Outwits the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* farmers, ibid. Farms the revenues of *Cœle-Syria*, ibid. d. Gives the king and queen security of the payment ibid. e. How long he enjoyed that place, 642, a, b.
Iougous mountain, its poisonous weed, 251, d.
Iphicrates's behaviour to *Perdiccas* II. 286, d. Drives *Pausanias* out of *Macedon*, ibid.
Iphimedia carried off by the *Naxians*, 220, d.
Iris, a river of *Pontus*, described, 720, d. 722, e.
Iron, the melting of, where first discovered, 162, b.
Isanthus, a king of the *Crobyzi*, 794.
Isaurians, their desperate end,, 420, c.
Isocrates's orations to *Nicocles*, 181, e.
Issa, vid. *Antissa*, 2, c. 3, e.
Issus, the battle of, 335, & seq. 440, & seq.
Judæa, *Syria*, &c. seized on by *Antigonus*, 432, By *Ptolemy*, ibid. f. & seq. Recovered by the former. 433, e, f. By the latter, 440, d. By *Antiochus*, 537, f. By *Philopator*, 538, e, f. By *Antiochus*, 543, d, e. How it continued in the possession of *Seleucus*, 571, c, d. Wasted by *Antiochus*, 576, 580, & seq.
Julis, the famous ruins of, birth place of the two *Simonides*, ibid. & U.
Juno, her famous temple at *Samos*, 187, c.
Jupiter, one of the *Titans*, 163, a. When brought up, ibid. e. By whom nursed, 165, b. vid. & note K. 165.
Juventius sent against *Andriscus*, 504, a. His rashness, ibid. b. Defeated and slain, ibid. b.
Izates, prince of *Adiabene*, preferred before his brothers, 849. Inclined to judiasm, ibid. Is circumcised, 850. Invaded by *Abias*, ibid. d. By *Vologeses*, ibid. e. His deliverance and death, ibid. f. Character, 851, a, b Body deposited in a Pyramid by *Helena* near *Jerusalem*, ibid. c.

K.

Krim, *al. Crim*, the peninsula of, 841, b. Whence so called, ibid.
Kur, a river in *Georgia*, 837, d. Geographers disagree about it, ibid.

L.

Lacedæmonians speech to the *Athenians*, 278, c. d. Join with the *Macedonians*, 281, Assist *Amyntas* against the *Olynthians*, 285, b.
Laches finishes the *Colossus*, 130, C.
Laconic gulf, the isles of, 242 e.
Lade, the sea-fight of, 210, c. The isles of, 212, c.
Lævinus comes into *Sicily*, 127, a. Takes *Agrigentum*, ibid. b. Completes the conquest of that island, 128. Reduces it to one province, ibid.
——— answer to *Pyrrhus*'s letter, 808. Defeated by him, 809. Recruits his army, 810, d. Goes to meet *Pyrrhus*, ibid. e. Obliges him to retreat, ibid. f.
Lageion, the order of, whence, 625, a.
Lagides, the son of the *Ptolemies*, ibid.
Lagus, his extract, 624, e. Whether the father of *Ptolemy*, ibid.
Lamachus sent into *Sicily*. 26, b. Killed before *Syracuse*, 28, d.
——— governor of *Heraclea*, betrays it to *Mithridates*. 744, a, & F.
Lamia, concubine of *Demetrius*, 447, e.
——— a city in *Thessaly*, besieged, 449, e.
Lampsacus spared by *Alexander* by the address of *Anaximenes*. 324. Besieged by *Antiochus*, 544, c.
Langarus's kindness to *Alexander*, 320, b. *Laodice* married to *Perseus*, 484, b.
——— wife of *Antiochus*, 525, e. Poisons him, ibid. & seq.
——— ——— of *Mithridates*, her lewdness punished, 727, c.
——— ——— of *Orophernes*, her cruelty punished, 766, d.
Laodicea, by whom built, and whence called. 515, a.
Laons, a river in *Macedon*, described, 260, c.
Lapathus, a city in *Cyprus*, described, 173, b.

Lapitas, king of *Crete*, 166, a. Carries away *Europa*, ibid. Builds *Gortyna*, ibid.
Lappa in *Crete*, taken by *Metellus*, though defended by *Octavius*, 172, a.
Lapythæ, one of the four parts of *Cyprus*, 175, a.
Laſſa al. Laſerpitium, ſhrub, deſcribed, 663, H. Not *Aſſa fœtida*, ibid.
Laſthenes, his character, 596, H. Cruelties, 601.
Latomiæ, the priſon of, deſcribed, 4, & ſeq.
Latona, where delivered, 227, f, & ſeq. 231, c.
Laudamia, vid. *Deidama*, 120, e.
Laurandians ſeverely puniſhed by *Perdiccas*, 240, c.
Law-ſuits, how carried on in *Macedon*, 266, & ſeq.
Learning, how revived in *Greece*, 655, & ſeq.
Lemnian women turn *Amazons*, 236, c. d.
—— earth, why famed, 134, c. How digged, ibid. d. In great reputation at preſent, ibid.
Lemnians offered human ſacrifices to *Juno*, 234, a. Murdered by their wives, 135, c, d.
Lemnos, iſland, deſcribed, 233, & ſeq. The labyrinth of, 235, a. By whom firſt inhabited, ibid. b. Its government, 136, b
Lenneus, regent of *Egypt*, chalenges *Paleſtine*, 273, c.
Lentiſus, ſon of *Ptolemy*, taken priſoner by *Demetrius*, 184, a. Generouſly reſtored to his liberty, ibid.
Lentulus's deſcent into *Egypt*, oppoſed, 662,
Leomedon's government after *Alexander*'s death, 417, a. 329, e.
Leon ſurpriſes *Arcadina*, 76, e.
—— a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 115, note.
Leonatus reſcues *Alexander* from the *Malli*, 398, d. His poſt after the king's death, 417, a. Succours *Antipater*, 449, e. Killed, ibid. f.
Leonidas, tutor of *Alexander*, 317, b.— appointed to command the turbulent battalion, 336, f.
Leontifera, an *Heraclean* ſhip, ſo called 823.
Leontines come into *Sicily*, 11, e. Oppreſſed by the *Syracuſans*, 24, e. Make peace with them, 25, c. Break it, 109, d.
Leontini, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, d. Taken by the *Romans*, 139, e.
—— the lake of, deſcribed, 3, e.
Leoſthenenes's zeal for democracy, 449, a, b. Succeſs and death, ibid. d, e.
Lepidus made guardian of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 542, f, & B.
Leptines made admiral of *Dionyſius*'s fleet, 50, a. Sinks fifty *Carthaginian* gallies, ibid. f. Defeated by *Mago*, 51, f. Diſcharged for his generoſity, 56, f. Killed by the *Carthaginians*, 60, e. His character, ibid. f.
—— tyrant of *Engya*, depoſed by *Timoleon*, 77, e.
Leros, the iſland of, deſcribed, 212.
Leſbians, from whom deſcended, 205. Their government, kings, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Subdued by the *Mitylenians*, 206, a. By the *Perſians*, ibid. e, f. Defeated by *Polycrates*, 291, br Treachery to the *Ionians*, 297, e. Various fates ſince, ibid. paſſ.
Leſbos, iſland, deſcribed, 203, b. By whom firſt inhabited, 205. Famed for its wine. 204.
Lesbus, the ſon of *Lapithos*, ſettles in *Leſbos*, 205, c. Becomes king of it, ibid. f.
Leucanor, king of *Boſporus* treacherouſly murdered, 843, a.
Leucus, iſland, deſcribed, 241.
Leuci, mountains in *Crete*, deſcribed, 162, c.
Leucippus, king of *Rhodes*, 205, e.
Leucon I. and II. kings of *Boſporus*, 841, d, e.
Leutychides drives off the *Perſian* fleet, 198, e, f.
Liba, where ſituate 133, S.
Libyſſa, a city in *Bithynia*, deſcribed, 826, e. Famous for the death of *Hannibal*, ibid.
Ligoras's ſtratagem at the ſiege of *Sardis*, 539, Y.
Lilybæum, the cape of, in *Sicily*, 1.
—— the city of, deſcribed, 7, b 89, c.
—— the poetic well of, ibid c.
Lindia, *Minerva*, her temple, 129, b.
Lindus, an antient city of *Rhodes*, deſcribed 129. c.
Lipari, iſland, deſcribed, 13, c. Whence ſo called, ibid.
Livius the *Roman* admiral, defeats *Antiochus*, 555, d. His ſucceſs in the *Helleſpont*, 556, b, c. Succeeded by *Æmilius*, ibid. d,
Lochia, what, 116. W.
Locrians accuſed of ſacrilege, 205, f.
Lombai, what, 116, W.
Lucania laid waſte, by the *Romans*, 808, d.
Lucanians hired by *Dionyſius* againſt the *Thurians*, 56, e.
Lucullea, games ſo called, 73, b,
Lucullus ſent by *Sylla* into *Egypt* 743 b. Enters *Alexandria* in a kind of triumph, ibid. His haughty meſſage to *Tigranes*, 701, f. Marches into *Armenia*, 702, b, c. Defeats *Tigranes*, 703. Takes *Tigranocerta*, 704. His ſucceſs againſt *Mithridatei*, 745, c. Forſaken by his army, ibid. & ſeq. Recalled, 106, b, c. His treachery to *Fimbria*, 736, b. To *Mithribates*, 740. Succeſs againſt him, 741, & ſeq. Enters *Cyzicum*, 743, b. Reduces *Paphlagonia* and *Bithynia*, 744. Diſtreſſes *Mithridates*, 745, & ſeq. Subdues *Pontus*, 746. Takes *Amiſus*, 747. *Sinope*, 748, c. O. Forſook by his army, 750. Succeeded by *Pompey*, ibid. Returns to *Rome*, 751, c.
Lycaſtes king of *Crete*, 166, d.
Lychnides, a city in *Macedon*, 225, b, &c.
—— lake, ibid. 260, e.
Lychnites, *Carian* marble, why ſo called, 222.
Lychus, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, c.
Lycians, whence ſo called, 166, c. Bitter complaints againſt the *Rhodians*, 152, c. Redreſſed, ibid. e. Reſtored to their freedom, 156, b.
Lycomedes, king of *Scyrus*, kills *Theſeus*, 232. *Achilles* lies concealed in his court, ibid.
Lycophron wars with *Philip*, 292, b, c
Lycus, a river in *Armenia*, 594, a. Deſcribed, 553, T.
Lynceſtbi, where ſituate, 257, b. Invaded by the *Macedonians*, 282, c.
Lyſandra married to *Agathocles* ſon of *Lyſimachus*, 468, d. Perſecuted by *Arſinoe*, ibid e. Flies to *Seleucus*, ibid f.
Lyſanias, king of *Chalcis*, aſſiſts the *Aſmoneans*, 854, c. Put to death by *Antony*, ibid. d.
Lyſias ſent againſt the *Jews*, 582, e. Defeated by them, 583, b. Seizes on the government of *Syria*, 585, b. Defeated by *Judas Maccabæus*, 580, f. 587, e. Cauſes *Octavius* to be aſſaſſinated, 588, & ſeq. Seized by his own ſoldiers, 591, Put to death by *Demetrius*, ibid. c.
Lyſicles, defeated by *Philip*, 307, d. Put to death, ibid. e.
Lyſimachia, by whom built, 868. Overturned, ibid. d. Rebuilt by *Antiochus*, 545, e. Forſaken by him, 560, b.
Lyſimachus, tutor to *Alexander*, 315, b. His poſt after the king's death, 417, b. Defends it againſt *Seuthes*, 419, d. Gets *Thrace* by the new treaty, 435, b. Marches againſt *Antigonus*, 339, & ſeq. His ſucceſs againſt *Demetrius*, 442, a, b Seizes on *Macedon*, 468, d. Poiſons his eldeſt ſon, ibid. e, f. Defeated and killed by *Seleucus*, 569, a.

Marcius

M.

Macareus ſettles in *Leſbos*, 105, c. His reign and conqueſts, ibid. e, f.

Macaris, *Crete*, why ſo called, 160.

Maccabees, their victories over the *Syrians*, 581, b. 583, a. 586, & ſeq. Make peace with *Lyſias*, 587, a.

Macedo, who, 253, A.

Macedonia, whence ſo called, 253, a, & A. Its limits, &c. ibid. b, c, & B, Deſcribed, 257, & ſeq. Uſe of the deſcription, ibid. c Its extent, ibid. d. Its mountains and woods, 258, & ſeq. Its ſeas, lakes, &c. climate, &c. 260. Rich mines, 261, b. Antiquity, laws, and kings, 262, & ſeq. Invaded by the *Athenians*, 297, a. By the *Illyrians*, 298, c. Subdued by the *Romans*, 496, c. & ſeq. Its new diviſion, government, &c. 496, c. & ſeq. Various changes ſince, 500, & ſeq.

Macedonians, originally *Argives*, 262. Their laws and cuſtoms, ibid. & ſeq. Religion, 264, & ſeq. Ignorance of ſea affairs, 265, d. Months, 266. Coin, 267, a. Language, military diſcipline, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Manner of encamping and fighting, 268, & ſeq. Kings, 271, & ſeq Become dependent on the *Perſians*, 275. Their faithfulneſs to them, 276, & ſeq. Defeated by the *Lynceſtians*, 282, e. Rewarded by *Alexander*, 405. Mutiny, 406. Frighted at a lunar eclipſe, 492, b, c.

Macedonian empire, how divided after *Alexander*'s death, 315, 417, 423.

Macron's treachery to the king of *Egypt*, 575, S. Mentioned often in the *Maccabees*, ibid.

Mæandrus's generoſity to the *Samians*, 195, b. & ſeq. Invaded by *Syloſon* 196, & ſeq. Retires to *Lacedæmon*, 197, b. Forced to retire to *Samos*, ibid. c, d.

Magas, king of *Lybia*'s alliance with *Ptolemy*, 524, b. Broken by his widow, ibid. c.

—— brother of *Philadelphus*, revolts from him, 625. Is reconciled to him, 636.

—— brother of *Philopator* put to death by him, 643.

Magneſia, the battle of, 564, & ſeq.

Mago ſent admiral againſt *Dionyſius*, 50, e. Defeated by him, 55, f. Makes peace with him, 56, b. Sent again into *Sicily*, 60, c. Defeated and killed, ibid. c. Succeeded by his valiant ſon, ibid. d.

Malli, confederate againſt *Alexander*, 393, c. Defeated, ibid. & ſeq. 397, & ſeq.

Malum, a city in *Cyprus*, 173, d.

Mamercus, tyrant of *Catana*, put to death, 97, c.

Mamertini, who, 88, b. Their treachery to the *Meſſenians*, ibid. c. Defeated by *Pyrrhus*, 90, e. By *Hiero*, 92, c.

Manius ſent by *Sertorius* to aſſiſt *Mithridates*, 740. Put to death by *Lucullus*, 743, d.

Maracanda, by whom built, 845, d. Beſieged by the *Scythians*, 371, f. Relieved by *Alexander*, 373, c.

Marcelli, patrons of the *Sicilians*, 126, e.

Marcellus ſent into *Sicily*, 107, f. Takes *Leontini*, 109, e. Beſieges *Syracuſe*, 111, c, d. Invents a new machine, 112, a. Takes ſeveral cities, 113, f. Defeats *Hippocrates*, 114. His ſingular clemency, 117, & ſeq. A plague in his army, 118, e. Takes *Syracuſe*, 121, & ſeq. His ſignal clemency to it, ibid. Takes *Engyum*, 124, c. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 125, e. Unjuſtly accuſed, 126, b, c. Cleared, ibid. d. How far blameable, ibid. note.

Mardi, ſubdued by *Alexander*, 360.

Mardonius's ſucceſsleſs expedition againſt *Athens*, 275, & ſeq. Againſt *Greece*, 276, & ſeq. Defeated and killed, 279, c.

Mariandyni, their origin, 827, d. e.

Marmarians, their deſperate defence againſt *Alexander*, 330, c. Force the *Macedonian* guard, ibid. d.

Marmora, the ſea of, whence ſo called, 201, P.

Maronites plundered by *Onomaſtus*, 479, b.

Marpeſſus's mount, famed for marble, 222, e. f.

Martius outwits *Perſeus*, 485, f. Sent againſt him, 487, e. Gets into the vale of *Tempe*, 488. Ill ſucceſs in *Macedon*, ibid. d, e.

Maſius mount in *Armenia*, 695.

Maſſaga beſieged and taken by *Alexander*, 387, b, &c.

Maſſagetæ defeated by *Craterus*, 382.

Maſtic of *Chios*, famed, 108, b.

Maſtiffs of *Adranum*, why famed, 8, e, & ſeq.

Mauſolus, king of *Caria*, oppreſſes the *Rhodians*, 136, b.

Mazaca, metropolis of *Cappadocia*, 762, a.

Mazaces ſurrenders to *Alexander*, 349, b, d. 353, a.

Mebarſapes, king of *Adiabene*, driven out, 851, f.

Media, *Atropatia*, vid. *Atropatene*, 844, & ſeq.

Medius feaſts *Alexander*, 410, d, e.

Megabiſus's hapleſs meſſage to *Amyntas*, 247.

Megacles killed inſtead of *Pyrrhus*, 809, d.

Megadates, made governor of *Syria*, 617, a. Recalled, 619, d.

Megalopolitans beſieged by *Polyſperchon*, 455, & ſeq.

Megara taken and razed by the *Romans*, 118, f.

Megareans war with the *Samians*, 189, d.

Megaris, vid. *Hybla*, 3.

Megaſthenes's character and writings, 522, a, & M.

Melanchrus, tyrant of *Leſbos*, driven out by *Pittacus*, 106, c.

Melas, a river of *Cappadocia*, 762, c.

Meleager declares for *Aridæus*, 415, b. His character, ibid. d. Supplanted by *Perdiccas*, 416, c.

—— brother of *Ceraunus*, choſen king of *Macedon*, 470, c. Deprived by his Subjects, ibid.

Melians, whence, 218, d. Cruelly treated by the *Athenians*, ibid. e.

Meliſſa, one of *Jupiter*'s nurſes, 163, b.

Meliſſæ, whence ſo called, ibid.

Meliſſeus introduces worſhip in *Crete*, 165, b.

Melos, iſland, deſcribed, 218. Abounds with iron mine, and famous for wine and honey, ibid. Invaded by the *Athenians*, ibid. d. Subdued by the *Romans*, ibid. f.

Memnon defeated by *Alexander*, 325 — defends *Miciches*, 327. — defends *Halicarnaſſus*, 328, d, & ſeq.

Menander, king of *Bactria*, his conqueſts, 846, d.

Menelaus defeated by *Demetrius*, 183, b. Defends *Salamis*, ibid. c. Taken priſoner, 184, a.

—— the *Jew*, buys the high-prieſthood, 573. Apoſtatiſes, 574, a. Cauſes *Onias* to be murdered, ibid. c. Convicted of many crimes, 575, c.

Meneſarchus, tyrant of *Eubœa*, wars with the *Thebans*, 251, c. Applies for aid to the *Athenians*, ibid.

Menidas wounded at *Guagamela*, 350, f.

Menippas's ſpeech to the *Romans*, 548, c.

Menythillus facilitates *Demetrius*'s eſcape, 590, a. — ſpeech to the *Roman* ſenate, 651, c.

Mericus ſurrenders *Acradina* to the *Romans*, 120, f, & ſeq.

Meriones king of *Crete*, Signalizes himſelf at *Troy*, 169, d. Adored by the *Cretans*, ibid.

Meroe perſuades *Porus* to ſubmit to *Alexander*, 392, e.

Meronea taken by the *Macedonians*, 147, a.

Meſades, king of the *Odryſæ*, 792, a.

Meſopotamia conquered by *Tigranes*, 701, b.

Meſſene beſieged by *Demetrius*, 441, f.

Meſſina, *al. Meſſana*, a city in *Sicily*, 2, d. Whence ſo

ſo called, 3, a. Taken by the *Carthaginians*, 51, b. Razed, ibid. c. Rebuilt by *Dionyſius*, 55, e. Attacked by the *Carthaginians*, 92, & ſeq. Relieved by the *Romans*, 94, b. Cloſely beſieged by *Hanno*, 95, a.

—— the ſtreights of, deſcribed, 2, a.

Meſtella, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.

Metellus ſent into *Crete*, 171, c. Quarrels with *Pompoy*, ibid. d, e. Subdues the iſland, 172, b. Triumphs and is ſirnamed *Creticus*, ibid. —defeats the *Pſeudo-Philip* in *Macedon*, 505. Reduces it into a *Roman* province, ibid. f.

Methone razed by *Philip*, 291, c.

Methymnia, a city in *Leſbos*, deſcribed, 204, a.

Metrodorus, where born, &c. 108, & note.

—— ſent embaſſador to *Tigranes*, 700, d. His Advice to him, ibid. Cauſe of his death, ibid. e.

Metrophanes ravages *Eubœa*, 733, c.

Micri Camini, the iſland of, 215, f.

Micythus, regent of *Rhegium*, his honeſt adminiſtration, 21, d. Retires into *Greece*, ibid.

Miletum beſieged by *Alexander*, 327, f.

Milinus, king of *Crete*, 165, b.

Milo ſurrenders *Tarentum*, 820, a.—puniſhed for his double parricide, 821, a.

Miltiades I. choſen king of the *Dolonci*, 789, a, b. Reſcued from the *Lampſacians*, ibid. c. His death, ibid. d.

—— II. ſeizes the kingdom of the *Dolonci*, ibid. d, e.

—— *Athenian* general's victory at *Marathon*, 223. Fruitleſs attempt on *Paros*, ibid. & ſeq.

Minio's haughty ſpeech to the *Roman* embaſſadors, 551, a, b.

Minoa, by whom built, 12, c.

Minos gives laws to *Crete*, 163. Whoſe ſon he was, ibid. f. His reign, 166, b. Fleet, wars, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Cruelty to the *Athenians*, 167, a. War with *Cocalus*, ibid. c. Murdered, ibid. d. His laws, ibid. & ſeq. Vid. & p. 12 and 13.

Minotaur, deſcribed, 167, b.

Mithridates I. third king of *Pontus*, 724, b. Goes over to *Alexander*, 330, b.

—— II. wars with *Antigonus*, ibid. & ſeq.

—— III. his reign, 725, a.

—— IV. invaded by the *Galatians*, ibid. b.

—— V. wars with the *Sinopians*, ibid. c.

—— VI. a firm ally to the *Romans*, 726, d. Murdered, ibid. e.

—— VII, his glorious reign, ibid. & ſeq. Conqueſts, 727, & ſeq. Treachery, 728, c, d. Invades *Bithynia*, 729. Beats the *Romans*, 730. Cruelty to them, 131, & ſeq. Defeated by the *Rhodians*, 157, c. 733, a. Ominous prodigies againſt him, ibid. S. Defeated by *Sylla*. 734. By *Fimbria*, 736, a, b. Makes peace with *Sylla*, 737, & ſeq. His cruelty to his ſon, 739, a. Begins a new war, ibid. & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs before *Cyzicum*, 741, & ſeq. & C. Defeats the *Romans*, 745, a. Forſaken by his army, ibid. & ſeq. Murders all his wives, &c. 746, b. Renews the war againſt the *Romans*, 748. Defeated, 149, c. His letter to *Arſaces*, 704, K. Overthrows the *Romans*, 749, e, & ſeq. Beſieged by *Pompey*, 751, e, f. Defeated again, 752. Flees into *Scythia*, 753. Appears afreſh, 754. Forſaken by his army, 755. Betrayed by his ſon, ibid. & ſeq. Kills himſelf, 756. His character, ibid. & ſeq. Burial, 757, d, e.

—— *Iberus* crowned king of *Armenia* by *Tiberius*, 710, c. Invaded by *Artabanus*, ibid. d. Sent priſoner to *Rome*, ibid. e. Reſtored, ibid. Betrayed by *Pollio*, 711, c. Murdered by *Rhadamiſtus*, 712, a.

—— II. king of *Armenia*, joins with the king of *Pontus*, 726, c.

—— king of *Parthia*, takes *Demetrius* priſoner, 605, f, & ſeq.

—— king of *Pergamus*'s great ſervices to *Julius Cæſar*, 676, a. 678, b, c. Made king of *Boſporus*, 843, d. Killed, ibid. e.

—— I. and II. kings of *Iberia*, 836, e, & ſeq.

—— king of *Atropatene*, 844.

—— of *Comagene*, made ſo by the *Romans*, 853, d.

Mithridatic war, 727, & ſeq. Renewed, 739, & ſeq. The length of it, 756, ſub fin. not.

Mithrobazanes reſtored to his father's crown, 699, d.

Mitylene, metropolis of *Leſbos*, 204, b. Its worthies, ibid. The ſeat of learning, ibid. c. Taken by *Mnemon*, 207, c.

Mitylenians war with the *Athenians*, 206, a. Highly favoured by *Alexander*, 207, d.

Mnemoſyne, whence ſo called, 163, b.

Moawias ſells the *Coloſſus*, 131, c.

Mædi plunder the *Delphic* temple, 749, d.

Molo, prince of *Syria*, revolts from *Antiochus*, 530, e, f. Defeats his generals, 531. Is defeated, 533, d. Kills himſelf, ibid. e. His body crucified, 534, a.

Moloſſis, a province of *Epirus*, deſcribed, 796, c. Whence ſo called, ibid. Famed for its maſtiffs, and horſes, 798, b. Subdued by *Pyrrhus*, ibid. e.

Moloſſus, king of *Epirus* brought up by *Helenus*, 799, e, f.

Monima put to death by *Mithridates*, 746, b. L.

Monobaſus I. king of *Adiabene*, 849, a.

—— II. made regent, ibid. c, d. Mounts the throne, 851. Honourable interment of his mother and brother, ibid.

Mopſueſtians murder *Seleucus*, 615, d. Puniſhed by *Euſebes*, ibid. e.

Morgantia, vid. *Murgentium*, 3, c.

Morgetæ, who, 3, d.

Morimena, *Jupiter*'s temple at, 763, d.

Moſaic laws, whether copied by *Ariſtotle*, 330, F.

Moſchick monntains in *Armenia*, whence ſo called, 695, b.

Mother, a title given to the chief goddeſſes, 9, c. & H.

Motya, deſcribed, 49, e. Taken by *Dionyſius*, 50, b.

Mulolitum, where ſituate, 787

Muræna left prætor of *Aſia*, 738, e. Defeated by *Mithridates*, 739, d. His ſon more ſucceſsful againſt him, 740, e, & G.

Murgentium, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, c. Surrendered to *Hamilco*, 114, e.

Muſa, princeſs of *Bithynia*, deprived of her ſucceſſion, 832, b. *Salluſt* miſtakes in calling her ſon of *Nicomedes*, ibid.

Muſæum of *Alexandria*, deſcribed, 630, b, c.

Muſicanus's ſubmiſſion and preſents to *Alexander*, 400, a Revolts, and is crucified, ibid. d, & H.

Mutines's valour maintains the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, 124, & ſeq. Envied by *Hanno*, &c. 125. Ravages the iſland, ibid. f. Betrays *Agrigentum* to the *Romans*, 127. Rewarded by them, 128, b.

Mycaberna taken by *Philip*, 294.

Myconians ſubject to baldneſs, 225, b. Their character, ibid.

Myconus, iſland. deſcribed, ibid.

Mygdonia, a province in *Macedon*, 253. Where ſituate, 256, c. In *Aſia* conquered by *Tigranes*, 701.

Mylæ, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 92, & N.

Myndians deceive with falſe promiſes, and repulſe *Alexander*, 329, a.

Mynians ſettle in *Lacedæmon*, 214, c. Their treachery, ibid. d. Eſcape, ibid. e. Settle at *Theræ*, ibid. f. & ſeq.

Myrlea in *Bithynia*, by whom founded, 822, a.

Myrmidons, whence ſo called, 243, c, d. Inhabitants of what place, ibid.

Myron, a famed ſtatuary, 188, b.

Myrſilus, tyrant of *Leſbos*, 236, c. *Alcæus* writes invectives againſt him, ibid.

N.

Nabatean Arabs invaded by *Antigonus*, 433, & ſeq. Make peace with his ſon, 434, c. Fall foul on his collector of the bitumen, ibid. f.
Næniæ, by whom invented, 217, b.
Nanea, the ſame with *Diana*, 609, R. Her temple attempted by *Sidetes*, ibid. c, d.
Narteas, the temple of, 186, e.
Nauplius, king of *Eubœa*, wrecks the *Grecian* fleet, 247, c. *Ulyſſes* and *Diomedes* eſcaping, he drowns himſelf, ibid. d.
Naxians, whence, 220, d. Their government, ibid. & ſeq. Treachery to the *Perſians*, 221, d. Join the *Athenians* in the *Peloponneſian* war, ibid. Oppreſſed by the *Rhodians*, ibid. f.
Naxos, iſland, deſcribed, 219, f. Its excellent wines, 220, b. Taken by *Dionyſius*, 48, d. By the *Theſſalians*, 220, e. *Carians*, ibid. f. Invaded by *Ariſtagoras*, 221, b. Subdued by the *Perſians*, ibid. d. By the *Athenians*, ibid. e.
Naxus, the ſon of *Palemon*, reigns in *Naxos*, 220, f.
—— metropolis of that iſland, 221, a.
Nazianzum, a city in *Cappadocia*, 762, b.
Neapaphos, in *Cyprus*, deſcribed, 174, a.
Neapolis, one of the four quarters of *Syracuſe*, 4, b, d. When added to it, 5, b.
—— a city in *Thrace*, 786, c.
Nearchus made admiral to *Alexander*, 397, b. Sails down the *Indus*, 401, & ſeq. & I. Rejoins *Alexander*, 404, b.
Negropont, *Eubœa* why ſo called, 246, d.
Neleus, a river in *Eubœa*, 247, e.
Neocæſarea, a city in *Pontus*, 721, b.
Neolaus, his tragical end, 533, e.
Neoptolemus I. king of *Epirus*, 801, a.
—— II. ſet up againſt *Pyrrhus*, 804, b, c. Reigns jointly with him, ibid. Put to death by him, ibid. e.
—— a flattering poet to *Philip*, 310, L.
—— the ſon of *Amyntas*, killed at *Halicarnaſſus*, 329, c.
—— governor of *Armenia*, defeated by *Eumenes*, 421, f. & ſeq. Killed, 422, c.
Neptune, why worſhiped at *Tenos*, 226, a, b.
Neritus mount, where ſituate, 241, f.
Neronia, new *Artaxata*, ſo called, 692, f.
Neſtus, a river in *Macedon*, 260, e.
Nicæa, built by *Alexander*, 393, a.—Taken by *Triarius*, 744, a.
—— in *Bithynia*, by whom built, 826, f. Deſcribed, 827, a, b.
Nicander king of *Cos*, 205, e.
Nicanor's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, f. Defeated by *Seleucus*, 433, c. Refuſes to obey *Polyſperchon*'s edict, 455, a. Defeated by *Clytus*, 456, c. Defeats him, ibid. d. Slain by *Caſſander*, ibid.
Nicaria, vide *Icaria*, 211, e.
Nicolaus the *Syracuſan*'s brave ſpeech in favour of the *Athenian* priſoners, 35, & ſeq.
—— officer to *Ptolemy*, his fidelity to him, 537, c, d. Made his generaliſſimo, 538, b. Defeated by *Nearchus*, ibid. d, e.
Nicias ſent into *Sicily*, 26, a, b. Surpriſes *Olympicum*, 27, f. And *Epipolæ*, 28, c. Driven out by *Gylippus*, 29, e. Defeated at ſea, 30, b, c. Frighted by a lunar eclipſe, 31, e. Defeated again, 32, & ſeq. Outwitted by *Hermocrates*, 33, & ſeq. Greatly diſtreſſed, 34, & ſeq. Surrenders to *Gylippus*, b. Condemned to death, 36.
—— *Perſeus*'s general throws his treaſures into the ſea, 483. Put to death to conceal it, ibid.
—— *Pyrrhus*'s phyſician's treacherous offer, 814, a. Rejected by the *Romans*, ibid. b. His puniſhment, 816, a.
—— a wit, his untimely pleaſantry, 124, c.
Nicocles I. king of *Cyprus* dethroned, 179, c.
—— II. his reign, 181, d.
—— king of *Paphos* and his family kill themſelves, 182, d, e.
Nicocrates king of *Salamis*, his noble library, 178.
Nicocreon I. king of *Salamis*, 177, a.
—— II. his cruelty, 179, c.
Nicomedes prince of *Bithynia* eſcapes his father's treachery, 779, & ſeq. Takes up arms againſt him, 780, & ſeq. Puts him to death, 781, b. Calls in the *Gauls*, 522, 828. Gives them part of *Aſia Minor*, ibid. Builds *Nicomedia*, 829.
—— II. his obſcure reign, 831.
—— III. allies with *Mithridates*, 727, 831. Driven out of *Cappadocia*, ibid. Wars againſt *Pontus*, 729, 831, Reduced to a private life, ibid. f. Reſtored and dies, ibid.
—— lampooned for his familiarity with *Julius Cæſar*, 831, & ſeq. & T. The laſt *Bithynian* king, 832, a, b.
Nicomedia metropolis of *Bithynia*, 822, 829. Made *Conſtantine*'s reſidence, ibid. At preſent a ſmall village, ibid: Where ſituate, 827, a.
Nicopolis in *Armenia Minor*. by whom built, 718, d.
—— in *Thrace*, by whom founded, 787, d.
Niphates mount in *Armenia*, celebrated by the Poets, 695, b.
Niſibis taken by *Tigranes*, 701. By *Lucullus*, 705, f. 747, f.
Niſyra, iſland, how parted from that of *Cos*, 213, d.
Noah worſhipped by the ancient *Armenians*, 697, c. Some remains of his ark at *Cæron*, 849, b.
Nubium, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Nypſius ſurprizes *Syracuſe*, 70, b. Puts all to the ſword, ibid. c, d.
Nyſa, a city in *Cappadocia*, 762, b.
—— taken by *Alexander*, 390, D.

O.

Oaſis in *Egypt*, inhabited by *Samians*, 189, a.
Oaths how taken and given by the *Romans*, 567, a.
Ochus invades *Cyprus*, 181, f, & ſeq. Makes peace with it, 182.
—— a river in *Bactria*, 845, e.
Octavia married to *Marc Antony*, 681, d. Supplanted by *Cleopatra*, 682, b, c. Divorced and turned out, 684, b.
Octavianus gives his ſiſter to *Marc Antony*, 681. Marches againſt him, 684, b, c. Defeats him at ſea, ibid. e, f. Invades *Egypt*, 685, f, & ſeq. Takes *Cleopatra* priſoner, 688, d. Enters *Alexandria*, ibid. f. His behaviour to *Cleopatra*, 689, & ſeq. Outwitted by her, 699. Returns to *Rome*, 691, a.
Octavius unreaſonably oppoſes *Metellus* in *Crete*, 171. Driven out of the iſland, 172, b.
—— *Roman* admiral, 490, f. Diſcharges his duty well, 591. Brings *Perſeus* priſoner to the conſul, 495, c.
—— Sent to be guardian to young *Eupator*, 586, d. Murdered by *Lyſias*, 588, & ſeq.
Odomantes a people of *Thrace*, 790.
Odryſæ a people of *Thrace*, 791. Their kings, ibid. & ſeq. Country made a *Roman* province, 793, f
Geſyna, a city of *Thrace*, 786, c.
Olanus, a city in *Leſbos*, by whom built, 205, c.
Olbia not the ſame with *Nicomedia*, 822, c.
Olbus, the temple and prieſthood of, 176, f.
Oleares iſland deſcribed, 219.
Olophernes I. king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
—— *al. Orophernes*, dethrones *Ariarathes* VI. 592, e. 765, a. Driven out by *Attalus*, 766. Slain, ibid. d.
Olthaces king of *Colchis*, 835, a.
Olympia, the caſtle of, 5, b.

Olympias, *Philip*'s queen, her character, 300, a, b. Divorce, ibid. c. Meſſage to *Alexander*, 348, a. 358, d. Forced to retire into *Epirus*, 425, d. Inſtances of her pride and cruelty, 453, B. Recalled by *Polyſperchon*, ibid. & ſeq. Her cruel behaviour at her return, 457. Shuts herſelf up in *Pydna*, ibid. f. Beſieged by *Caſſander*, 458. Put to death, ibid. d.
—— queen of *Acarnania*, allies with *Demetrius* II. 475, a.
Olympics inſtituted by *Philip*, 294, d.
Olympius Jupiter, his famed temple at *Agrigentum*, deſcribed, 6, b.
Olympus mount, deſcribed, 259, a, H.
Olynthians invaded by the *Macedonians*, 285, b. Defeated by the *Spartans*, ibid. d. Subdued by *Amyntas*, ibid. e. Invaded by *Philip*, 293, & ſeq. Cauſe defended by *Demoſthenes*, ibid.
Olynthus taken by the *Perſians*, 277, a, b. By *Philip*, 294. b.
Omar deſtroys the *Alexandrian* library, 630, a.
Oneſicritus, his character as an author, 395, ſub. fin. not. Made captain of a galley by *Alexander*, 397, b.
Oneſilus king of *Salamis*, 177, c. Revolts from the *Perſians*, ibid. d, e. Killed in battle, 178, b.
Onias, the worthy *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, falls out with *Simon*, 569. Oppoſes *Heliodorus*, ibid. & ſeq. Depoſed by *Antiochus*, 572, e. Murdered at *Antioch* by *Andronicus*, 574, d.
——— a ſordid high-prieſt, endangers the *Jewiſh* nation, 640, c, d.
——— builts a *Jewiſh* temple in *Egypt*, 654, c.
Onomarchus, general of the *Phocians*, defeats *Philip*, 292, b. Killed by him, ib. d.
Ophellas betrayed and murdered by *Agathocles*, 86, a, b.
Ophiuſia, *Tenos* iſland, why ſo called, 225, d.
Opis, why honoured by the *Delians*, 229, e.
Oppius Q. ſent againſt *Mithridates*, 730, c. Delivered up to him in chains, 731, b.
Ora a city in *India*, taken by *Alexander*, 388, d.
Orbelia, the country of, where ſituate, 257, b.
Orbelus mount in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Orchemus rebuilt by *Alexander*, 321, d.
Oreos in *Eubœa* deſcribed, 249, b. Taken by the *Rhodians*, 147, c. By the *Athenians*, 249, c. By *Philip*, 299, b.
Oreſtes kingdom of, 255.
——— king of *Macedon*, 284.
Orgomenes, a river in *Bactria*, 845, e.
Oricum, a city in *Epirus*, 795, f.
Oritæ ſubdued by *Alexander*, 402, c.
Oroundes's treachery to *Perſeus*, 495. b.
Orobia, a city in *Eubœa*, drowned, 249, f.
Orobius reſcues *Delos* from *Mithridates*, 733, c.
Oroeſes king of *Albania* defeated by *Pompey*, 838, e f.
Oroetes treacherouſly ſeizes and crucifies the tyrant *Polycrates*, 193, d, & ſeq.
Orodes king of *Armenia* depoſed by *Germanicus*, 710, b.
Orontes's treachery to *Tiribazus*, 181, b, c.
Orontobates made governor of *Media*, 431, b.
Orophernes, vid. *Olophernes*, 592, & 765, a.
Oroſanges, who 199.
Orphitus Pactius defeated, 714, b. Puniſhed, ibid.
Orſines put to death for his cruelty, 404, M.
Ortygia, *Delos*, why ſo called, 227.
——— one of the four quarters of *Syracuſe*, 4, b, c. Taken by the *Romans*, 121, b, c.
Otacilius, *M.* ſent into *Sicily*, 96, e.
Otanes ſent to invade *Samos*, 196, e. His cruelty to the *Samians*, 197. Re-peoples that iſland, ibid. c.
Oxathres ſaves *Darius*'s life, 336, l. Put to death, 405, b
—— the ſon of *Dionyſius*, tyrant of *Heraclea* his parricide and death, 825, b.
Oxianes ſubmits to *Alexander*, 400, c, & H.
Oxus, river in *Bactria*, 845. How paſſed by *Alexander*, 369.
Oxyartes king of *Bactria*, 146, b. Surrenders to *Alexander*, 384, d. Prevails on *Chorienes* to do the ſame, 385, a. Receives marks of the conqueror's favour, ibid. & ſeq. His lot after that monarch's death, 399, d.
Oxydracæ confederate againſt *Alexander*, 395, c. Defeated, ibid. & ſeq.

P.

Pachynum, a cape in *Sicily*, 1. Now *Capo Paſſaro*, 2, c.
Pætus ſent into *Armenia*, 715, d. Surrenders to *Vologeſes*, ibid. Withdraws into *Capadocia*, 716.
Palæna, a city in *Macedonia*, 256, d. Famous for inhoſpitable *Giants*, 257.
Palæpaphos, a city in *Cyprus*, 173, e.
Palermo, al. *Panorus*, capital of *Sicily*, 8, b.
Palici, twin gods worſhipped by the *Siculi*, 13, note. Greatly revered, ibid.
Palicon, the city of, whence ſo called, 13, c. The temple of, ibid. L.
Palladium found at *Troy*, 737, not.
Palus Mœotis deſcribed, 841.
Pancratis, raviſhed by the *Naxians*, 220, d.
Pangeus mount in *Macedonia*, 257, e.—the mines of, ibid. & 261, a.
——— in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Pantauchus wounded in a ſingle combat Defeated by *Pyrrhus*, 466, f.
Panticapæum, by whom built, 841, b. Not taken off by *Procopius*, ibid.
Panyaſus, a river in *Macedonia*, deſcribed, 260, b.
Paphia, one of the four parts of *Cyprus*, 175, a.
Paphlagonia ſubmits to *Alexander*, 333, f Invaded by *Mithridates*, 727. Divided between him and *Nicomedes*, ibid
Paphus, whoſe ſon he was, 175, f.
Paradiſe, ſome conjectures about its ſituation, 695, a, & E.
Paraxis, the region of, where ſituate, 256, a.
Parian marble deſcribed, 232, d, e.
Pariſades, I. and II. king of *Boſporus*, 841.
—— III. reſigns his kingdom to *Mithridates*, 893, a, b.
Pariſatis, daughter of *Ochus*, married to *Alexander*, 405.
Parmenio's character, 202, c, d. Seizes on *Darius*'s treaſure, 336, a, b. 338, & ſeq. Surrounded by *Perſians* at *Guagamela*, 352, e, Succoured by *Alexander*, ibid. & 352, O. Accuſed by his ſon, 365, a. Put to death, 366, b.
Paropamiſus, the country of, deſcribed, 368, & not.
——— the mountain of, 345, f
Paros iſland deſcribed, 222, & ſeq. Famous for its marble, ibid By whom inhabited, 223. b. Attempted in vain by *Miltiades*, ibid. & ſeq. Falls under the power of the *Athenians*, 224.
——— the city of, deſcribed, 222. d Beſieged by the *Athenians*, 223, & ſeq. Subdued, 224, c.
Parthenia, *Samos* why ſo called, 186, d.
Parthia, the kingdom of, when and by whom founded, 525, b.
Paryadræ, mountains in *Armenia*, 695, b.
Paſiphae, the wife of *Minos*, her incontinency, 167, b.
Paſſaron, the grand council of *Epirus*, held at 822, c.
Patmos iſland deſcribed, 212, a Uſed by the *Romans* as a place of Baniſhment, ibid.
Patrocles forced to abandon *Babylon*, 435, a. Defeated and killed by the *Bithynians*, 522, c.
Pattala, the king of, ſubmits to *Alexander*, 401, a.
Pauſanias king of *Macedon*, 284, f. Killed by *Amyntas*, ibid.
——— murderer of *Philip*, his motive, 313, & ſeq.
Pauſiſtratus invades *Caria*, 147, f, & ſeq. His gallant

gallant behaviour, 148. Sent againſt *Antiochus*, 149, c. Periſhes through the treachery of *Polyxenidas*, ibid. & ſeq.
Pelagonia where ſituate, 257, b.
Pelamides an excellent fiſh, 822, f. Beſt at *Chalcedon*, ibid.
Pelaſgians ſettle in *Crete*, 163, d. Firſt inhabiters of *Lesbos*, 205, b. Why driven out of *Attica*, 235, b. Settle at *Lemnos*, ibid. d. Murder the *Athenian* breed, ibid. & ſeq.
Pelaſgias and *Peleia*, the etymon of, 796, not.
Pelignus, *Julius*, an infamous free-booter, 712, d.
Pelion, the mountain of, its heighth, 259, H.
Pella, a city in *Macedon*, 356, a. Its vaſt ſtud of horſes, 261, a. Taken by the *Romans*, 493.
Pelopidas's ſucceſs in *Theſſaly*, 286, b, c.
Pelorum, a cape in *Sicily*, whence ſo called, 1.
Peltaſtæ in *Macedon*, their office, 268, b.
Peluſium taken by *Antiochus*, 575, c. 578, e, Surrendered to *Alexander*, 345, d.
Peneus river deſcribed, 259, H.
Peparethus, iſland, deſcribed, 233. Its wine famed, hence called *Euænus* ibid.
Perdiccas I. fourth king of *Macedon*, 272.
——II. ſon of *Alexander*, his reign, 279, H ſeq. Wars with *Athens*, 280. Joins with *Braſidas* againſt the *Lyncеſthi*, 282, c. His death and character 283, c, d.
—— III. ſet on the throne by *Pelopidas*, 287, a.
——*Alexander*'s general, his advice after his death 415, a. Character, ibid. & ſeq. Supplants and puts *Meleager* to death, 416. His great power, ibid. & ſeq. *Cappadocia*, 420, a, b. Marries *Nicæa*, ibid. e. Wars with *Ptolemy*, 421, d, e. Murdered by his men, 423.
——a traitor to *Enmenes*, hanged, 424, a, b.
Perea recovered by the *Rhodians*, 147, f.
Perga delivered up to the *Romans*, 566, b, P.
Peagamenian library, deſcribed, 629, d. Given to *Cleopatra* by *Mark Antony* and removed to *Alexandria*, ibid.
Pergamus, the kingdom of, 769, & ſeq. Its kings, ibid. Invaded and waſted by the *Bithynians*, 778. Bequeathed to the *Roman* province, 784, & ſeq.
Periander's revenge on the *Corcyreans*, 90, a, b.
Pericles invades *Samos*, 119. Takes the capital of it, 200, b, c.
Perillus preſents his braſen bull to *Phalaris*, 128, e. Suffers in it himſelf, ibid.
Perinthus, *al. Perynthus*, by whom founded, 787, c. Beſieged by *Philip*, 299, & ſeq. 304, f. Relieved by *Phocion*, 305, b.
Perperna ſent againſt *Ariſtonicus*, 784.
Perſepolis deſtroyed by *Alexander*, 366, & ſeq.
Perſeus, the natural ſon of *Philip*, cabals againſt his brother, 478, & ſeq. 481, c, d. Diſcovered, and diſinherited, 482. Mounts the throne by main force, ibid. f, & ſeq. His character, &c. 483. Falls out with the *Romans*, ibid. d, e. Goes to *Delphi*, ibid. f, Undermined by *Eumenes*, 484. Accuſed to the *Romans*, 485. Makes war with them, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats them, 486, & ſeq. His puſillanimity, 487, & ſeq. Mad actions, 488, a, b. Covetouſneſs, 489. Defeated by the *Romans*, 492, & ſeq. His miſerable flight, 493. Takes ſanctuary in *Samothrace*, 494. Surrenders to *Octavius*, 495, b. How treated by the *Roman* conſul, ibid. & ſeq. Vindicated againſt the *Roman* writers, 497, D. His miſerable end, 499. Character and progeny, ibid. & ſeq.
—Rude behaviour at the court of *Macedon*, 274.
Perſian embaſſadors, how treated, ibid.
Perſians oppreſs the *Cypriots*, 176, & ſeq. Make peace them, 179, a. Defeat the *Grecian* fleet, 197, c. The cauſes of that war, 275, & ſeq. Defeated by *Mardonius*, ibid. Put to flight by *Leutychides*, 161, e, f. Worſhip *Alexander*, 379, c, & X.
Peſſuthnes aſſiſts the *Samians* Againſt the *Athenians*. 199, e, f.
Petaliſm at *Syracuſe*, what. 24, a b.
Petilia, by whom built, 169, b.
Petra plundered by *Antigonus*, 434, a.
Peuceſtas's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e. Outwitted by *Eumenes*, 427, & ſeq. His treachery to him, 430, a. Puniſhed, 431, b.
Phædra's incontinency, 162, a.
Phalanx, *Macedonian*, how diſpoſed, 262, c. By whom invented, 289, a. B.
Phalaris, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, 128, d. His braſen bull, 42, & Y. His death, 121, e.
Phanagoria, metropolis of *Boſporus*, 843, b.
Pharaimanes, king of *Choraſmene*, 381, f. His embaſſy to *Alexander*, ibid.
Pharaſmenes, king of *Iberia*, recovers *Armenia*, 710, Supplants his brother *Mithridates*, 711, a, b. His cruelty to him, 712, a. vid. & 836, & ſeq.
king of *Albania*, favoured by the *Romans*, 839, b.
Pharmacuſa, iſland, deſcribed, 212, b. *Cæſar* taken priſoner near it, ibid.
Pharnaces I. king of *Pontus*, wars with *Eumenes*, 725, & ſeq. Makes peace with him, 726, b.
——II. revolts againſt his father, 755, & ſeq. Made king of *Boſporus*, 757. Recovers part of *Pontus*, 758, c, d. Defeats the *Romans*, ibid. f. Defeated by *Julius Cæſar*, 759, & ſeq. Killed, 760, b.
——king of *Cappadocia*, 763, a. 764, a
Pharos, the famous tower of, deſcribed, 626 & ſeq. & A.
Phaſelus, the tower of, deſcribed, 627, A.
Phaſis, a river in *Armenia*, 694, a. 833, c.
—— city in *Colchis*, 833, b.
Pheaſants, whence brought, 833, c.
Pherecydes, firſt proſe-writer, where born, 324, & ſeq. His doctrines, ibid. & X.
Pherenice, princeſs of *Rhodes*, carries her ſon to the *Olympic* games, 134, d.
Pheretima Queen of *Cyrene* driven into *Cyprus*, 177, a. Her reception there, ibid.
Phernophorus, *Ptolem. Phil.* why ſo called, 525, e.
Phidon, the firſt coiner of money, 244, a.
Philadelphian works, whence ſo called, 693, a.
Philæus, king of *Salamis*, yields that iſland to the *Athenians*, 245, d.
Philammon murders *Arſinoe*, 946, c. Aſſaſſinated by her women, 617, d.
Philip of *Macedon* wars with *Rhodes*, 146, & ſeq. Accuſed to the *Romans*, 147, b. Makes peace with them, 149, d.
Philip I. ſixth king of *Macedon*, 273.
——II. where brought up, 287, c. Comes into *Macedonia*, ibid. & ſeq. His policy, 288, & A. Defeats *Argeus*, 289, a. Makes peace with *Athens*, ibid. b, c. His conqueſts, 290, & ſeq. Loſes an eye, 291, c, & D. His ſucceſs in *Theſſaly*, 292, & ſeq. Againſt the *Olynthians*, 293, & ſeq. Makes peace with *Athens*, 294, & ſeq. Puts an end to the ſacred war, 295, & ſeq. Invades part of *Thrace*, 797, & ſeq. & F. *Eubæa*, 299. *Propontis*, ibid. & ſeq. His letter to the *Athenians*, 300, & ſeq. Driven by *Phocion*, 305. Defeats the *Triballi*, ibid. c. Choſen general by the *Amphictyons*, 306, b, c. Beats the confederates, 307. Makes peace with *Athens*, 308, b. Arms againſt *Xerxes*, ibid. & ſeq. Marries *Cleopatra*, 310, b. Murdered, 314, b. His character, ibid. & ſeq.
—— *Caſſander*'s general's ſucceſs in *Ætolia*, 461, a.
——the ſon of *Demetrius* II. left an infant, 475, b. Proſpers under his uncle *Doſon*, ibid. & ſeq. Mounts the *Macedonian* throne, 477, c. His treachery to *Aratus* and his ſon, ibid. f. Overpowered by the *Romans*, 578. Vain ſtruggles againſt them, 479, & ſeq. Family broils, 480, c. Puts his ſon to death, 481, c. Runs mad, 482. His death, ibid. f.
—the pretended ſon of *Perſeus*, vid. *Andriſcus*, 501.
—a *Phrygian* and cruel governor of *Judæa*, 577, a.
——regent of *Syria*, 585. Defeated and put to death by *Lyſias*, 588, b.
——the ſon of *Grypus*, defeats the *Mopſueſtians*, 615, e. And *Eucheres*, 616, a. Invaded by *Euſebes* and *Dionyſius*, ib. b, c.

— the *Acarnanian*, his faithfulneſs to *Alexander*, 334. d.— His lot after his death, 423, e.
Philippi, by whom built, 257, called formerly *Crenides*, ibid.
Philippopolis in *Thrace*, by whom built, 787, d.
Philiſtides, tyrant of *Oreus*, 252, a. Made ſo by *Philip*, 299, note.
Philiſtus the hiſtorian, his character, 64, b. Treachery to *Dion*, ibid. d, e. Defeated at ſea, 69, a. His perſonal bravery, ibid. Kills himſelf, ibid.
Philla, daughter of *Antipater*, married to *Craterus*, 451, c.
Philo choſen chief of the rebels, 419.
Philocles betrays young *Demetrius*, 481, c. Put to death, 482, b.
Philotærus, firſt king of *Pergamus*, 520, K. Buys the body of *Seleucus*, 521, d. Seizes the caſtle of *Pergamus*, 769, c.
Philotas ſuſpected of treaſon, 364, d. Tortured, and put to death, 365. His character, ibid. & ſeq.
Philoxenus's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e.
Phocians war with *Philip*, 292, & ſeq.
Phocis entered by *Philip*, 295, & ſeq.
Phocrites made chief magiſtrate of *Heraclea*, 825, d.
Phœbus, why fabled in love with *Rhodes*, 129, b. 131, e, & ſeq.
Phœnice conquered by *Tigranes*, 71, c.
Phœnix, one ſeen in *Egypt*, 643, a.
Phorbas, why admitted into *Rhodes*, 132, b.
Phrahates defeated by *Sidetes*, 608, c, d. Deſtroys all the *Syrians*, in their winter quarters, ibid. f. & ſeq.
Phronima, princeſs of *Crete*, how ſaved from death, 170, a.
Phrygians, why ſubmit to *Midas*, 333, c.
Phrynon overcome by *Pittacus*, 206, d.
Phylace, a city in *Macedonia*, famed for a viſion of *Alexander*'s, 256, b.
Phyto defends *Rhegium* againſt *Dionyſius*, 58, b. Barbarouſly murdered by him, ibid. d, e.
Pielus, king of *Epirus*, 799, f, & ſeq.
Pieres, a people of *Terace*, 791. Hence the muſes called *Pierides*, ibid.
Pieria, the region of, 256, b. Its mines, 261, a.
Pierian hills, deſcribed, 251, d.
Pimplia hill, deſcribed, 251, d. Its poiſonous fountain, ibid
Pinarius ſaves *Enna* from being betrayed, 114, e.
Pindus, the famous mount of, 798, a,
Pins, why conſecrated by the *Argives*, 244, in fin. not.
Pithon ſent to reduce *Muſicanus*, 400. Plots againſt *Perdiccas*, 419. Choſen protector of *Macedon*, 423, b. Put to death by *Antiochus*, 431, a.
— attempt againſt *Eumenes*, 426, d.
Pittacus, were born, 204, b.
— king of *Lesbos*, his character, 206, c. His laws and writings, ibid. e. Overcomes *Phrynon*, ibid.
Pityus, metropolis of *Colchis* 832, f.
Plane tree in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, b.
Platæa rebuilt by *Alexander*, 321, d.
Plato invited into *Sicily* by *Dionyſius* I. 63, note. Puniſhed for his freedom of ſpeech, ibid. Invited thither by his ſon, ibid. Poiſhes him, 64, c, d. Comes a third time to *Syracuſe*, 65, e. Goes back into *Greece*, 66.
Plotinopolis, a city of *Thrace*, 787, d.
Plutarchus, tyrant of *Eubœa*, expelled, 251, e, f.
Polemo made king of *Pontus*, 760, d.—II. turns *Jew*, ibid. e. Exchanges his kingdom, 844, b.
— taken priſoner, 708.
Polemonium, a city in *Pontus*, 721, c. Hence *Pontus*, *Polemoniacus* called, ibid.
Polyæmus's ſpeech to the *Syracuſians*, 104. c, d.
Polybius's advice to young *Demetrius*, 589, & ſeq. & E.
Polycrates enſlaves the *Samians*, 190, c, d. Allies *Egypt*, ibid. f. Subdues his neighbours, 191, a. The adventure of his ſeal, ibid. d. Sends a fleet to *Cambyſes*, ibid. f. Outwits the *Lacedæmonians*, 192, e. Outwitted by *Oroetes*, 193, e, f. Crucified, 194, a. His character, ibid.
—— prime miniſter of *Epiphanes*, his character, 649, c.
Polydamas ſent to kill *Parmenio*, 366, b.
Polydectes, king of *Seriphus*, 218, a.
Polymeſtor, king of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, 795, b. Murders *Polydor*, ibid.
Polyſperchon choſen governor of *Alexander*'s ſons, 425, b. Left with the care of *Macedon*, &c. 451, d. Appointed *Antipater*'s ſucceſſor, 453, & B. His character, and wrong meaſures, 454, a. Firſt edict confuſes all *Greece*, ibid. f. Cruelty to the *Peloponneſians*, 455, e. Defeated by *Callas*, 457, & ſeq. Forced to flee into *Greece*, 449, a. Murders *Hercules* and his mother. 462.
Polyxenidas's treachery to the *Rhodians*, 149, & ſeq. —defeated by the *Romans*, 555, c, d. His ſecond defeat, 559, d.
Polyzelus, prince of *Syracuſe*, envied by his brother, 20, d. Reconciled to him, 21.
Pompey oppoſes *Metellus* in *Crete*, 171. His haughty anſwer to *Aſiaticus*, ibid. e, f. Seizes on *Syria*, 619. Friendſhip to *Auletes*, 668, b. Sent into *Armenia*, 706, b, c. Reſtores *Tigranes* to his crown, 707, c. Succeeds *Lucullus* in *Pontus*, 750. Defeats *Mithridates*, 751, & ſeq. Purſues him into *Scythia*, 753. Subdues *Pontus*, 758, a. His generoſity at his triumph, ibid. b, c. Expedition againſt *Iberia*, 836, b, c. Againſt *Albania*, 838, c.
Pomponius or *Pompeius*, general of the horſe to *Lucullus*, taken priſoner, 745, a, H.
Pontus, the kingdom of, whence ſo called, 720, a. Its deſcription and diviſion, ibid. & ſeq.
——*Polemoniacus*, whence ſo called, 721, a, b.
——*Cappadocius* deſcribed, ibid. f. Its honey deſcribed, 722, f. Origin and government, 723. Kings, 724, & ſeq. Reduced by *Lucullus*, 746. Made a *Roman* provſnce, 748. Its various changes ſince, 760, & ſeq.
Popilius, his ſpeech to *Antiochus*, 580, a, b,
Porthmos in *Eubœa*, taken by *Philip*, 299, b.
Porus oppoſes *Alexander*, 390, & ſeq. Loſes his ſon, 391, f. Is defeated, 392. How honoured by the conqueror, ibid. f.
—— another of that name abandons his kingdom to *Alexander*, 393, c.
Potidea in *Macedon*, by whom founded, 257, a. Declares againſt the *Perſians*, 277. Surrenders to the *Athenians*, 280, c, d. Taken by *Philip*, 290, d.
Potinus's treachery to *Cleopatra*, 673, a, & ſeq. To *Cæſar*, 675, c. Put to death, 676, c.
Praxo diſcovers *Perſeus*'s treachery, 485, a.
Preconneſian marble famed, 201, b.
Preconneſus, iſland, deſcribed, ibid. Whether the ſame with *Elaphonneſus*, ibid. Q.
Prepeſinthus, iſland, deſcribed, 219.
Prometheus, a *Titan*, firſt ſtriker of fire, 163, b.
Proneſus, a city in *Bithynia*, 822, d.
Propontis, now ſea of *Marmora*, deſcribed, 201, P. Invaded by *Philip*, 299, & ſeq.
Proſerpine, where raviſhed, 9, b.
Protagoras I. king of *Cyprus*, 179, b.
—— II. an uſurper of it, 181, f. Makes peace with the *Perſians*, 182, b.
Protogenes, the famed painter, protected by *Demetrius*, 144, b. His maſter-piece deſcribed, ibid. E.
Pruſa, a city in *Bithynia*, deſcribed, 825, d, e. Taken by *Triarius*, 743, e.
Pruſias, king of *Bithynia*, aſſiſts the *Rhodians*, 145, b. Joins with them in the peace, ibid. f. Rejects the offers of *Antiochus*, 558, c, d. Defeats the *Pergamenian* fleet, 772, & ſeq. Makes peace with *Eumenes*, 773. Invades *Pergamus*, 778, d, e. His treachery to *Attalus*, ibid. f, & ſeq. Forced to a peace by the *Romans*, 779, b, c. His treachery to his ſon, ibid. & ſeq. To *Hannibal*, 830.

journey to *Rome*, ibid. d. Mean behaviour there, ibid. e, f. Taken by *Triarius*, 744, a. Depoſed by his ſon, 780. Aſſaſſinated, 781, b. His character, 831, a, b.
Prytanes of *Rhodes*, their office, 153, b, & f.
Prytanis, king of *Boſporus*, defeated and killed by his brother *Eumelus*, 842, d.
Pſillis, a river in *Bithynia*, 827, b.
Pterium, a city in *Cappadocia*, 762, c. Memorable for the overthrow of *Cræſus*.
Ptolemais deſcribed, 663, a. Betrayed to *Antiochus*, 630, c. Beſieged by *Alexander Janneus*, 660, a. Taken by *Cleopatra*, ibid, c.
Ptolemies of *Egypt*, a liſt of them, 633, & ſeq.
Ptolemy Soter, his origin, 324, & ſeq. His character, and miraculous cure, 325, b. Sent to ſeize *Beſſus*, 369, & ſeq. Defeats the *Scythi*, 386, d. His advice after *Alexander*'s death, 417. Poſt and government, 318, a. 423, c. 625, c. Flouriſhing kingdom, 421, b. 626, a, b. Invaded by *Perdiccas*, 422, e. Allies with *Seleucus*, 432, a. Takes *Syria* from *Antigonus*, ibid. & ſeq. Beaten out of it, 433. Succours the *Rhodians*, 141. Whence ſurnamed *Soter*, 143, f. 625, c, d. defeated by *Demetrius*, 433, & ſeq. Takes the title of king, 437, b 626, b. Allies with *Antigonus*, 439, & ſeq. Invades *Judæa*, &c. 440, d. Takes his ſon partner of the kingdom, 626, c. Builds the tower of *Pharos*, ibid. & ſeq. Procures the *Sinopean Seraphis*, 627, & ſeq. Founds the *Alexandrian* library, 629, & ſeq. The *Muſæum*, 630. His death and character, 631, c, d. Iſſue, 632, b.
—— *Ceraunus* diſinherited, 626, d, e. 632, c. Perſecuted by *Lyſimachus*, 408, e, f. His treachery to *Seleucus*, 469, b. 521, c. 632, d. Seizes the *Macedonian* crown, 521, c. 632, e. Treachery to *Arſinoe*, 469, f. 632, & ſeq. Slain by the *Gauls*, 407, a, b. 633, a.
—— *Philadelphus* ſucceeds his father, 633. Enmity to *Demetrius Phalereus*, ibid. e. Marries his ſiſter *Arſinoe*, ibid. & ſeq. Sends an embaſſy to *Rome*, 634. Invades *Magas*, 635. Improves the *Egyptian* trade, &c. ibid. & ſeq. His kindneſs to the *Sicyonians*, 636, e. Love to *Arſinoe*, 637. Death and character, ibid. & ſeq. Works, 639, & ſeq.
—— *Euergetes*, whence ſo called, 527, b. 639. c. His conqueſts, ibid. d, e. Sacrifices to the God of *Iſrael*, 640, a. Improves his father's library, ibid. b. His kindneſs to *Joſeph* the *Jew*, 641, paſſ. His conqueſts, 642, b, c. Aſſiſts *Cleomenes*, ibid. c, d. His death and character, ibid. e, f.
—— *Philopator*, why ſo called, 643, a. Cruel character, ibid. b, c. Makes peace with *Antiochus*, 644, c. Perſecutes the *Jews*, ibid. & ſeq. Takes them into favour, 645, d, e. Receives a *Roman* embaſſy, ibid. & ſeq. Murders his wife, 646, c. His death, ibid. f, & ſeq. Character, 647, f.
—— *Epiphanes* born, 646, b. Succeeds his father 647, & ſeq. Invaded by *Philip* and *Antiochus*, 542, & ſeq. Protected by the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq. 648, d. Degenerates into a tyrant, 647, b. Allies with *Rome*, and the *Achæans*, ibid. e, f. Poiſoned, 650, a.
—— *Philometor* ſucceeds his father, 650, b. Invaded by *Antiochus*, ibid. c, & 575. Taken by him, 576, a Reſtored to his crown, 578, d. 650, c. Divides his kingdom with *Phyſcon*, ibid. d. & 579. a. Goes to *Rome*, 580, e. 650, f, & ſeq. His ſpeech to the ſenate, 651, b, c. Oppoſed by *Phyſcon*, ibid. d, e. Rejects the *Roman* decree in his favour, 652, c. Defeats him, 653, d. Marches into *Judæa*, 597, & ſeq. Allies with *Demetrius*, 598, b, c. Reinthrones him, ibid. e, f. Falls out with him, 653, e. His death and character, 599, & ſeq. 653, & ſeq. Favour to the *Jews*, 654, c.
—— *Phyſcon* diſputes the the crown with his brother, 577, b, 650. Divides it with him, ibid. Drives him out, ibid & ſeq. Goes to *Rome*, 577, b. 651. Attempts on *Cyprus*, 652, d. Repulſed and wounded by the *Cyrenians*, ibid. e, f. 653, b. Defeated, and careſſed by *Philometor*, ibid. d. Cruelty to his ſon and widow, 654, d, e. To the *Jews* and *Egyptians*, ibid. & ſeq. Aukward reception of the *Roman* embaſſadors, 656, b, c. Driven out for his cruelties, 657, c. Returns, 658, a. Sets up *Zebina* againſt *Demetrius*, 611, a, b. Defeats him, 613, a. 658, b. His death, character, and learning, ibid. & ſeq.
—— *Lathyrus*, why ſo called, 658, f, & ſeq. Oppreſſed by his mother, ibid. Dethroned, 659, f. Defeats the king of the *Jews*, 660. A cruel action of his, ibid, f. Driven out of *Judæa*, 661, a. Reſtored to his kingdom, 662, b, c. Takes *Thebes*, 663, c. His death, 664, c.
—— *Auletes*, an effeminate prince, 666, d, e. Driven out of his kingdom, 667, a, b. His interview with *Cato*, ibid. c, d. Goes to *Rome*, ibid. e. Obtains a decree in his favour, 668, f. Retires into the *Epheſian* aſylum, 669, c. Bargains with *Gabinius*, 670, c. d. Reſtored to his crown, 671, &c. His cruelties, ibid. & ſeq. Death, 672, e.
—— the ſon of *Auletes*, drives his ſiſter from the crown, 673. & ſeq. Stirs up the *Alexandrians* againſt *Cæſar*, 675. His treachery to him, 677, & ſeq. Defeated, 678 c, d. Drowned, ibid. e.
—— the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, left regent of *Epirus*, 806, e. Subdues *Theſſalonica*, 816, d Killed, 817.
—— the ſon of *Alexander*, his ſhort reign. 820. e.
—— Prince of *Chalcis*, 854, a. Puts his ſon to death, ibid. c.
—— the ſon of *Seleucus*, killed at *Iſſus*, 335. e.
—— of *Lathyrus*, his wealth and ſordidneſs, 184, e, f. Stripped of *Cyprus* by the *Romans*, 185. Kills himſelf, ibid. f.
—— a natural ſon of *Amyntas*, 285, f. His treaſons, 286, b, f.
—— general of *Antigonus*, his treachery, 462, b. Poiſoned by the king of *Egypt*, 440, d.
Ptychia, iſland, where ſituate, 241. b. Confounded by *Ptolemy* with a city of *Corcyra*. ibid.
Pullio's treachery to *Mithridates Iberius*, 711, e.
Pumice ſtones caſt up by the ſea, 215, f. 216, a.
Puniſhments among the *Macedonians*, 266, a.
Purple worn by the *Macedonian* nobles, 264, b.
Pydna, a city of *Macedon*, 256. Subdued by *Archelaus*, 284, a, b. By *Philip*, 290, d. Beſieged by *Caſſander*, 478.
Pygmalion, the ſtory of. 175, f, & ſeq.
Pyrachmes, king of *Eubœa*, killed by *Hercules*, 250, e.
Pyrrha a city of *Lesbos*, oveaturned, 203, e.
Pyrrhic dance, what, 168, a.
Pyrrhus I. king of *Epirus*, his deſcent, 799. a. Killed before *Troy* by *Oreſtes*, ibid, b, c.
—— II. his deſcent 803, f. Brought up by *Glaucias*, 464, b. 804, a, b. Allies with *Demetrius*, ibid. c. 443, b. With *Ptolemy*, ibid. e f. Drives *Demetrius* out of *Macedon*, 467, d. Made king of it, 468. b. Driven out by *Lyſimachus*, ibid. c. Recovers it from *Gonatus*, 471, d. Succours the *Tarentines*, 805. His projects merrily checked by *Cineas* ibid. e, f. & ſeq. Sails for *Italy*, 806, e. His wives and children. ibid. L. In danger by a ſtorm, 807. a. Reforms the *Tarentines*, ibid. d e. Outwitted by *Ariſtarchus*, 808. b, c. His haughty letter to the *Roman* conſul, ibid. d. Defeats the *Romans*, 809 & ſeq. Forced to retire from *Rome*, 810, e. Receives an embaſſy from thence, 811. His offers rejected by the ſenate, 812. Meſſage to *Decius*, ibid. e. Wounded and defeated by *Sulpitius*, 813. In danger of poiſon, 814. Invited into *Italy*, 88, & ſeq. Oppreſſes the *Sicilians*, 89. Forced away, 90, c. Defeated at ſea, ibid. e. & 814. Cruel revenge on the *Locrians*, ibid. His ſacrilege puniſhed, ibid. & ſeq. Defeated by *Curius*, 815, c, d. Returns to *Epirus*, ibid. & ſeq. Takes *Macedon*, 816. His ſucceſsful attempt againſt *Greece*, ibid. d, e. Againſt *Argos*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats the *Lacedæmonians*, 817. Enters *Argos*, ibid. e. Killed by a woman, 818, d. His character, ibid. & ſeq. & P,
—— III. murdered, 820, e.
Pythagoras, ſome account of him, 194, O.

Q.

Quadratus Numid, governor of *Syria*, 711. d. His diſpute with *Corbulo*. His meſſage to *Vologeſes*, ibid. d.
Quince-Tree, whence brought, 160. d.
Quinda, the treaſure of, plundered by *Demetrius*, 441, d.

R.

Rabbath Ammon ſubmits to *Antiochus* for want of water, 538, a.
Rabinius, lends *Auletes* vaſt ſums on *Pompey*'s ſecurity, 670, & ſeq. Ill requited by him, 672, a. Proſecuted by the ſenate, ibid. b.
Rammius diſcloſes *Perſeus*'s treachery to the *Romans*, 485, a, b.
Raphia, where ſituate, 550, G. The battle of, 538, d.
Retimo, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, d.
Rhadamantus, whoſe ſon he was, 163, f. His colonies, 164, a. Gives laws to the *Cretans*, 165, b.
Rhadamiſtus, king of *Iberia*, 836.
—— the ſon of *Pharaſmenes*, cunningly ſent into *Armenia*, 711, b, c. Treachery to his uncle, ibid. & ſeq. Seizes on that kingdom, 712, b, c. Driven out, ibid. Put to death by his father, 714, c.
Rhea, a *Titaneſs*, 163, a.
Rhegians defeated by *Dionyſius*, 55, e, f. Their contemptuous anſwer to him, 57, d; & not.
Rhegium beſieged by *Dionyſius*, 55, & ſeq. 57, e. Forced through famine to ſurrender, 58, c.
Rhenea, iſland, deſcribed, 231, & ſeq. The burying place of the *Delians*, 232. *Strabo*'s miſtake concerning it, ibid.
Rhodes, iſland, deſcribed, 139, & ſeq. Its different names, ibid. Whence ſo called, ibid. & Z. By whom peopled, 131, e.
—— knights of, ſettle in *Malta*, 131, d.
—— city of, by whom built, 129, d, & note. Deſcribed, 130, a, & B 131, d. Taken by *Artemiſia*, 136. d She erects a trophy there, ibid. In danger of being drowned, 137, d, e. How delivered, ibid. Beſieged by *Demetrius*, 138, & ſeq. Wonderful defence, ibid. The ſiege raiſed, 143, e. Damaged by an earthquake, 146, a. Beſieged by *Mithridates*, 157, c. Taken and plundered by *Caſſius*, 158, & ſeq.
Rhodian writers, an account of, 133. D.
Rhodians out-wit the *Grecian* States, 131, b. 146, a, b. Great mariners, 132, f, & ſeq. Their government, kings, &c 133, & ſeq. Become a commonwealth, 134, f. Join in the ſocial war, 135, b. Make peace with *Athens*, 136, a. Oppreſſed by the *Carians*, ibid. b. Outwitted and ſubdued by *Artemiſia*, ibid. c, d. Recover their liberty, 137, b, c. Surrender to *Alexander*, ibid. d. War with the *Byzantines*, 141, & ſeq. Make peace with them, 145. f. War with *Philip* of *Macedon*. 146, & ſeq. Defeat him in *Caria*, 148, b. Meſſage to *Antiochus*, ibid. d, e. Defeated at ſea by ſtratagem, 149, & ſeq. Send *Eudamus* with a new fleet, 150, c. Defeat *Hannibal* at ſea, 151. Rewarded by the *Romans*, 152, b. Complained againſt by the *Lycians*, ibid. c. Suſpected by the *Romans*, 143. Join with *Rome* againſt *Perſes*, ibid. c. Their haughty embaſſy to the ſenate, 154, a, b. Diſpleaſes the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq. Who humble them, 155, & ſeq. *Lycia* and *Caria* taken from them, 156, b. Readmitted to ally with them, ibid. d. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 157, c. Defeated at ſea by *Caſſius*, 158, c. Reſtored to their antient privileges, 159. Oppreſs the iſlands, ibid. b. Subdued by him, ibid. &. ſeq. Ally with *Perſeus*, 484, b. Their haughty meſſage to *Antiochus*, 544, f. Great ſervices to *Cæſar*, 676. & ſeq.
Rhodobartes, ſecond king of *Pontus*, 724, a.
Rhodope, a mountain in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Romans, called into *Sicily*, 93, a. Their ſucceſs there, 96, & ſeq. Make a treaty with *Hiero*, 97, a. Ill ſucceſs in *Sicily*, 98, c. 100, a. Embaſſy ill received at *Syracuſe*, 102, b, c. Proclaim war againſt *Philip*, 147, d. Ally with *Rhodes* and *Pergamus*, ibid, e. f. Defeat the *Macedonians*, 148, b. Make peace with him, 140, b. Join againſt *Antiochus*, 148, & ſeq. Their gratitude to *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, 152, b. War with *Perſes*, 153, & ſeq. Anſwer to the *Rhodians* embaſſadors, 154, b, f. 155. b, c. Make a freſh alliance with them, 156, d. War with the *Cretans*, 170, & ſeq. Conquer them, 171, & ſeq. Take *Cyprus* by treachery, 184, d. Protect young *Ptolemy*, 542, f. And the free cities of *Aſia*, 545. Their firſt embaſſy to *Antiochus*, ibid. & ſeq. The ſecond, 551, a. Defeat him by ſea and land, 554, & ſeq. And at *Magneſia*, 564, & ſeq. Make peace with him, 565, & ſeq. The treaty at length, 566, Q. Their degeneracy from that time, 567, b, c. Partiality to *Phycon*, 652, a, b. 653, a, b. Embaſſy to him, 656, a, b. Seize on the iſland of *Cyprus*, 666, f. War with *Mithridates*, 730, & ſeq. 150,000 maſſacred by his order, 731. Their cruel revenge, 734, & ſeq, Defeated by him, 749, e. Their joy at his death, 757, a, b.
Roxana taken priſoner by *Alexander*, 384. Captivates him, ibid. Her cruelty, 418, d. Impriſoned by *Caſſander*, 461, f. Murdered by him, 462, a.
Ruſſians, defeated with a great ſlaughter, and ſubdued by *Mithridates*, 733, d.
Rutilius, whether the adviſer of *Mithridates*'s cruelty to the *Romans*, 731, R.

S.

Sabylinthus, a faithful guardian to *Tharymbas* king of *Epirus*, 800, e.
Salaminia, one of the four parts of *Cyprus*, 175, a.
Salamis, the kingdom of, by whom founded, 176, e. the kings of, ibid. & ſeq. The end of, 182.
—— the iſland of, deſcribed, 245, a, b. Yielded to the *Athenians*, ibid. d. By whom ſubdued, 246. a. Declared free, ibid.
—— the city of, by whom built, 173, c. 176, b. Beſieged by the *Perſians*, 180. f. By *Demetrius*, 183. Retaken by *Ptolemy*, 184, c.
Salii, among the *Romans*, their office, 560, M.
Salt of *Jupiter Hammon*, a royal preſent, 347, e.
Samaria taken by *Hyrcanus*, 614, f.
Samaritans apply to *Alexander*, 344, a. Diſguſted at his favour to the *Jews*, 248. Murder *Andromachus*, ibid e. Severely puniſhed, ibid. f.
Sambuca, a warlike machine, deſcribed, 112, b.
Sambus ſubmits to *Alexander*, 400, c. & H.
Same, the metropolis of *Cephalonia*, 242, a.
Samian worthies, enumerated, 195, ſub. fin. not.
—— war, whence began, 449.
—— exiles aſſiſted by the *Lacedæmonians*, 192. Their ſucceſs, ibid. & ſeq.
—— earthen-ware, famed, 188, d.
Samians, great navigators, 187, c. Worſhippers of *Juno*, why, ibid. & ſeq. Firſt builders of tranſport ſhips, 188, d. Their government, laws, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Plant a colony in *Egypt*, 189. a. War with the *Egyptians*, ibid. c. And *Megareans*, ibid. d. Inſlaved by the *Geomoroi*, 189, b. By *Syloſon*, ibid. f. By *Æaces*, 190, b. By *Polycrates*, ibid. c. By *Mæandrius*, 199. a. By *Syloſon* II. 196, & ſeq. Forſake their country, 197, d. Enſlaved by *Æaces*, ibid. & ſeq. Treachery to the *Ionians*, 197, e. Subjected to the *Perſians*, 198, d. Revolt to the *Greeks*, ibid. f. Ally with *Athens*, 199, a. Revolt, ibid. b. Subdued by *Pericles*, ibid. d, & ſeq. Their various changes ſince, 200, & ſeq.

Samos, iſland, deſcribed, 186, & ſeq.
—— metropolis of that iſland, deſcribed, ibid. f. By whom built, 187, a. Its rarities, ibid. b. Taken by *Pericles*, 200, b, c.
Samothrace, whence ſo called, 237, d. Deſcribed, 238, a. The gods of, dreaded by all nations, 239, b. The deluge of, ibid. c. Government, 240, a. A free iſland, ibid.
Samothracia, *Samos*, why ſo called, 186, c.
Samſirenus, founder of *Emeſſa*'s kingdom, 848.—II. ibid. d.
Sandrocotus drives the *Macedonians* out of *India*, 513. f. Concludes a peace with *Seleucus*, 514.
Sangarius, a river in *Bithynia*, 827, b. *Livy*'s miſtake, ibid.
Sangata razed by *Alexander*, 393, & ſeq.
Santorin, iſland, vid. *Thera*, 214, & ſeq.
Saon poliſhes the *Samothracians*, 239, e.
Sapeans, firſt inhabiters of *Lemnos*, 235, a.
Sapei in *Thrace*, their kings, &c. 794.
Sappho, where born, 204. Called the tenth muſe, ibid b.
Sapteſyle, the rich mines of, 786, e.
Saracens burn the *Alexandrian* library, 629, & ſeq. On what account, ibid.
Sardis ſurrendered to *Alexander*, 327, a.
Saron, the gulph of, deſcribed, 243, G.
Sarpedon I. and II. kings of *Crete*, 166, c.
Saſales king of the *Odryſæ*, 793.
Saſon, an iſland of *Greece*, 240, b. Mentioned by antient hiſtorians variouſly, ibid.
Satibarzanes murders *Darius*, 359, e. Revolts from *Alexander*, 361, c. Killed by *Erigyus*, 367, d.
Saturn civilizes the *Cretans*, 168, a.
Satyrus I. king of *Boſporus*, 841, f. His tribute to *Demoſthenes*, 842, a.—II. killed, ibid. b, e.—tyrant of *Heraclea*, 824, d.
—— his requeſt to *Philip*, 294.
Scandea, the temple of *Venus* at, deſcribed, 242, f.
Scapteſyle, the rich mines of, 786, e.
Scardian mountains in *Macedon*, 257, e.
Scipio Naſica ſent into *Macedon*, 503.
——*L. Cornel.* ſent againſt *Antiochus*, 555, f. Comes to *Troy*, 560. Defeats *Antiochus*, 564, & ſeq. Makes peace with him, 565, & ſeq.
—— *Africanus* ſerves under his brother, 555, f. His anſwer to *Antiochus*, 651, d. Advice to him, 562, a. His ſon reſtored to him, ibid. — ſpeech to his embaſſadors, 565, d.
Scopas's ſervices to *Egypt*, 543, a, b, C. Taken priſoner, ibid. Treaſonable attempt againſt *Ptolemy*, 546, f. Puniſhed, 547, a.
Scribonius driven out of *Boſporus*, 843, f.
Scydrothemis ſends the *Serapis* into *Egypt*, 628, a, b.
Scytha, a fabulous founder of *Armenia*, 696, c.
Scythes, king of *Zancle*, baniſhed, 198, b. Makes his eſcape to *Darius*, ibid.
Scythians driven out of *Bactria* by the *Huns*, 846, f. Defeated by *Alexander*, 351, c, d. Reduced by him, 370, f, & ſeq. Make peace with him, 372, e.
Scythopolis betrayed to *Hyrcanus* 614, f.
Seal royal, ſacred among the *Macedonians*, 264, c.
Sebaſtia, ſecond city in *Armenia*, 693, b.—In *Pontus*, 721, b.
Segeſta, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 7, f. & ſeq.
Selene, wife of *Antiochus Euſebes*, keeps *Ptolemais*, 617. Put to death by *Tigranes*, 619, b.
Seleucia, by whom built, 515, a, & F. Recovered from the *Egyptians*, 535, f.
—— *Trachiotis*, by whom built, 546, f, & E.
—— on the *Tigris*, deſcribed, 515, & ſeq.
Seleucidæ, whence ſo called, 509, d. A liſt of them, ibid. e. Their reigns and hiſtory, ibid. & ſeq.
—— the æra of, how and whence computed, 512, c, d. 513, c.
Seleucus Nicator, founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, 509, f. His ſeveral attempts againſt *Eumenes*, 426, d. 510, paſſ. Attachment to *Antigonus*, 431, d. Falls out with him, 432, a. 510, & ſeq. His reception at the *Egyptian* court, 511. Invades *Babylon*, ibid. Defeats *Nicanor*, 512, e. Gains *Suſiana*, *Media*, &c. ibid. His great ſtrength, ibid. d, e. Recovers *Babylon* from *Demetrius*, 513. Aſſumes the royal title, ibid. e. Goes into *India*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats and kills *Antigonus*, 441, 514, c, d. Builds *Antioch*, ibid. e. Allies with *Demetrius*, 516, a, b. Strips him of *Cilicia*, ibid. e. Impriſons him, 444, & ſeq. 518. d. (Yields his wife and part of his empire to his ſon, 519, & ſeq.) His kindneſs to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, 468. Defeats and kills *Lyſimachus*, 469, a 520, d. Takes the name of *Nicator*, 521, a. Treacherouſly murdered by *Ceraunus*, 469, b. 521, c. His character, ibid. & ſeq. Coin, 620, W.
—— *Callinicus* mounts the *Syrian* throne by parricide, 525, f. & ſeq. Invaded by *Ptolemy*, 527, a, b. Defeated by him, ibid. c, d. By his own brother, 528, c. Drives him off, 529. Taken priſoner by *Arſaces*, ibid. d. His death, ibid. e. Why called *Callinicus*, ibid. f. Coins, 620, W.
—— *Ceraunus*, his character 530, a. Death, ibid. b.
—— *Philopator*, the ſon of *Antiochus*'s ſucceſs in *Aſia*, 556, b. Driven out of *Pergamus*, 557, c, d. Succeeds his father, 569, a. His generoſity to the temple of *Jeruſalem*, ibid. b. Poiſoned by *Heliodorus*, 570, e. His coin, 521, note.
—— the ſon of *Demetrius Nicator*, murdered by his own mother, 612, a.
—— the ſon of *Gryphus*, defeats his uncle, 615, c. His defeat and death, ibid. d. e.
—— king of *Boſporus*, 841, e.
—— *Cybioſactes*, who ſo called, 667, e. Sent to *Rome*, 617, b. c. Made king of *Egypt*, 620. His death, ibid. & W. & 667, f.
Selga, where ſituate, 550, H.
Selinuntines firſt war againſt the *Egeſtines*, 25, & ſeq. Second war, 37, & ſeq.
Selinus, the city of, deſcribed, 6, & ſeq. Beſieged by *Hannibal*, 38, b. Taken and razed, ibid. e, f,
—— the river of, 6.
Selli, who, 798, d.
Serapeum, deſcribed, 628, d. The library of, 629, d. Repleniſhed with the *Pergamean* library, ibid. Burnt by the *Saracens*, ibid.
Serapion murdered by *Achilles*, 675, e.
Serapis, the ſtatue of, brought to *Egypt*, 627, & ſeq. Whence ſo called, 628, B. Not *Egyptian* originally, ibid.
Seriphian frogs dumb, 218, b.
Seriphians, their origin, government, &c. 218, a.
Seriphus, iſland, deſcribed, 217, & ſeq. Famous for loadſtones, ibid.
Seuthes mediates a peace for *Perdiccas*, 280, f. Mounts the *Odryſian* throne, 281, 791, & ſeq. II. III. and IV. their wars with the *Macedonians*, ibid. & ſeq.
Sibyrtius promoted by *Antiochus*, 431.
Sicani, who, 10, f. & ſeq. vid. inf. *Siculi*.
Sicania, the ancient name of *Sicily*, ibid.
Sicily, deſcribed, 1, & ſeq. Whether antiently joined to the continent, 2, b. Famed for learning, 10, b. By whom firſt inhabited, 11, & ſeq. Invaded by the *Athenians*, 256, c. By the *Carthaginians*, 40, & ſeq. 50, & ſeq. 86, & ſeq. Invite *Pyrrhus*, 88, & ſeq. Oppreſſed by him, ibid. f. & ſeq. Force him away, 89, & ſeq.
Siculi, who, they were, 11, c. & ſeq. Their kings and government, 13, c, & ſeq. Various changes, 14. Aſſiſt *Hannibal* before *Agrigentum*, 32, b. Diſmiſſed by him, 40, a.
Sidon taken by *Antiochus*, 543, d. *Abdalonimus* made king there, 337, R.
Sigæum taken by the *Athenians*, 106, b.
Simon, a *Benjamite*, plots againſt the *Jews*, 569, & ſeq.

—— the *Maccabee*, his exploits againſt *Demetrius*, 603, c, d. Succeeds his brother *Jonathan*, 604, c. Allies with *Demetrius*, 605, d. With *Sidetes*, 606, d, e.
Simonides's wiſe inſtructions to *Hiero*, 22, c, d. Two worthies of that name at *Ceos*, 217, a, & U.
Singitic bay in *Macedon*, now *Golpho di monte ſanto*, 260, a.
Sinope taken by *Phraartes*, 725, c. By *Lucullus*, 748, c, & O. *Lucullus*'s ſtrange viſion there, ibid.
Siphnians, their character, 219. b.
Siphnus, iſland, its riches, 192, e. Plundered by the *Samian* exiles, 193, a. vid. & 219.
Siromus, king of *Salamis*, 177, c.
Siſygambis, how treated by *Alexander*, 336, & ſeq. 355, c. Her death, 419, a.
Sitalces put to death for oppreſſion, 403.
— I. king of the *Odryſæ*, 791. Attends *Xerxes* into *Greece*, and is there ſlain, ibid.
— II. a warlike prince, ibid, e, f.
Sitalces, invades *Macedonia*, 280, d, e. Makes peace with it, ibid, f, & ſeq
Sitas, king of the *Denſeletæ*, wars againſt the *Baſtarnæ*, 790.
Smerdis, king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
Smyrna confederates with *Seleucus*, 528, a. Beſieged by *Antiochus*, 545.
Socrates courted by *Archelaus* 284, b. Vindicated from cynœdeiſm, 635. E.
Sogdia invaded by *Alexander*, 369, & ſeq.
Sogdian rock taken by him, 383, & ſeq. Deſcribed, ibid. & B.
Sogdians revolt againſt *Alexander*, 382, & ſeq.
Soli, *al. Soli*, a city of *Cyprus*, why ſo called, 173, a Its ſituation, ibid.
Soſibius Philopator's wicked miniſter, 643, & ſeq. His treatment of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, 644.
—— ſon of *Soſibius* murders the queen, 646, c. Turned out, ibid. e. Made guardian of *Epiphanes*, 647, d. His character, ibid. e, f.
Soſipater's ſpeech to the *Syracuſans*, 106, c.
Soſis, head of a faction at *Syracuſe*, 103, f, & ſeq. Forces *Andranodorus* to quit the throne, 105.
Soſiſtratus, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, depoſed, 80, e. Oppoſes *Tænion*, 88, e. Revolts from *Pyrrhus*, 90, b.
Soſthenes choſen general of *Macedon*, 470, c Totally deſtroys the *Gauls*, ibid. Slain by a new inundation of them, ibid. e.
Soſtratus builds the tower of *Pharos*, 626, f. Outwits *Ptolemy* in the inſcription, ibid. & ſeq.
Sotades, the *cynædic* poet, put to death, 635, a.
Sothomus, king of the *Odryſæ*, 793, a. Waſtes *Greece* but is overcome by *Sentius*, ibid.
Soudiery, how regulated among the *Macedonians*, 267, & ſeq.
Spartacus, I. king of *Boſoporus*, 841, d.
—— II. ibid. e.—III. 842, f.
Spaſines ſecures by a Mole *Chorax* againſt the overflowing of the *Tigris*, 152, f.
Sphacteriæ, iſlands, where ſituate, 342.
Spitamenes offers to deliver up *Beſſus* to *Alexander*, 369, c. & ſeq. Beſieges *Maracanda*, 371, f, & ſeq. Defeats *Pharnaces*, 372, f. Driven off by *Alexander*, 373, c. Heads the revolted *Sogdians*, 382, b. Defeated by *Cœnus*, 383, b. Murdered by the *Scythians*, ibid. c. & A.
Sporades, iſlands, whence ſo called, 203, b. Deſcribed, ibid. Famous for the birth of *Hipparchus* & *Ariſtotle*, ibid.
Stagira, a city in *Macedon*, 256, c.
Statianus defeated and killed, 708, a.
Statira's death and burial, 349.
—— daughter of *Darius*, married to *Alexander*, 402, c. Murdered by *Roxana*, 418, d.
Stella, a mountain in *Pontus*, 721, b. Famous for the overthrow of *Mithridates*, ibid.
Stelagoras, king of the *Dolonci*, 789.
Stelenor's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e.
Steſenor, king of *Curium*'s treachery to the *Salaminians*, 178, b.
Steſichorus, the poet, where born, 8, c.
Steſimbrotus, an account of him, 237, D.
Stones, their growth, ſeen at *Olearos*, 219, e.
Strato, king of *Arados*, ſubmits to *Alexander*, 337, d.
Stratonice married to *Seleucus*, 441, c, d. Yielded by him to his ſon *Antiochus*, 519, & ſeq.
Stratonice, three cities of that name, 784, F.
Stratonice, concubine of *Mithridates*, delivers up the caſtle of *Symphori* to *Pompey*, 153, e.
Strombolo, the iſland of, deſcribed, 10, d.
Strophades, iſlands, deſcribed, 242, c.
Strymon, a river in *Macedon*, 260, d. In *Thrace*, 787.
Strymonic bay, 260, a.
Suffes at *Carthage*, what, 547, d.
Sulpitius P. ſent againſt *Macedon*, 147, c. Relieves *Athens*, ibid. d—ſent to *Antiochus*, 551, & ſeq.
Sura, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Suſa delivered up to *Alexander*, 354, b, c. The great treaſures there, ibid.
Sybota, iſland, where ſituate, 241, b.
Sylla, dictator of *Rome*, 665, e. Sends *Alexander* II. into *Egypt*, ibid. c. Sent againſt *Mithridates*, 733, f. Defeats him at *Chæronea*, 734. Makes peace with him, 737. Returns to *Rome*, 838.
Syllanus Jun. accuſed by the *Macedonians*, 506, e. Condemned by his own father, 507, a. Hangs himſelf, ibid. Inference drawn from his puniſhment, ibid. Note (K).
Syloſon I. inſlaves the *Samians*, 189, f.
—— II. invades *Samos*, 196, b, & ſeq. His cruelty to them, 197, c.
Syracuſans, their govenment, kings, &c. 14, & ſeq. Chuſe *Gelon* their king, 18, e. Defeat the *Carthaginians*, ibid. & ſeq. Set up a popular government, 23, & ſeq. The law of petaliſm repealed, 24, b, c. Tyranniſe in *Sicily*, ibid. d, e. Invaded, by the *Athenians*, 25, & ſeq. The cauſe of that war, ibid. Outwitted by *Nicias*, 27, f. Streightly beſieged by him, 28, e, f. Defeat the *Athenians* by land, 29, e. Beaten by them at ſea, ibid. f. Beat them before *Syracuſe*, 31, a, b. And at ſea, 32, & ſeq. Force them to ſurrender, 33, & ſeq. Their cruelty to their priſoners, 36, e, f. Inſlaved by *Dionyſius*, 45, & ſeq. Revolt from him, 46, c. 47, b. Reduced by him, 48, & ſeq. Defeat the *Carthaginians* at ſea, 52, f. Crown *Dionyſius* II. 63, c. Their joyful reception of *Dion*, 67, b. Declare him their general, ibid. c, d. Raiſe new mutinies againſt him, 68, & ſeq. Surprized and butchered by *Dionyſius*, 70, c. 71, c, d. Inſlaved by *Calippus*, 73, d. By *Hipparinus*, ibid. Reſtored by *Timoleon*, 77. Repeopled by the *Corinthians*, 79, d, e. Their gratitude to *Timoleon*, ibid. d, e, f. Inſlaved by *Soſiſtratus*, 80, d. Maſſacred by *Agathocles*, 81, & ſeq. Groan under ſundry tyrants, 88, d, e, & ſeq. Under new diſturbances, 103, & ſeq. Recover their liberty, 105, b. Put the royal family to death, 106, e.
Syracuſe, metropolis of *Sicily*, deſcribed, 4, & ſeq. Its harbour deſcribed, 5, & 6. By whom found, 11, e. Adorned, 17, c. Beſieged by the Athenians, 28, c. By the *Carthaginians*, 52. Set on fire and plundered by *Nypſius*, 70, & ſeq. Famine, 111, & ſeq. and ſword, 71, c, Beſieged by *Marcellus*, 118, e. ſeq. Viſited with a grievous peſtilence, 121, & Forced to capitulate, 119, & ſeq.
ſeq. 139, & ſeq. Its
Syria, the kingdom of, deſcribed, ath, ibid, c, d, & boundaries after *Alexander*, y called *Tetrapolis*, 515, b. King's, 509, e. and *Attalus*, 528, 515, a. Invaded by *Rome*, pective kings. e. The reſt ſee under its & ſeq. W.
Syrian coins deſcribed, 67
Syros, iſland described, 6

T.

T.

Thæ, where ſituate, 583, c, &, Z. Thought by ſome to be *Ecbatan*, ibid.
Tabellæ votivæ deſcribed, 212, T.
Talaura, the great riches of, 757, f.
Talus reigns in *Crete*, 165, a.
Tanais worſhipped by the *Armenians*, 697, b. Cuſtom obſerved in her worſhip, ibid. Stately temple at *Acileſina*, ibid. c.
Taphiæ, iſlands, deſcribed, 241, d.
Taulantii, where ſituate, 254, a, & C.
Tauri, where ſeated, 840, f, & ſeq.
Taurominium, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, c.
Taurominius, the river of, ibid. c.
Tauropolium, *Diana*'s temple, why ſo called, 212, a.
Taxila, a city in *India*, deſcribed, 390, D,
Taxiles's ſubmiſſion and preſents to *Alexander*. 385. & ſeq. 390, a. Speech to him, ibid. D. Sent back to his dominions, 393, b.
Teios in *Galatia* taken by *Leocritus*, 725. f. Its gariſon maſſacred, ibid.
Telamon, king of *Salamis*, 245, b.
Telchinæ, firſt inhabitants of *Rhodes*, 131, e. Abandon the Iſland, ibid.
Telchines, an account of them, 238, in fin. E.
Telleutias defeated by the *Olynthians*, 285 c, d.
Telinus made high-prieſt of the *Ieleans*, 15, note.
Telmiſſians great ſoothſayers, 333, b.
Telmiſſus taken by *Alexander*, 332, b.
Temenus, the fabulous ſtory of, 272, A.
Tempyrium, a city in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Tenos, iſland, deſcribed, 225. Famed for its wines, 226, a. Subdued by the *Perſians*, ibid. c, d.— metropolis of that iſland, 226, a.
Tents, *Macedonian*, how made, 269, f.
Teos, the city of, deſcribed, 559, c.
Teres, a warlike king of the *Odryſæ*, 791.
Tereus, a long-lived king of *Characene*, 853, a.
Terra Sigillata of *Lemnos*, 234, c.
Teucer founds the kingdom of *Salamis*, 176. d. Made by *Virgil* contemporary with *Belus*, ibid. Introduces human ſacrifices, ibid. e.
Thamyris, a boaſting muſician, puniſhed, 790, f.
Tharymbas, king of *Epirus*, 800. A learned prince, and great encourager of learning, ibid.
Thaſians war with the *Athenians*, 237, b, c. Reduced by them, ibid. Revolt and maintain themſelves free till the time of *Alexander*, ibid.
Thaſos, iſland, deſcribed, 236, & ſeq. By whom inhabited, 237, a. Conquered, ibid. &c.
Thearides made admiral by *Dionyſius*, 65, f. His deſcent on *Lipari*, 57, a.
Thebans join with *Philip* againſt the *Spartans*, 298, d. Join the *Greeks* againſt him, 307, a. Defeated, ibid. d, e. Revolt from *Alexander*, 320, c. Defeated by him, 321.
Thebes deſtroyed by *Alexander*, 321, & ſeq. By *Caſſander*, 459, b. Beſieged and taken by *Demetrius*, 466.
—— in *Egypt*, taken and deſtroyed by *Lathyrus*, 663, f.
Themis, the firſt diviner, 163, b.
Themiſcyra in *Pontus*, deſcribed, 720, d, & ſeq. Surrendered to the *Romans*, 746, c.
Themiſon, tyrant of *Oropus*, 251, e.
Themiſtus plots againſt the republicans of *Syracuſe*, 105, f. Put to death, on information of *Ariſto*, 106, b.
Theocritus, where born, 208, & 209, note.
Theodorus's noble ſpeech againſt *Dionyſius*, 53, c.
— — revolts from *Syria* 615, b.
Theodoſiopolis burnt by the *Turks*, 693, A. The preſent Erzeron, ibid.
Theodotus's conſtancy on the rack, 101, a. Becomes head of a faction, 103, f, & ſeq.
—— I. founder of the *Bactrian* kingdom, 525, b. 807, c, invades *Syria*, 528. e.
—— II. allies with *Arſaces* againſt *Seleucus*, ibid. Defeated by *Eutydemus*, 541, e. vid. & 846, c.
—— *Ptolemy*'s general goes over to *Antiochus*, 536, a, b. Made governor under him, ibid. e. Attempt on *Ptolemy*'s life, and eſcape, 538, b, c.
—— *Egyptian* rhetorician, bold to diſplay his eloquence, adviſes the murdering of *Pompey*, 673, d.
Theomeſtor, tyrant of *Samos*, raiſed to that dignity for his courage at the battle of *Ptolemais*, 198.
Theopompus, where born, &c. 108, & note.
Thearis the name of the *Delian* ſhip, 230, e.
Thera, the iſland of, deſcribed, 214, & ſeq. The ruins of, 216, b.
Theras, the ſon of *Auteſion*, the ſtory of, 214, b.
Thereans, their wars, 215, d.
Thermeſſa, the hot waters of, 10, d.
Thermeus bay, deſcribed, 260, b.
Thermodon, a river in *Pontus* waters the empire of the *Amazons*, 722, e.
Theſprotia, the cities of, 796, b.
Theſſalians over-reached by the king of *Macedon*, 286.
Theſſalonica, by whom founded, 256, c, F. Its noble ruins and preſent grandeur, ibid. Taken by the *Romans*. 493, f.
Theſta's noble anſwer to *Dionyſius*, 53. f.
Thia, a new iſland, 215. e.
Thimbro defeated and crucified, 421, b.
Thoas, king of *Lemnos*, 236, b.
—— *Ætolian* embaſſador's ſpeech to *Antiochus*, 553, f.
Thrace, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 786. Its ſoil, cuſtoms, and government, 788. The various nations of it, ibid. & ſeq. Its kings 789. & ſeq. Invaded by *Philip*, 298, a, & note. Subdued by the *Romans*, 791. f.
Thracians greatly ſkilled in muſic, 795, b. In eloquence, ibid. c. *Greece* indebted to them for polite arts, ibid.
Thraſians, where ſituate, 261, a.
Thraſo unjuſtly put to death, 101.
Thraſybulus, king of *Syracuſe*, his cruel reign, 22, f. &c. Baniſhment, 23, b.
Thraſydæus, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, defeated by *Hiero*, 21, c. Kills himſelf, ibid.
— the murderer of the king of *Cyprus*, 181, d.
— made king of *Theſſaly* for his flattery, 310, L.
Throni, a city and promontory of *Cyprus*, 173, d.
——in *Abantis*, built by the *Eubœans*, 251, a.
Thucydides deſcended from the *Sapean* kings, 794, e.
Thurimas, third king of *Macedon*, 272, b.
Thyni, inhabitants of *Tharce*, 791, b.
Thyras, the ſon of *Japhet*, gives name to *Thrace*, 786, b.
Thyrea, iſland given to the *Samian* fugitives, 193, a.
Tibites ſent to diſturb the *Bithynians*, 145, c. Dies in his journey, ibid.
—— king of *Bithynia*, depoſed by his brother, 829.
Tigranes I. king of *Armenia*, invades *Cappadocia*, 699, f. Choſen king of *Syria*, 617, a. 700, a. Driven out by *Pompey*, 619, e. 700, b. His conqueſts, ibid. c. allies with *Mithridates*, 699, f. 700, e, f. His cold reception of him, ibid. & ſeq. vid. & 748, a, N. New conqueſts, 701, b, c. Exceſſive pride, ibid. c, d. Anſwer to *Lucullus*, ibid. & ſeq. Invaded by him, 702, b, Defeated by *Sextilius*, ibid. c, d. By *Lucullus*, 703. jointly with *Mithridates*, 705, c. Defeats his rebellious ſon, 706, e, f. Goes and ſubmits himſelf to *Pompey*, 707, a, b. His great attachment to the *Romans*, ibid. d, e. Death, ibid. f.
—— the ſon of the former rebels againſt his father

ther, 706, f. Leads *Pompey* to *Armenia*, 707, a. ſent in chains to *Rome*, ibid. d, e.
—— II. crowned by *Tiberius*, 709, b. Put to death. ibid.
—— III. defeated by *Caius*, ibid. e.
Tigranocerta, by whom built, 693, b. 700. d. Signification of its name, ibid. Beſieged by *Lucullus*, 703, b, c. Betrayed to him, 704, d. L.
Tigris, a river in *Armenia*, 694, a. Deſcribed, ibid. d. e.
Timarchus, king of *Atropatene*, 844, f. His vain attempt to reduce *Media*, ibid.
—— a creature of *Antiochus*, put to death for oppreſſion, 591, e.
Timo, prieſteſs of *Ceres*, her advice to *Miltiades*, 223. Cleared by the oracle, 224, a.
Timoleon's averſion to tyranny, 73, & ſeq. Kills his brother, 74, c, & not. Sent general into *Sicily*, ibid. e. Goes to *Syracuſe*, ibid. & ſeq. Takes it; 77, b. Repeoples it, ibid. d, e. Eſtabliſhes democracy in it, ibid. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 78. Makes peace with them, 79, a. Clears the iſland of all its tyrants, ibid. b, c. His death and honours, ibid. e.
Timotheus defeated by the *Maccabees* with a prodigious loſs, 587, b.
—— a tyrant of *Heraclea*, 824, e.
Tinda the metropolis of the *Biſtones*, 790, d. Celebrated for the horſes of *Diomedes*, ibid
Tiribaſus's expedition againſt *Cyprus*, 180, & ſeq. Betrayed by *Orontes*, 181, b.
Tiridates oppoſed by *Corbulo*, 713, & ſeq. Driven out of *Armenia*, 714, & ſeq. Sues to the *Romans* for the crown, 716, b. Interview with *Corbulo*, ibid. & ſeq. Crowned at *Rome* by *Nero*, 717, b, c. His ſucceſſors, ibid. d, e.
Titans in *Crete* deſcribed, 162, & ſeq.
Tlepolemus ſettles in *Rhodes*, 132, d. Made king of it, 133, a. Said to be killed at *Troy* by *Sarpedon*, 133.
—— *Alexander*'s general, his lot after that prince's death, 423, e.
—— prime miniſter of *Philopator*, 646, e, f. Falſly accuſed, 647, b, c. Cleared, ibid. e.
Tænion tyrant of *Syracuſe*, 88, e. Joins with his rival to invite *Pyrrhus* into *Sicily*, ibid.
Togarmah peoples *Cappadocia*, 762, e.
Torone a city in *Macedonia*, 257, a. Its bay, 260. b. Taken by *Braſidas*, 282, a.
Torquatus, *Tit. Man.* an inſtance of his great juſtice, 507, a.
Tralles razed by *Alexander*, 329, f.
Trapeſus, a city in *Pontus*, 722, a. By whom founded, ibid. The reſidence of the *Comneni*, ibid. b, c.
Tremitus, a city in *Cyprus*, deſcribed, 173, b.
Triarius's ſucceſs againſt *Mithridates*, 743, e, 746, c. Takes *Heraclea*, 747. Defeats *Mithridates*, 749, c. Defeated by him, ibid. e.
Triballi defeated by *Philip*, 305, b. Make peace with *Alexander*, 319, & ſeq.
Trinacria, *Sicily* why ſo called, 1.—Deſtroyed by the *Syracuſans*, 14, a, b.
Tripoli, whence ſo called, 588, D.
—— a city in *Pontus*, 722, a, now a poor village, ibid.
Triquetra, *Sicily* why ſo called, 1.
Troas, taken by the *Mitylenians*, 106, a.
Trocmi, a people in *Pontus*, &c. 762, e.
Trogilorum Portus deſcribed, 116, U.
Trogilus, a port in *Sicily*, 5, b.
Troy, its great poverty at the coming of *Scipio*, 560, N. Taken by *Fimbria*, 736, f. Burnt, and the inhabitants put to the ſword, ibid.
Tryphæna married to *Gryphus*, 613, a. Her cruelty to her ſiſter 614, c, d. Puniſhed. ibid. e.
Tryphon's character, 601. Sets up the ſon of *Balas*, 602, b, L. His treachery to *Jonathan*, 604, b, c. To *Simon*, ibid. d, e. To *Antiochus*, 605, a. Seizes the crown, ibid, b. Rejected by the *Romans*, ibid. d. Forſaken by his forces, 606, c. Forced to fly, 607, c. His death, ibid. e. Coin, 622, W.
Tubal, firſt inhabiter of *Iberia*, 835, f.
Tunis taken, plundered, and razed by *Agathocles*, 84, b.
Tuta ſucceds her huſband in *Illyria*, 474, d. Her ill conduct, ibid.
Tyche, one of the four parts of *Syracuſe*, 46, c. Taken by the *Romans*, 117, c.
Tyre beſieged by *Alexander*, 339, & ſeq. Taken and reſettled, 341, & ſeq. Taken by *Antigonus*, 432, c. By *Ptolemy*, 433, b, c. Betrayed to *Antiochus*, 537, d. Why made independent, 611, T.
Tyrians refuſe to admit *Alexander*, 339. Their brave defence, 340, & ſeq. Cruelly butchered by him, 342. Murder king *Demetrius*, 611, c, & T.

V.

Valerius ſent into *Sicily*, 96, e. Obtains the ſirname of *Meſſina*, ibid.
Varica, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Uchanias king of *Edeſſa*, 847, c.
Venus, her temple at *Eryx*, 7, d, e. At *Soli* in *Cyprus*, 173, b. At *Amathus*, 173, e. How worſhipped at *Paphos*. ibid & ſeq. In *Cythera*, 174, f. At *Cyprus*, 176. b. Her feſtival at *Delos*. 231, a. ——Temple at *Scandia*, 243, a. Thence ſo called, ibid.
—— *Apatura*, her temple near *Phanagoria*, 840, b, c.
Verres's villainy to *Antiochus*, 617, & ſeq.
Vertabiets in *Armenia*, their office, 698, a, & F.
Veſta, the firſt builder, 163, c.
Vologeſes king of *Parthia*, aſſiſts his brother *Tiridates*, 713, d, e. Wars againſt the *Romans*, 715, c, d. Drives them out of *Armenia*, ibid. & ſeq. Sends an embaſſy to *Rome*, 716, b.
—— a *Thracian* prieſt, ſeizes on *Cherſoneſus*, 790, c. Revenue by *Piſo*, ibid.
Vonones king of *Armenia*, driven out 710, b.
Urania in *Cyprus*, taken by *Demetrias*, 183.
Uſcudama, capital of *Beſſi*, 790, b. Now *Adrianople*, ibid.
Vulcan, whence the feaſt of him, 9, d.
—— reigns in *Crete*, 165, a. Why worſhipped at *Lemnos*, 234. b.
Uxians defeated by *Alexander*, 355, a.

W.

War, *Athenian*, in *Sicily*, 25, and 36.
—— *Carthaginian*, 37, & ſeq.
—— *Mithridatic*, 727, & ſeq. Renewed, 639. The length of it, 756, ſub fin. not.

X.

Xanthus, prince of the *Pelaſgians*, comes to *Leſbos*, and calls it *Pelagia*, 205, a.
Xenagoras meaſures the height of *Olympus*, 259. a.
Xenocrates's character, writings and death, 450, A.
Xenoetas, general of *Antiochus*, defeated and killed, 531, e.
Xerxes ſucceeds his father *Darius*, 276, b. Disjoins *Athos* from the land, 258, G. & 276, c.
Xeuxes's ſalutary advice to *Antiochus*, 533, b.
Xiphares put to death by his father *Mithridates*, 754, c.

Y.

Year, how calculated among the *Macedonians* 266.
Youth, how cultivated by the ſame nation, 265.

Z.

Zabdiel murders *Alexander Balas*, 599, a.
Zadriades, revolts from *Antiochus the great*, 698. Founds the kingdom of *Armenia minor*, 689.
Zadris, a city of *Iberia*, 833, b.
Zaliſſa, a city in *Iberia*, 833, c.
Zancle, *Meſſina* anciently ſo called, 2, d. When and by whom built, 12, a.
Zancleans defeated by *Anaxilas*, 3, a. Invite the *Samians* to ſettle among them, 197, f. Expelled by them, 198, a.
Zarbienus, king of the *Gordians*, put to death by *Trirarius* for entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, 702, b. His funeral obſequies, 705, a.
Zariaſpa, whether the ſame with *Bactra*, 845, c. Surrendered to *Alexander*, 373, d.
—— a river in *Bactria*, 845.
Zebina, *Alexander*, vid. *Alexander*, 611.
Zeira taken by *Philip*, 294, a.
Zela, a city in *Pontus*, 721, c. Famous for the defeat of *Triarius*, ibid.
—— king of *Bithynia*, killed by the *Galatians*, 829, c.
Zeno, where born, 174, c.
—— general of *Antiochus*, defeated, 531, c.
—— king of *Armenia*, vid. *Artaxias* III, 710, b.
Zenobia's adventure, 712, f.
Zenobius oppreſſes the *Chians*, 211, d,
—— library-keeper to *Ptolemy Soter*, 630, & ſeq.
Zenodotus, the firſt perſon who corrected *Homer*'s works, 638, b.
Zephyrian Venus, her temple, built in honour of *Arſinoe*, 639, e.
Zephyrium and other cities ſubmit to *Antiochus* 544, e.
Zeuda Crata ſurrendered to *Alexander*, 361, b. Solemn games celebrated by him there, ibid.
Zia, iſland, vid. *Cea*, 216.
Zipetes I. king of *Bithynia*, his wars with the *Heracleans*, 228. Dies for joy, ibid, & 522, c.
—— II. defeated by his brother, 522, d. Dies in baniſhment, 829, a.
Zobores king of *Albania*, defeated by *Marc Antony*, 839, a.
Zoilus revolts from *Syria*, 615, b.
—— the critic, writes againſt *Homer*, 638, b. His miſerable end, ibid. d.
Zonobarzes king of *Iberia*, baptized, 837, a.
Zoroaſter king of *Bactria*, 846. Opinions concerning him, ibid.

FINIS.